

BECOMING INFORMED: A GROUNDED THEORY OF HOW OLDER GREEK AND ITALIAN MIGRANTS TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA FIND EVERYDAY INFORMATION

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SUMMARY

There is little research on how the ethnicity, migration, socio-economic status, education or gender of older people shapes how they find everyday information. One such group is the ageing culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) migrant population on which there is little research on how they gather information and the role which information and communication technologies (ICT) plays in this compared with traditional modes of communication. Addressing this should be a priority in Australia, and other migrant receiving countries that have an old and ageing population, including many post-war migrants from non-English speaking European countries at a time when governments and organisations are increasingly using ICT to disseminate information.

This qualitative study interviewed 54 older Greek and Italian migrants to investigate how they find information they need to function in their everyday lives. Adopting a constructivist grounded theory approach allowed the exploration of the phenomenon from the participants' perspective, accommodating issues around the (re)construction of their experiences associated with migration that occurred more than forty years ago and more recently and the need to engage interpreters to address language differences between participants and researcher. It demonstrates originality in two important aspects, the cohort selected for the study and the approach taken to understanding the experience of the participants. In addition, qualitative social network analysis (SNA) illustrated the nature and extent of participants' social and information networks in accessing everyday information. This study of information needs is one of few to engage purposively non-English speaking migrants and in so doing positions the migrant at the centre of the research aimed to understand the phenomenon from their perspectives. Further, it locates the information behaviour in the process of migration and subsequent acculturation to Anglo-Australian culture.

The thesis presents a substantive theory *Becoming Informed* representing the experiences of older CALD migrants finding the everyday information they need. Categories that inform the basic social process of *Needing to Know* include *Leaving Home and Starting from Scratch*, *Acquiring Necessities*, *Ways of Finding Out* and *Reconstructing Identity*.

Results show older migrants accessed the information they need using a variety of means from a range of sources including other people, printed material and radio and television services. However, older migrants in this study do not generally use ICT, defined as computers and Internet, to access everyday information. Literacy and the degree of acculturation, as indicated by the extent of use of English language, influenced the range of information sources accessed and the means used. Bilingual participants used English-language sources as well as sources offered in their birth language. Participants without functional English-language skills accessed sources limited to their birth language and also required bi-lingual family members, ethno specific service providers and interpreter services to gather information from English language sources. Those who were not literate in either language depend most heavily on others to access and provide information.

At present participants did not perceive any functional knowledge deficits as they access everyday information from multiple sources. This situation may change if governments and organisations continue the shift to providing information using ICT, particularly so in the case of the 'digital by default' option; non-digital means or the engagement of 'information brokers' should remain an option for older CALD migrants to receive everyday information.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

.....

Kenneth Thomas Goodall

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Outline

The objective of this study was to develop an understanding of the information experiences of older culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) migrants who settled in South Australia during the post-World War II migration boom and who have subsequently aged in a predominantly Anglo-Celtic culture. This study specifically investigated how migrants from Greece and Italy find information they need to live effective everyday lives; beginning with their experiences early in their migration and more recently to present times. Further, the study investigated how they go about information gathering and whether they perceive or show signs of deficits in their functional knowledge.

There is little research on the combined effects of ethnicity, migration, socio-economic status, education or gender of older people on their use of traditional modes of communication and information seeking compared with their use of information and communication technologies (ICT). Addressing this should be a priority in Australia, which has an old and ageing population including many post-war migrants from non-English speaking European countries and which continues to be a migrant-receiving country. This study differs from previous studies of information behaviour of migrant groups in that it investigated the present day experiences of this group in the context of their journey of migration and associated acculturation to Anglo-Australian society and the influences these experiences have had on their present day information behaviours.

In this chapter, I introduce the topic beginning with a discussion of the reasons for the need for research in this area and I present the research questions that guide the research. I briefly discuss my reasons for using constructivist grounded theory method (CGTM) in this study and consistent with the constructivist approach used to inform the research I discuss my role as a researcher in terms of how I came to this study and my influence on the research process and outcomes.

1.2 Research Context

Acquiring and using information is central to human activities and Chatman (1996, 1999) and Taylor (1994) associate information poverty with economic and social exclusion. Lloyd, Lipu and Kennan (2010) concur that information is critical to social inclusion and identify migrants, especially those newly arrived, as a group that needs to access and use information to carry out everyday living activities and to access health services and find employment. Studies show marginalisation of migrants arises from the vulnerability and uncertainty associated with access and the use of information (Lingel, 2011), the focus often being on the information needs of migrants in the pre- migration phase (Shoham & Strauss, 2008) or shortly after settling in the destination country and the consequences for subsequent settlement and adjustment. In a study of newly arrived migrants in Canada, Caidi and Allard (2005) report that a lack of access to information inhibits full participation in everyday life leading to migrants feeling isolated and lacking opportunities to fully participate in society. Recognising information as a fundamental resource in the social exclusion-inclusion debate, Lloyd and colleagues (2010) note the lack of research that focuses on the information aspect of this issue.

Fewer studies involve older migrants or address the long-term information needs of this group. Publication of preliminary findings of this thesis have in part addressed this gap in knowledge and contributed to the understanding of the long-term information experiences of CALD migrants who have aged in a foreign place (Goodall et al., 2010). Ng and Northcott's (2010) study of older south Asian migrants to Canada reports that age at migration and the extent of English language acquisition influence the expression of ethnic identity and the development of bi-cultural identities. Changes to migrant identity and its influence on finding information and access to services emerged during my study and, in later sections of this thesis, I discuss aspects of language acquisition (section 6.7) and development of transnational and bi-cultural identities (Chapter Eight).

This thesis is located more broadly in the changing social, economic and technological environment in which participants lived, worked and grew old. I applied qualitative SNA to describe some of the connections participants have

established in this environment and the means they used to gather information. To accommodate the effects of the changes associated with this broad and complex environment my study adopts elements of ecological theory first described by Bronfenbrenner (1977) and applied by Williamson (1997, 1998) in her studies of the information needs and information behaviour of older people. An ecological approach locates the research in the social and political milieu, offering a more informed understanding of the influences these numerous factors have on the information needs and means of gathering information of this under-researched group.

Ability and opportunity to access and use information to satisfy information needs varies and has done so through human history, leading to the creation of those considered rich or poor in terms of information. This information gap has profound ethical relevance, one based on justice seen as an important moral strength influencing human behaviour (Britz, 2004). Health promotion campaigning is an example of how important it is to provide information in a way and form that the intended recipients can access and comprehend the material. Results from early health campaigns highlight the essential role played by the social and economic circumstances of intended recipients in achieving positive outcomes as these programmes show the most economically advantaged and educated in the community benefited (Nutbeam, 2000).

The advent of the information age, supported by the development and widespread use of ICT has led to a so-called digital divide based on supply-side issues, between those who do and those who do not use digital technologies to meet their information and communication needs (Australian Communications and Media Authority, 2008). As this digital *access* divide has narrowed it has been replaced by an increasing divide in digital *use and knowledge* and consideration of information access and use should not be limited to technological aspects (Britz, 2004). As Lievrouw and Farb (2003) indicate, emphasis on ICT has dominated the discussion on information access and use. The information divide is a more complex phenomenon reflecting differences in use and knowledge of information influenced by factors including differences in social and economic structures, income and age (Organisation for Economic Cooperation & Development, 2007).

Providing services to older people of CALD backgrounds is particularly relevant to government and service providers in South Australia as the state has a large and ageing population of overseas-born residents, many from non-English speaking backgrounds. Median ages of residents who were born in Greece and Italy are now more than double that of Australian-born residents (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012c) and continue to increase more rapidly as the state no longer receives younger migrants from many of these non-English speaking countries (Hugo et al., 2009). Most who arrived during the post-World War II migration boom have now ‘aged-in-place’ in Australia. Further, many of these migrants report they still cannot speak English well or at all and that low levels of English proficiency are more prevalent amongst older migrants. Thirty six per cent of Greece-born migrants living in South Australia aged 65-84 reported speaking English not well or not at all, the proportion rising to 68.1 per cent of migrants aged 85+. Similarly, for Italy-born migrants of the same age groups living in South Australia the proportions who spoke English not well or not at all were 27.3 per cent and 55.9 per cent respectively (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012d). It was from this cohort that I sought participants for my study and did so purposively to investigate their information experiences and what role if any English-language acquisition had on a person’s ability to access information.

In this thesis, I use the acronym CALD (culturally and linguistically diverse) as an abbreviated descriptor of first generation migrants from non-English speaking countries to distinguish them from migrants who came from English-speaking countries, mainly the United Kingdom, during the post-war period, and other groups. CALD is commonly used to describe groups and individuals who differ according to language, ethnicity and race but excluding those who are Anglo-Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, and has broadly replaced the earlier term NESB, non-English speaking background (NSW Government, 2010). The use of CALD as a descriptor is not without its limitations in adequately describing a group in an inclusive and non-discriminatory manner (Sawrikar & Katz, 2009) and I use the term respectfully while acknowledging these shortcomings and the lack of agreement in the development and use of a more appropriate descriptor.

Arising from a broad reading of relevant literature as part of my role as Chief Executive of a state-wide information service for older people were important points relating to information needs of older people: the means of providing information and whether these means are appropriate or effective from a recipient's perspective. The first was the observation of an increasing use of ICT by government, businesses and service providers to deliver information and conduct business. Second, were reports of low or decreasing use of ICT by older people due to a variety of factors including cost of purchasing and maintaining hardware and software, lack of understanding of the technology, need for training to use it and loss of physical and cognitive functions often associated with ageing (Selwyn, 2004). Generally, much of the research presumes that older people who do not use ICT are deprived of a resource to enhance their lives (Loges & Jung, 2001). Third, an assumption that older migrants who do not speak or read English well are literate in their birth language would benefit from information offered in translated brochures.

This increasing shift to digital means to disseminate information and do business represents a potential risk to older people of becoming isolated due to the various barriers to use that exist for this group (Choudrie et al., 2013). This is particularly likely if a 'digital by default' approach, as suggested by Helsper (2008), was to become widespread with the subsequent withdrawal of non-digital alternatives to provide information. With this in mind, my interest turned to groups who may face further barriers or have special needs due to their particular circumstances. One such group is the now aged migrants from non-English speaking countries who arrived in South Australia during the 1950s to 1970s.

Older migrants of CALD background face additional barriers to those experienced generally by older people in accessing information as English-language skills, circumstances of migration and location of settlement can influence the ageing trajectory and the ability and opportunity to access information (Ono & Zavodny, 2007). Migrants with poor English-language skills or low education levels may encounter further issues as they age and those who acquired functional English-language skills may lose them as they age and revert to their birth language due to a decline in cognitive function (Messimeri-Kianidis, 2007).

Turning to the literature, I was surprised to find a dearth of studies on how CALD migrants find information generally and measures taken by service providers to address the barriers to migrants accessing and using information. Consistent with this paucity of studies, Caidi and colleagues (2010) report a lack of empirical studies of how new migrants seek and use information which, following a literature search, I would extend to include studies of the information practices of older and long-established migrants. This was also consistent with results of a recent literature review of research on older Greek migrants' access to support services by Tsianikas and colleagues (2012) who found a small number of papers and reports on the topic. Appendix 1 shows the results of various database searches and keywords used.

As Caidi and colleagues (2010) found, studies of information needs of migrants have addressed pre-migration needs (Shoham & Strauss, 2008), and needs of younger populations including: Sudanese youth in London Ontario (Silvio, 2006), Asian mothers giving birth in New Zealand (DeSouza, 2006), Hispanic farm workers in the United States of America (Fisher et al., 2004) and recently arrived south Asian migrants in Canada (George & Chaze, 2009). More broadly, other studies identified from the database searches looked at the use by migrants of ICT, in maintaining diaspora (Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007; Diminescu, 2008) or as a means of health and community services providing health information (O'Mara et al., 2010).

In Australia, Williamson (1997, 1998) studied the information needs and behaviour of older people selected as representative of the state's population based on a range of demographic variables including sex, country of birth and employment. Her study did not purposively select older migrants from non-English speaking countries. Su and Conway's (1995) study of the information needs of older Chinese migrants in the United States of America is similar to my study in that the authors identified issues and topics on which participants sought information and identified the most frequently used means or sources of that information. However, this study did not locate the migrants' information behaviour in their experience of migration or subsequent acculturation.

Service providers and government recognise the problems associated with language and cultural differences in providing services to migrants from CALD backgrounds.

Anecdotally and from my experience as a service provider the way to address these problems, albeit from a provider's perspective, is to publish translated brochures and other printed material in various community languages and to provide interpreters for oral material. While interpreter services are widely available and generally effective in overcoming language differences, service providers and clients recognise that their use still causes difficult situations (Bartlett et al., 2006). Literacy levels of both birth language and English of older migrants vary and again anecdotal evidence suggests they are low and represent a further barrier to accessing printed information in birth languages. Assessment by service providers of the effectiveness of these measures is limited. While, of greater concern is lack of understanding of the issues and associated problems from the perspective of the recipients of these services.

Paucity of research involving the information needs of older non-English speaking migrants or their access to social services is exacerbated by exclusion of older migrants with low levels of English literacy from studies by mono-lingual researchers due to the costs associated with language translation of printed material and interviews (Cheng et al., 2009; Newman et al., 2012). Working with CALD communities can pose challenges for a monolingual researcher to find ways to address cultural and language difference, rather than exclude from studies participants who do not speak or understand English as did Boldy and colleagues (2011) in a study in Western Australia. Consequently, in this thesis I implemented measures to include participants who spoke little or no English.

Therefore, the gap in the literature offered me an opportunity and in some ways a responsibility to embark on a study with the broad aim of finding out more about how older migrants with English as a second language and those who used only their birth language find what they need to know to live their lives. This can be conceptualised in terms of the so-called 'knowledge society' (Ungar, 2003) and more specifically within the area of 'functional knowledge' (Ungar, 2008). The concept of functional knowledge encapsulates the idea that different people require different levels of knowledge (and hence information) to function within their roles in society. For example, doctors, plumbers, adolescents and older people each require specific knowledge to function appropriately. All of these different knowledge types are predicated on the notion that certain groups need to know certain things in order to

live their lives (function) within their social milieu.

1.3 Aims of the Study

The aim of this study is to contribute to the broader theoretical understanding of information behaviour of older Italian and Greek migrants seeking information they need to develop the necessary functional knowledge for their everyday activities.

The theoretical perspectives of symbolic interactionism (SI) and pragmatist philosophy inform this research, which applies constructivist grounded theory as a method of inquiry.

Mindful of Glaser's (1992) warning of the risk of preconception of the presence of a problem, I carefully approached the topic with a mind as open as possible. This is an approach consistent with the views expressed by Dey (2007) of the concept of a *tabula rasa* being an open mind not an empty head but acknowledging the pragmatist aspects of the view expressed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in the need for a perspective when analysing data. Rather than put aside my preconceptions of the nature and extent of problems that participants may have in finding the information they need, I recognised the importance of subjecting data from interviews and social networks to analysis and scrutiny, being prepared to reject or accept them as a result of this interrogation.

1.3.1 Research questions

The research question that frames this thesis is:

How do older Greek and Italian migrants living in South Australia find the information they need for their everyday lives?

To inform this broad question and to offer some structure to the interviews and SNA the following topics were used to guide the discussion but, consistent with the method, did not restrict participant responses to these issues.

- What constitutes 'information' to CALD migrants?
- By what means do migrants gather or access the information they need?
- What role does the acquisition of English-language skills play in finding information?
- Do migrants perceive or demonstrate deficits in functional knowledge needed for everyday activities?

- Has the experience of migration influenced the nature of information needed for everyday activities or the ways in which it is gathered?
- What means do migrants use including ICT to find information?
- What information do migrants identify as necessary for everyday activities and in what form or medium do they find information most effective?

1.3.2 Significance of the study

South Australia has a population that is older than the national average and while older has, like Australia, a significant proportion of people born overseas in non-English speaking countries. In 2011, 25 per cent of the state's population aged 65+ was born overseas in non-English speaking countries (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a). This statistic along with the ageing of the migrant population provide the incentive for this study into how older migrants find the information they need.

In view of these demographics, it is perhaps surprising there is a gap in the literature on how older migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds acquire information. This study seeks to develop an understanding of how participants from the two largest groups of migrants from non-English speaking countries - Greek and Italian - find the information they need to know. Did they experience problems in finding the information, and if so how did they address these issues to find what they needed to know? In answering these questions, this thesis aims to add to the body of knowledge on this topic.

Further, developing and understanding the issues from the participants' perspectives may provide knowledge to inform health policy, service provision and more broadly, public policy in a more proactive manner to address information-related issues affecting more recently arrived migrants. This may inform early intervention of measures to overcome barriers or better tailor services in more appropriate and effective ways and facilitate social inclusion of migrants.

1.4 Chosen Research Method

This thesis uses a constructivist version of Grounded Theory Method (CGTM) described by Charmaz (2000, 2006a). Adopting a constructivist version of GTM

offers a method which is appropriate to this research as the constructivist perspective accommodates issues arising from working with older CALD migrants, a need for language translation for those who speak no or little English and the (re)construction by participants of their experiences of events around migration and more recently. GTM generates theory which accounts for a pattern of behaviour that is relevant and problematic for participants (Glaser, 1978) and offers an understanding of the studied phenomenon from the participant's perspective. Drawing heavily on SI, CGTM assumes people act individually or collectively with an emphasis on meaning, leading to a method with an interest in processes.

Confusion exists around terms describing the grounded theory method and the grounded theory, which is a product of the method. In this thesis I use GTM when referring to the method first described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) or CGTM which represents a subsequent variant of the original method described by Charmaz (2000, 2006a). In this thesis, the term 'grounded theory' describes the product of the research using CGTM. I have labelled the substantive grounded theory *Becoming Informed* and it represents the increasingly theoretical representation and conceptualisation arising from my analysis of data.

GTM was developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the mid-1960s as a systematic method of 'discovery of theory from data systematically obtained by social research to develop theory rather than the verification of existing theory' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 2). Glaser and Strauss challenged the use of quantitative methods that dominated social research at the time, arguing that their method generated theory with rigour equal to that associated with existing empirical quantitative research and using the same criteria to assess rigour. Several issues led to the subsequent lack of understanding of the method's epistemological basis and interpretation of how to use the method. Choosing to use measures to assess rigour associated with quantitative methods, continued reference by the authors, jointly or singly, to the status of data or the role of the researcher as an independent observer demonstrate positivist leanings of the method as used by Glaser and Strauss (Bryant, 2002). Actions, or failure to act, on the part of the authors contributed to GTM losing credibility and subsequently being pushed to the periphery of social research.

Since then, several authors have called for efforts that address the theoretical shortcomings and move the method away from its positivist origins in a direction to reflect more accurately contemporary thinking and research. Bryant (2002, 2009) calls for a re-grounding of GTM to address issues associated with lack of clear explanation of its epistemology and to address recent theoretical developments. Changes to GTM by Clarke, (2003, 2005) gives the method a post-modern perspective with an emphasis on SI, consistent with the views of Strauss (Clarke, 2009). In a similar fashion to Clarke, Charmaz (2000, 2006a) returns to and highlights the significance of SI and pragmatism, applying a constructivist perspective to the handling of data and the role of the researcher. I acknowledge the influence of pragmatism on the early development of GTM through the contribution of Anselm Strauss and its influence on the method and more specifically the constructivist form.

Like many others, I ponder why Strauss, when writing about GTM, did not express more overtly his philosophical position consistent with his training and which he expressed in his other writings. This oversight or omission is seen by some as being a weakness in the development of GTM (Bryant, 2009) and a possible explanation for the subsequent divergence of views between Glaser and Strauss. During the process of selecting a suitable methodology and method for my study, I became aware of the criticisms of GTM, many of which others attribute to a failure by Glaser and Strauss to enunciate their philosophical perspectives (Charmaz, 2005). Keen to address these criticisms I have discussed in Chapter Three the philosophical basis of research and the important role such a discussion plays in the justification of one's decision to choose a particular method or methodology. I was encouraged by Bryant's (2009) suggested use of pragmatism as a means to address what he perceives as weaknesses in the development of GTM and to offer a suitable path for further evolution of the method.

Charmaz (2006a) draws on the antecedents that gave the original method its rigour and emphasis on action while accommodating contemporary developments in theory and research practice challenging the objectivist and positivist aspects of the original method. Her constructivist version of GTM, brings the pragmatist influences to the fore, arguing that to do so retains fluidity and open-ended character with an emphasis

on meaning, character and action, arguing that a return to pragmatist origins:

‘[E]ncourages us to construct an *interpretative rendering* of the worlds we study rather than an external reporting of events and statements.’ (Charmaz, 2006a: 184) (Emphasis in original)

A constructivist approach incorporates the perspectives of participants as well as those of the researcher, recognising the interpretive nature of the studied world and the roles of both participants and researcher in constructing a theoretical rendering that ‘offers an *interpretative* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it’ (Charmaz, 2006a: 10). Adopting a constructivist approach, enables me to accommodate issues associated with language translation and recall by participants of events that happened many years earlier. Finally, Charmaz (2005) proposes CGTM as a suitable template to inform social justice research, of which elements in the form of equity of access to information arose during this study.

Consistent with the constructivist philosophy, which recognises the active role of the researcher in the co-construction with participants of data, it is appropriate to discuss my role as researcher in this study and the influence of previous training and life-experiences. Influenced by my previous training and experience in the application of quantitative methods, ontologically I have a strong leaning towards that of a critical realist in recognising some things exist without the intervention of a conscious mind. However, I acknowledge that the meanings we apply to these objects are the product of an active involvement of a conscious mind and the interaction with other minds and that the social context of this exchange influences the representation of this reality. Further, there exists relativism in the different interpretations of the same event or object by others as likewise we may interpret and re-interpret our own experiences in response to differing circumstances. It is important to demonstrate an internal consistency of the philosophical framework and its compatibility with the method used to carry out the research (Crotty, 1998). Andrews (2012) suggests realism and relativism sit at polarised ends of an objective reality- multiple realities spectrum and that both positions are problematic for qualitative research. I acknowledge a personal history of critical realism while recognising the existence of relativist multiple realities and suggest this is compatible with the constructivist approach I have used in this research. An approach consistent with Crotty’s view

that, ‘Social constructionism is at once realist and relativist’ (Crotty, 1998: 63) in that ‘[t]o say meaningful reality is socially constructed is not to say that it is not real.’ Such that my interpretation of the data in developing the theory in this thesis is as Charmaz (2006a:10) describes, ‘an *interpretative* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it.’ (Emphasis in original).

1.5 Structure and Organisation of the Thesis

The emergent nature of CGTM requires the presentation and analysis of results in a manner that differs from the structure of logico-deductive works. There are two broad points of difference in a thesis that reports the findings of CGTM - based research. The first is that it is usual for the literature review to occur alongside the findings in order to provide context and interpretation, or after the presentation of the findings. Secondly, the need to acknowledge the role of process in developing theory; when CGTM is used to explain experiences of people, as is the case in this thesis, the linear logic frequently used in writing to explain experience fails as personal experience is not always linear in nature or presents clearly (Charmaz, 2000).

Strauss and Corbin (1998: 179) argue the essential role of process in analysis as it:

[C]an be the organising thread or central category of a theory, or it can take a less prominent role. Regardless of the role it plays, process can be thought of as the difference between a snapshot and a moving picture. Each one pictorial form presents a different perspective and gives insight, but if one wants to see what happens, or how things evolve, then one must turn to the moving picture. Theory without process is missing a vital part of its story – how the action/interaction evolves.

Presenting findings of research using CGTM therefore requires further explication of its structure to assist the reader to navigate the chapters which address categories and to locate these and the basic social process(es) in the substantive theory. In this thesis, I have chosen to present each category individually, in chapters five to eight respectively, before bringing them together in chapter nine to discuss the substantive theory of *Becoming Informed* rather than adopting the alternative approach that presents the theory before discussing the component categories.

The structure of this thesis reflects one generally used in CGTM and as such, it does not follow the traditional format used to present findings of traditional qualitative or quantitative research. The two most significant differences in this thesis relate to the manner in which I present and discuss results and the timing and manner in which I discuss the literature. Categories constructed from my analysis of data provide the headings for each chapter in which I present and discuss findings. Timing of when to engage and present the literature review in GTM is both disputed and misunderstood (Charmaz, 2006b), the founders of GTM advocating delaying any review until after the development of the substantive theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978) to prevent forcing data in to preconceived categories (Glaser, 1992). Charmaz (2006a) suggests calls by Glaser and Strauss to delay a review of existing literature so as to reduce its influence on the developing theory may have been an overstatement. However, she does acknowledge the importance of presenting a thorough and sharply focussed review of literature relevant to the topic of the study. As is the case for codes and categories, the literature reviewed earns a place in the emergent theory. It is not necessarily exhaustive but rather one that is pertinent and focussed, representing major works relevant to the substantive theory (Charmaz, 2006a). My approach is one in which I present and discuss relevant works as I present results rather than discussing the relevant literature in a separate chapter or delaying its presentation until the discussion of the substantive theory in Chapter Nine. This approach of integrating my discussion of relevant literature is consistent with that suggested by Charmaz (2006a).

This thesis is organised into ten chapters beginning in this chapter with an introduction to the area of study, the reasons for my initial interest in the topic, rationale of the research and an introduction to the research methodology.

Chapter Two presents a discussion of the prevailing social, political and economic conditions at the time the migration event took place in the countries of origins of the participants as well as socio-economic and political circumstances prevailing in Australia to provide a context of time and place in which this study is set. It discusses aspects of these circumstances, which were to influence individual decisions to migrate, choice of place of residence and finding work in Australia and

the implications for how participants subsequently found the information they need in their everyday lives.

Chapter Three considers the methodological aspects of the qualitative approach to research and the theoretical framework that supports research conducted in an interpretive domain. Of pertinent interest is a more in-depth discussion of Constructivist Grounded Theory Method, which I use in this study and its development from classical Grounded Theory Method.

Chapter Four discusses the methods used in applying a constructivist version of grounded theory method along with the application of a qualitative form of social network analysis (SNA) which was used to explicate further the social and/or information networks of participants illustrating the extent and nature of social (human) interactions and information sources.

Chapters Five to Eight present the findings of my research; each in turn discusses a category and its construction from my analysis of the data to preserve processes experienced by participants. It is in these chapters that I introduce extant literature and discuss its relevance in the development of categories consistent with CGTM, which sees a consideration of literature delayed until after the development of theory. These categories are respectively, '*Leaving Home and Starting from Scratch*', which describes aspects of the migration experience, '*Acquiring Necessities*', '*Ways of Finding Out*' and '*Reconstructing Identity*', a discussion of participants' responses to acculturation and the influences these changes had on the ways in which they find information.

In Chapter Nine, I discuss the theoretical rendering of my findings as a substantive theory of how older CALD migrants find what they need to know for use in their everyday lives. The basic social process, which I have labelled '*Needing to Know*', informs the substantive theory of '*Becoming Informed*', my use of a gerund acknowledging the continuing nature of the process being consistent with Charmaz' advice to do so (Charmaz, 2006a).

In the final chapter (Ten), I present a summary of the major findings of this thesis,

what this research has added to the body of knowledge on the subject and implications for practice and future research. Chapter Ten also includes the evaluation of the study in relation to the research questions and criteria suggested as suitable for qualitative methods and more specifically to interpretivist studies employing CGTM.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the topic of this thesis and discussed circumstances that justify undertaking research in this area. It has presented the research questions that guided the research and has briefly introducing my choice of methodology; finally, the chapter outlined the structure of the thesis by discussing the content of each of the following chapters.

In the next chapter, I discuss the social, economic and political circumstances surrounding the largest single wave of migration to Australia, of which the participants in this study were part, in the two decades after World War II. Along with this contextual positioning, I discuss the influences that these and other factors had on the settlement of these migrants, the subsequent development of services and the means by which these participants now find everyday information.

CHAPTER 2 THE MIGRATION CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

As this thesis is about the experiences of migrants, who arrived in South Australia from Greece and Italy in the first two decades after the end of World War II, this chapter considers briefly the origins and migration history of the participants. To do so locates my research in its historical and social contexts, a requirement consistent with the aims of the constructivist perspective of GTM that I have used to inform my research approach.

This post-war period was unique in Australia's migration history in both scale and composition of migrants, with large numbers arriving in a relatively short period and for the first time many being of non-Anglo-Celtic origin (Hugo, 1995). I drew participants in my study from the many migrants who came to South Australia during this period. However, it is important to locate this particular wave of migrants in the history of migration to Australia and South Australia more specifically and briefly consider the influences their regional and cultural origins had on their settlement in South Australia and any subsequent effects on their present social and information networks and information needs.

2.2 European Migration

2.2.1 Australia's migration policy

Australia is predominately a nation of migrants. During its period of European history, at various times there have been peaks and troughs in the number of migrants arriving to settle. At times, increased migration came about as the result of economic circumstances either in the source countries or in Australia. People would leave an impoverished or socially and politically unstable situation in search of a better life on offer in other countries where better economic circumstances and stable government promised improved economic and social opportunities. Conversely, there are times when Australia actively sought migrants for economic reasons or issues of national security (Baldassar, 2004). At other times promises of quick wealth coupled with a

measure of excitement attracted large numbers of migrants. For example, the discovery of gold during the mid-nineteenth century at several locations in Australia saw migration spike as adventure-seekers and miners flocked to the various gold fields in search of wealth and excitement (Young, 2002).

Australia has a history of cyclical ‘boom and bust’ economic performance, often influenced by mining or the effects of weather conditions on agricultural production a mainstay of the economy (McLean, 2004). Periods of ‘boom’ when the national economy expanded rapidly required government to rely on migrants as a source of labour for factories. At other times, migration policy has been the instrument used by governments to address real or perceived policy imperatives relating to security or social cohesion (Ergang, 1965). Arguably, the arrival of the First Fleet from England in 1788 to establish the colony of New South Wales illustrates such a situation. The British Government at the time saw it as a way to address a crisis in prison accommodation in England caused by the loss of the American colonies, previously a target for transporting prisoners (Ergang, 1965). Further, colonial expansion provided new territories as sources of raw materials to feed the growing industrial base in England and to create markets for manufactured goods (Clough & Cole, 1952; Marshall, 1964).

During periods of slower economic growth, there were times when migration continued at a steadier pace where individuals and family members would settle in Australia for various personal and economic reasons. In the early days, a small number of Italian and Greek migrants along with those from other countries settled at various locations around Australia. South Australia recorded a small numbers of Italian and Greek migrants almost from the beginning of European settlement in 1836 and which grew in number gradually until the outbreak of World II. The number of Italian-born residents in South Australia prior to World War II was small, the 1933 census recording only 1,489 (O'Connor, 2004: 135). While small in number, these migrants were to provide the stimulus and act as a nucleus during the increased migration post World War II (Hugo, 1975).

Australia experienced a rapid increase in migration in the two decades following the end of World War II (Figure 1) as the result of policies implemented by a Federal

government intent on actively pursuing population growth in response to its dual priorities of national security and economic development (Baldassar, 2004). Of particular interest to this research are the Italian and Greek migrants who arrived in the two decades after the end of World War II. At this time, both security and economic growth were issues of importance to the Australian Government. Australia with a vast and generally unpopulated land mass and a small population of around 7.5 million people felt vulnerable to invasion from any of several densely populated countries to its north (Hugo, 2011). The Federal Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, articulated the imperatives of defence and economic growth when in 1945 he told Parliament:

“[I]t is surely that we cannot continue to hold our island continent for ourselves and our descendants unless we greatly increase our numbers.... Our first requirement is additional population. We need it for reasons of defence and for the fullest expansion of our economy.” (Parliamentary Proceedings, 2 August 1945: 4911-4915).

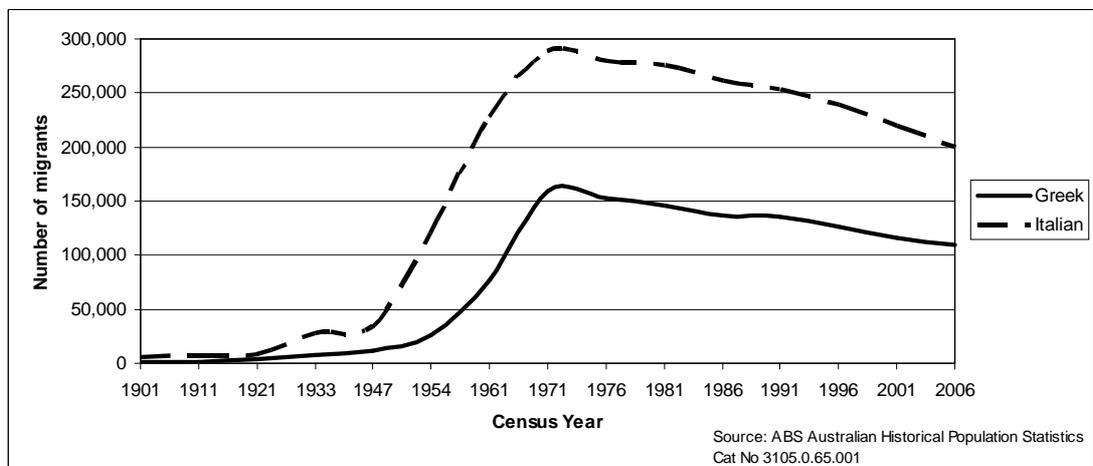


Figure 1: Greek and Italian Migration to Australia 1901-2006

In a critical assessment of the reasons for boosting population, Tierney (1996) argues the primacy of economic issues above various political and cultural issues. Calwell’s assessment of the situation faced by Australia then may now seem unnecessarily alarmist but one must remember it was made towards the end of World War II during which Japanese military forces had overrun the British garrison in Singapore, reached Papua New Guinea, bombed Australia at Darwin and Broome and attacked

ships in Sydney Harbour using submarines (Hugo, 2011).

On a brighter note, during this post-war period Australia, like many other industrialised countries benefited from a period of reconstruction and economic growth that followed the end of the war. It needed workers to fill factories or to work in various enterprises if it was to meet the growing international and local demand for manufactured goods and to build much-needed infrastructure (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001). Australia's resident population was insufficient to satisfy the emerging demand for labour and so the government actively sought migrants to settle permanently.

These twin opportunities for population growth, namely economic expansion and national security, presented a dilemma to Arthur Calwell whose role it was in the 1940s to introduce the government's 'Populate or Perish' policy, the aim of which was to increase the population by one per cent per annum. However, at that time the White Australia Policy supported by the *Federal Immigration Restriction Act 1901* passed by the Australian Federal Parliament strongly favoured British migrants and northern European migrants of fair skin and fair complexion whom the government believed would assimilate more easily in Australia. The 'ideal Australian' was to policy-makers at the time, 'English speaking, light Caucasian, culturally northern European and Christian' (Bottomley, 1976: 119). Australia maintained a close relationship with England and relied heavily on British, Irish and Scottish migrants for population growth.

Cessation of hostilities in Europe in 1945 and the subsequent invasion and occupation by Soviet forces of many northern European countries displaced scores of people unable to return to their homelands. These Displaced Persons provided a major contribution to the number of migrants settled in Australia as part of the first post-war immigration wave between 1947 and 1951 (Tierney, 1996). Australia's expanding economy depended on a steady supply of labour but, even when combined these sources were insufficient to keep up with demand. The supply of preferred British migrants dwindled as Britain was itself rebuilding after the war and available Displaced Persons decreased by the early 1950s and ended in 1953 (Pennay, 2011). Reluctantly, Australia considered as an alternative, 'Southern Europeans', a loose

and at times derogatory term applied to Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Yugoslavs, Albanians, Greeks and Maltese who were initially not sought as a source of suitable migrants since they were considered 'inferior' and it was assumed they would not assimilate as readily because of their darker complexion (O'Connor, 2004). However, in response to an acute shortage of labour and a need to populate, Australia did eventually offer places to southern Europeans, in particular Italians and Greeks.

Migrants from Italy and Greece responded in large numbers, as the prevailing economic, social and political situations in both countries were at that time desperate because of war and long periods of unstable and poor governance (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001; Baldassar, 2004; Cosmini-Rose & O'Connor, 2008). Often sought to fill the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs in factories, as miners or labourers Italians grasped the opportunities which to them offered a means to social and economic well-being (Iuliano & Baldasar, 2008). Many applied to migrate in response to the bi-lateral migration agreement between governments to facilitate the migration process and a publicity campaign by the Australian Government that promoted Australia as a favourable destination (O'Connor, 2004).

Incentives offered by the Federal and South Australian governments included assisted passage to Australia, offers of employment and housing. The Premier of South Australia, Tom Playford developed large public housing estates beginning in the 1950s close to factories and offered cheap accommodation and controlled rents (Ganzis, 2003). Selective application of such incentives was possibly applied in an effort to attract the preferred type of person as a migrant. Bottomley (1976) argues the proportion of migrants offered assisted passage was according to how closely they fitted the concept of an 'ideal Australian', reporting that about 25 per cent of Greeks and 17 per cent of Italians who applied were offered assisted passage compared with more than 80 per cent of German and British applicants. Offers of assisted passages varied within Italy. O'Connor (2004) found that migrants from central and northern Italy were offered assisted passages in preference to their less preferred southern compatriots. Glenn (2006) confirms this when she reports many migrants from the Campania region of southern Italy were not recipients of assisted passages, but instead relied on sponsorship by family, spouses or people from the

same village already living in Australia. This chain migration and subsequent residence in ethnic clusters were to influence the settlement experience of these migrants. Pennay (2011) reports a similar situation involving Greek migrants who arrived after 1956, with more than twice the number arriving unassisted. Many migrants still today report with pride how they came to Australia without help from the government and so avoided the migrant camps which were set up by Australian authorities to house and process the large number of migrants (Pennay, 2011).

Lee's push-pull theory of migration offers a theoretical explanation of the situations that existed in post-war Europe and Australia at the time. Lee's model of decision making explains migration as the result of a combination of negative (push) factors in the origin and positive (pull) factors in the destination (Lee, 1966). Others argue the need to understand the influence of regional ties and the subsequent chain migration on why people migrated and settled where they did in the receiving country (Iuliano & Baldasar, 2008). Referring to migration experience of Italians to North America, they argue that the strength of migration chains between specific towns in Italy and North America provide the 'pull' factor over any 'push' factor to leave Italy. Australia experienced a similar outcome. Chain migration from specific regional locations strongly influenced where migrants lived in Australia. In relation to where migrants settled in South Australia Cosmini-Rose and O'Connor (2008) found that in the post-war period almost a third of migrants from Caulonia in southern Italy settled in the western suburbs of Adelaide, particularly along the Torrens River valley, an area previously rich in market gardens established by relatives who had earlier migrated. The subsequent concentration of regional groups in turn has implications for how and where appropriate services are provided today (Hugo, 1995).

2.2.2 South Australia's migration experience

South Australia is the fourth largest of Australia's six states and two territories, with a total land area of 983,482 square kilometres. The population is highly urbanised with an estimated 1.2 million, or 73 per cent of a total state population of 1.6 million, living in the capital city Adelaide and surrounding metropolitan area (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011c). Most of the remainder of the State's population lives in fertile areas along the south-eastern coast and Riverland, an irrigated agricultural

area located along the River Murray and residence to a number of participants in this research. The State is home to 7.4 per cent of the total Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011c). Established in 1836, South Australia was initially a British colony like all the other States but it differed in that it took no convicts and was established as a commercial venture in accordance with the *South Australia Colonisation Act (1834)* (Burgess, 1907).

Established on the principles to promote religious and political freedom, encourage free enterprise the legislation, which set up the colony, also included a guarantee to protect the land rights of Aboriginal natives. Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862) was instrumental in the development and promotion of a free colony as part of the movement gaining popularity in England at that time to address the threat of overpopulation and increasing concern by the government of its inability to support the poor in England (Archer, 2003; Hugo, 2011). There exist similarities between the issues that arose from the application of Wakefield's theory in the development of South Australia as a colony and the post-World War II migration wave from which I have drawn participants for this study.

The nineteenth century saw mass migrations from Great Britain to ease social pressures caused by redundant population (Archer, 2003; Aaltio & Hopfl, 2009) a situation present in Italy, and to a lesser extent Greece, in the mid twentieth century. The migration schemes benefited the sending and receiving countries respectively by addressing social and economic issues and providing labour in Australia. At both times, assisted migration was a feature of the schemes with migrants who more closely met the requirements receiving financial assistance to migrate. This selective approach to migrants considered most suitable extended to formulation of policy and regulation and proved difficult to achieve despite bureaucratic measures. Wakefield proposed young, unmarried individuals be sent in roughly equal numbers to avoid problems arising from imbalance of the sexes and to take advantage of their economic potential of years of productive work. This policy was applied through application of regulations governing assisted migration (Archer, 2003). During the twentieth century the White Australia Policy defined the preferred migrant and controlled the selection for settlement in Australia (Bottomley, 1976). Both programmes struggled to attract sufficient numbers of their preferred migrants. In

the early days of establishing South Australia, families applied in large numbers to migrate (Archer, 2003) rather than the preferred young single individuals. Similarly, the post-World War II migration programme failed to attract sufficient numbers of favoured migrants of Anglo-Celtic ancestry or from northern-European countries, Australia reluctantly accepting migrants from Mediterranean countries including those from southern Italy considered least likely to assimilate due to their darker complexion (O'Connor, 2004).

Wakefield and his colleagues promoted what were radical and enlightened ideas of social justice and tolerance uncommon at the time a result of which was to see the colony receive Lutheran Prussian migrants persecuted for their religious beliefs in Europe within two years of British settlement. In 1838, the first German migrants settled in an area to the north east of the designated site for Adelaide in a village they named Klemzig, which was to become the first ethnic (non-Anglo) village in South Australia. Others villages were to follow, the best known being Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills to the East of Adelaide settled in 1839 (Young, 1985). This early colonial experience demonstrates the long history of cultural pluralism of South Australia in accommodating migrants from ethnic groups other than the dominant Anglo-Celtic background.

Arrivals from other ethnic groups were considerably less numerous. The first Greek migrant, Georgios Tramountanas arrived in 1842 and eventually settled as a farmer on Eyre Peninsula but anglicised his name to George North (Tsounis, 2008). Later arrivals also adopted the practice of changing their names to anglicised forms to avoid Australians categorising them as a 'foreigner', while recognising the need to speak English reasonably well to be accepted by the mainstream culture (Brockhall & Liu, 2011).

More migrants were to follow, albeit in small numbers, such that around 50 had settled in South Australia by the end of the nineteenth century (Tsounis, 2008). In a similar way, a few individual Italians settled in the colony within a few years of its settlement. In 1839 Antonio Gannoni, a crew member of the ship *Recovery* is recorded as a being employed by the Survey Department and subsequently working at the Victor Harbor whaling station (Leadbeater, 2011). Later two Italian priests,

Luigi Pesciaroli and Mauritius Lencioni, served the Italian Catholic community for many years post-1846 (Leadbeater, 2011).

Numbers of Italian and Greek migrants continued to increase over the following years such that the population census of 1881 showed 141 Italians lived in South Australia. This number grew to 1,489 by 1933 (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011), (Comitato Assistenza Agli Italiani (Italian Assistance Association SA Inc.).

Many of these pioneer migrants from Italy and Greece who settled during the earlier part of the twentieth century, while few in number, would later play an important role in patterns of migration experienced in the two decades 1950-1970 when more than 45,000 settled in South Australia, as shown in Figure 2.

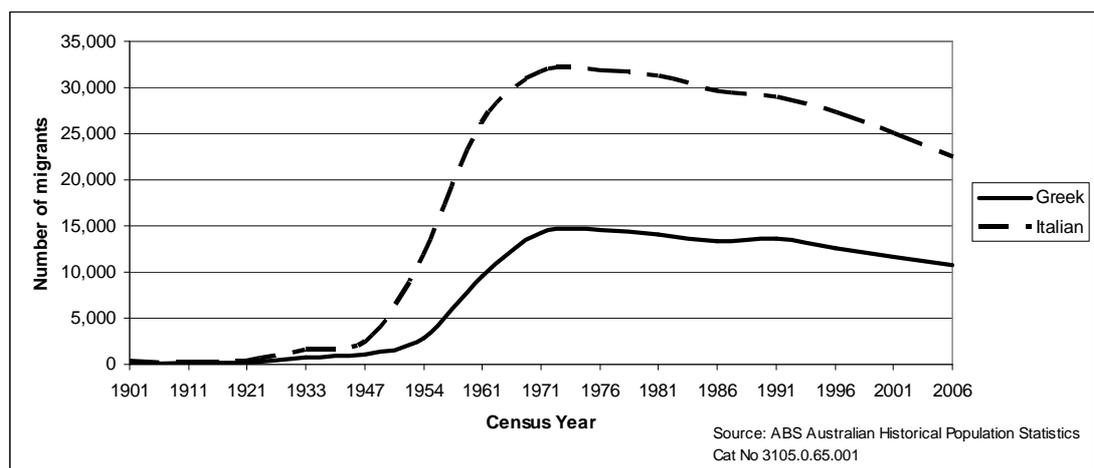


Figure 2: Greek and Italian Migration to South Australia 1901-2006

In many cases it was these pioneer migrants who sponsored their families and friends from the same regions, villages and towns, so enhancing patterns of point of origin and locality of settlement in South Australia (O'Connor, 2004). Through this chain migration, often many of these newly arrived migrants lived close to their sponsoring relatives and worked on family market gardens in metropolitan Adelaide or fruit blocks in the Riverland region (Hugo, 1975). Dimitreas (1998) found Greek migrants settled in particular suburbs or regional locations because these locations either offered opportunities for employment, often within walking distance of factories as many did not own cars, or allowed them to do their shopping in traditional shops or markets. Consequently, many migrants found themselves

enclosed socially, economically and occupationally in the so-called 'ethnic enclaves'.

Similar circumstances among Italian migrants were observed by Hugo (1995) and O'Connor (2004) who found post World War II migrants tended to congregate in specified suburbs located to the northeast and west of the city often reflecting the settlement patterns established by pre-war migrants. Availability of work in the market gardens owned by Italians and factories located in the western suburbs encouraged such aggregations. However, other factors played an important role, not least that of ready access to 'experienced migrants' who had already established themselves and understood some aspects of the local culture and bureaucratic processes (O'Connor, 2004: 58). Having access to such knowledge assists migrants to mitigate the insecurities and uncertainties associated with migration (Yankova & Andreev, 2012). While concentrations of ethnic groups may suggest a separatist attitude and unwillingness on the part of the migrant to integrate, Hugo (1995) reports evidence to the contrary which suggests ethnic enclaves offer support to new arrivals during the adjustment period. However, adverse long term effects of such ethnic concentrations can include delay in acquiring English language skills which may inhibit employment options and well-being in later years (Hugo, 1983).

First generation migrants not employed by their families often accepted jobs in the secondary labour market, especially in the manufacturing sector that at the time was expanding rapidly in Australia and facing a shortage of unskilled process labour. Government metered the flow of migrants mainly in response to demand for labour such that seventy five percent of migrants were unskilled workers (Glytsos, 1997: 425). The limited choice of employment was due to a number of social factors, including lack of English-language skills, absence or the non-recognition of overseas-gained qualifications and the host society's lack of readiness to accommodate its newly settled migrants despite official policy supporting migration.

Australia intentionally recruited migrants for permanent settlement rather than guest workers, unlike the policies implemented in other western countries (Glytsos, 1997). As such, newly arrived migrants were expected to assimilate largely unaided; 'to deny and forget their origins', while 'wholeheartedly embracing' the Australian way of life, (Dimitreas 1998: 5). Neither the government nor the community considered

it appropriate, or desirable, that migrants maintain their cultural traditions in their new home.

2.2.3 The Greek diaspora

Greek people have a long history of migration, with a diaspora existent over the last 3000 years, where more than 40 per cent of the population has lived outside the national borders of Greece (Tamis, 2005).

Post World War II migration from Greece was the result of existent economic and social conditions caused by many years of war and incompetent public administration. Dimitreas attributes migration at least in part to the concept of *philotimo* - 'which implies both individual and family pride, self-esteem, honour, faithfulness, altruism, individuality, progress, prosperity, freedom of choice, democracy, fairness and much more.' (Dimitreas, 1998: 125). Greeks migrated abroad to countries including America, Australia and destinations within Europe to make large amounts of money to repatriate to Greece to pay for sisters' dowries or education of relatives and to seek a better and freer life (Dimitreas, 1998).

Experience of remittances from migrants in Australia changed with time and differed to that observed from Greek migrant populations in other receiving countries (Glytsos, 1997). The volume of remittances was relatively small but did increase sharply by the mid-1970s as migrants became more established. Many Greek migrants in Australia were mainly permanent residents with little likelihood of returning, unlike migrants to Germany who were temporary with plans to return home and Glytsos (1997) suggests they had less incentive to send money to their homeland, as they had no plans to return and so would not benefit from any investment.

The Greek system of land inheritance also encouraged emigration. Due to the practice of dividing properties between surviving children after the death of a landowner, landholdings become increasingly smaller and often economically unviable. Migration of one or more siblings resulted in the fewer remaining siblings each inheriting a larger and potentially more viable tract of land (Dimitreas, 1998).

Greek migration during the second half of the twentieth century was also encouraged

by chain letters and stories told by migrants returning from Australia in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Stories of wealth, excitement and adventure all reinforced the advertising campaigns depicting Australia as the 'lucky country'; the so called 'pull factors' described by Lee (1966). The Greek government contributed to these perceptions by permitting the mass media to perpetrate the propaganda as a way to encourage remittances to boost the Greek economy and to decant population from rural areas. Ship owners and travel agencies in turn reinforced this with interests in moving people.

Failures to provide work for an increasing rural population, to address growing social and economic needs and keep up with modernisation led to mass migration to many industrialised countries including Australia. Migration from rural regions further weakened socio-economic development, which in turn led to further migration from country regions. These failures led to out-migration, a complex multifaceted chain-like process, in which relatives, friends and ultimately entire villages, followed pioneer migrants to the western industrialising regions including Australia. In the single year 1963-64, for example, 150,000 migrated from Greece (Dimitreas, 1998). Dimitreas (1998: 6) described the resultant migration as, '... the end result of a drastic decline in a Hellenic economy drained by years of war and administered by an inadequate system of government unprepared for autonomous rule'.

In a similar pattern of migration seen with Italians prior to World War II, Greeks showed two major phases of what was later to be recognised as pioneer migration. The first was during the period 1829-1900 when approximately 1,000 migrants, consisting of mainly fortune hunters and sailors, settled in Australia. A second and much more significant stage occurred during two periods, first in the early 1920's; and then in the late 1930s immediately before World War II. In the intervening period between 1924 and 1936 immigration from this region was restricted by regulation. In 1924, restrictions applied limiting to 1,200 sponsored migrants from Greece, Albania and Yugoslavia. Five years later the quota halved and in 1930 immigration from the region ceased. The suspension was lifted in 1936 (Glytsos, 1997). During the post-war period restrictions were again applied temporarily in 1956, a move which incensed and antagonised Greeks (Pennay, 2011).

In 1952, a migration agreement signed with Greece resulted in Australia assisting Greek migrants. The Greek government refused to share the costs of assisted migration arranged by the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) operating in Greece to encourage migration by offering advice and free passage to prospective migrants during visits by agents to rural towns enticing selected individuals to emigrate. The agreement granted assisted passage to the head of household and single males who in several cases the ICEM had selected. This assistance enabled working-class Greeks to emigrate with a personal sponsor or cash for the fare. Australia was also urgently seeking labour for its factories that were expanding rapidly in the post-WWII economic boom. Lifting restrictions in 1965 on sponsorship to include others than immediate family greatly increased the number of Greeks arriving to settle (Pennay, 2011). Over 250,000 Greek nationals migrated to Australia as a result of the Agreement, from Greece and several other European countries in the region (Pennay, 2011).

2.2.4 The Italian diaspora

In a similar fashion, Italians too have a propensity to migrate. There is a long association between Italy, or Italians, and Australia as a destination to which to relocate. In some cases this desire to migrate was not always voluntary, as in 1788 among the convicts on the First Fleet were several Italians including Giuseppe Tuzo (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011). What followed these first arrivals was a steady but small stream of migrants from Italy including missionaries, seasonal workers and many seeking their fortunes on the gold fields discovered at several locations around Australia during the mid-nineteenth century (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011). The subsequent building boom associated with the gold rushes attracted Italian labourers, builders and tradespeople largely through a process of chain migration involving family, spouses or people from the same village or region (Italian Historical Society, 2006a). This same process was to play a major role in the pattern of migration seen during the post war period, which I discussed from a South Australian perspective in section 2.2.2.

An estimated 25.9 million Italians left Italy during the period 1876 – 1976, the majority from the northern regions (Tatnall & Lepa, 2003). During this time and continuing in to the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, migrants settled

almost equally in America, in particular South America, and Europe (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011). The recorded decline in the number of people leaving during the period between the two World Wars (1916 – 1942) was due to Mussolini discouraging migration and many countries, in particular the United States of America, that had previously accepted large numbers of migrants now restricted the intake of migrants (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011).

Over the extended period of 1876 -1976, there was a shift in the location from which migrants left Italy with an increased proportion leaving the southern regions. This was to have implications for the Australian government's preference for fairer-skinned migrants of 'European appearance' that were assumed more likely to assimilate. The change, again brought about by poor economic circumstances in the southern regions of Italy, was such that during the period 1946 -1976 over half (52.5 per cent) of the migrants were from the southern regions of Italy compared with 26.5 per cent over the years 1876 to 1900. Such was the shift that Cosmini-Rose and O'Connor (2008: 8) note the paradox of Australia's immigration policy of preferring fairer migrants from northern Europe or at least northern Italy, when:

'[A]pproximately sixty per cent of the post-war Italian migrants have in fact come from the 'least desirable' southern regions of Sicily and Calabria'.

Again, poor economic conditions in Italy saw the number of migrants increase during the period 1946 – 1976 when an estimated 7.4 million left Italy actively encouraged by the Italian government to do so to ease unemployment and overcrowding in cities (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011). In post-war Italy, unemployment was high; pay was low and living conditions poor. The government of Prime Minister De Gasperi encouraged emigration as a way to ease the social and economic pressures caused by overpopulation and high unemployment (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011). The situation in southern regions of Italy was particularly harsh due to multiple social, environmental, industrial and agricultural issues causing considerable suffering and poverty. As well as having to deal with economic and social factors common to all of Italy and much of Europe immediately after the cessation of war in 1945, many of the southern regions of Italy also had to deal with local issues. These included outbreaks of disease in vines, loss of people through intra- and international migration and destruction of villages from earthquakes (Glenn, 2006). Italian

diasporas also offered an opportunity to boost the Italian economy and support their families by remitting money to those who remained in Italy (Cosmini-Rose & O'Connor, 2008).

Poor economic conditions and local disasters leading to poverty and lack of opportunity did not always result in emigration and Baldassar and Pesman (2005) argue that those who chose to leave did so not as victims but as active participants in the migration process. Italians had a long history of migration much of which was through chain migration and regional networks which lead to the development of networks across continents (Gabaccia, 1999). I discuss the role of these extensive local and international networks based on extended families in sharing and gathering information in Chapter Seven.

During this post World War II period, many migrants choose Australia as their destination, as Figure 1 shows. Migration increased in 1952 the year after Australia and Italy signed the Assisted Migration Agreement as southern Italians applied in large numbers to escape the poor conditions existent in Italy at the time. Southern Italians were not preferred and Australian immigration officials strengthened entry requirements including personally interviewing all applicants so as to assess their suitability to assimilate as ways of discouraging applicants (O'Connor, 2004).

Chain migration is widely acknowledged as a major factor in explaining the circumstances by which migrants reached Australia and the geographical location of where they settled (Hugo, 1975; O'Connor, 2004). Generally southern Italians arrived through chain migration instigated by family and understandably large numbers came from individual villages, towns or regions (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011). Subsequently, migrants settled near family or compatriots, which resulted in Italians from certain towns or regions concentrating in particular suburbs. Cosmini-Rose and O'Connor (2008) illustrate several aspects of this process in their study of migrants from the town of Caulonia in the regions of Calabria, southern Italy. The village still exists on a subsistence economy based on agriculture having very little manufacturing or industry and has a long history of high unemployment; clear examples of Lee's push factors operating in migration patterns. Its population declined steadily from just under 14,000 in 1921 to almost half by 2001. During the

twentieth century, the stream of migrants changed from America to Australia such that by post World War II, 69 per cent of migrants came to Australia. During the interwar period, South Australia was home to a small but significant number of *cauloniesi* (residents of Caulonia) and this number increased dramatically immediately post-war because of chain migration. The presence and subsequent settlement of these pioneer migrants during the interwar period influenced subsequent aggregations in South Australia. Employment opportunities were predicated on skills and as many of the migrants from Caulonia and Italians generally, were farmers or traders most settled in the market garden areas in the western suburbs (Hugo, 1975; Cosmini-Rose & O'Connor, 2008). Many other migrants settled in the city concentrating in the west end, the location of boarding houses in close proximity to markets and transport.

In similar fashion, migrants from other regions of Italy concentrated in particular suburbs creating discrete settlements in and around Adelaide. Suburbs to the north-east of Adelaide are home to large numbers of migrants from the region of Campania (Glenn, 2006) while migrants from Calabria are found in large numbers in suburbs to the west of the city (CO.AS.IT(SA), 2011). Patterns of settlement of *cauloniesi*, *calabresi* (Calabrians) and other regional groups influenced the development of community services, an issue I discuss in section 2.4.2.

2.3 Demographics of South Australia's Population

Overseas migration has greatly influenced the ethnic and cultural aspects of South Australia perhaps more so than other states as it received more than its proportionate share of migrants during the period 1947 to 1971. South Australia is one of the smaller states in terms of population size, being home to 7.4 per cent of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011c). By 1971, the peak of migration from Italy and Greece, South Australia had 11 per cent of Australia's Italian-born population (O'Connor, 2004). There has been no significant migration of younger Italians and Greeks since this large group of migrants came in their early adult years shortly after the end of World War II. As a result, members of these groups are now retired and moving in to the 75+ years age range defined as 'older-old' (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2011) The migrant

population is generally older than the general population due to a lack of replacement by younger migrants once the post-war migration boom ended, as shown in Table 1. By 1996, many migrant populations already had a higher median age than that of Australian-born residents and that statistic has since risen further and more rapidly than that observed for people born in Australia. The Italian-born population has the oldest median age followed closely by those born in Greece.

Table 1: Resident Population Median Age by Country of Birth 1996 – 2011

Country of birth	Median Age 1996	Median Age 2011	Percentage change
Australia	29.96	33.72	+12.55
Italy	58.11	67.97	+16.97
Greece	54.69	67.15	+22.78
Netherlands	53.38	63.75	+19.43
Germany	51.15	62.03	+21.27
Poland	54.16	57.42	+6.01

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics 34120DO001-201011 Migration Australia 2010-11

The 2011 Census recorded 20,710 residents born in Italy living in South Australia of whom 13,068 (63.1 per cent) were over the age of 65 and 1,593 (7.7 per cent) were aged 85⁺. While the number of residents born in Greece was less (9,757), the proportions aged over 65 years and 85⁺ were similar, representing 62.9 per cent and 4.8 per cent of the population respectively (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a). The proportion of older Australian-born residents for these age groups is less, 12.8 per cent and 2 per cent respectively, further illustrating the ageing of overseas-born residents relative to those born in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a)

Populations in developed countries are now ageing because of the high fertility rates experienced after World War II combined with reduced death rates at all ages (Hugo, 2011). Australia is no exception and South Australia reflects this trend, having the second oldest population of any state or territory with a median age of 39.7 years, compared with the national median age of 37.4 years (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012b). Migrants born overseas have become a successively older than Australia-born residents.

How and where migrants attained English-language skills emerged as a category

during my study and I discuss this in Chapter Five. Many of Australia’s Greek and Italian migrants speak little or no English at home, the proportion of which generally increases with age (Table 2). Reasons for this inverse relationship between English-language use and increasing age are likely to be complex and multifactorial, including low levels of education and age-related cognitive decline (Messimeri-Kianidis, 2007). Many migrants received limited education, with some participants I interviewed for this study reporting no formal schooling in their home country before migrating because of poor economic and social conditions existent at the time. This was particularly the case for women. Many subsequently learned English in the workplace and the opportunities to do so were limited if their co-workers were not Anglophones or they worked in isolation.

Table 2: English Language Proficiency of CALD Migrants

Country of Birth	English Language Proficiency	Age Range (Years)		
		<65	65-84	85+
GREECE	Not Well	9.7	39.9	56.6
	Not at all	0.6	2.0	11.5
	Total	10.3	41.9	68.1
ITALY	Not Well	4.3	25.7	45.5
	Not at all	0.2	1.7	10.4
	Total	4.5	27.3	55.9

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011 Census of Population and Housing

Often women did not enter the workforce instead remaining at home, raising a family, and supporting a husband meaning they had limited opportunities to mix with English-speakers. Working for relatives in family businesses also added to the ethnic and cultural isolation and reduced opportunities to learn; circumstances such as these recognised a contributing detrimentally to peoples well-being in later life (Hugo, 1995).

2.4 Development of Community Organisations

It is relevant to this thesis to discuss briefly the development of community organisations in the Greek and Italian migrant communities as their roles as information providers emerged during the study. Their development and continuing

evolution tend to reflect changes in the respective communities and more generally, as they now provide aged-care services to older clients including those from the broader community reflecting the multicultural nature of Australian society. In this section, I provide background material on the creation and subsequent development of these organisations to assist the reader in understanding their roles in the respective communities. It did not force analysis of data as I investigated the history and roles of the organisations subsequent to the emergence of the issue.

2.4.1 Development of Greek community organisations

By the turn of the twentieth century about fifty Greeks had settled in South Australia (Tsounis, 2008); being so few in number and dispersed at various locations around the state, Greek migrants possessed little capacity to develop communities of interest. However, this situation changed quickly such that by 1914 there were two Greek-speaking communities, one in Adelaide the other in Port Pirie - a town about 200 kilometres north of Adelaide and the location of a major smelter operated by Broken Hill Proprietary (BHP). The 'Secret Census'¹ conducted in 1916 recorded 95 Greeks working at the smelter (Fifis, 2004); by 1925 this number had grown to around 350 (Tsounis, 2008). Two aspects of the community to emerge during this period were to influence later migratory patterns. First, the origins of the majority of migrants and, second, the most effective way by which to obtain employment at the smelters was through knowing someone already working there (Tsounis, 2008). Many of the migrants living in Adelaide came mainly from the islands of Ithaca and Kastellorizo (Tsounis, 2008). Likewise the Port Pirie community included migrants from these geographical locations but many also came from the Dodecanese and the Aegean Islands more generally (Tsounis, 2008).

Greeks continued to be few in number and dispersed for many years until the dramatic increase in numbers occurred in the 1950s. Poverty was already common and the Depression of the 1930s hit Greeks hard (Tsounis, 2008). While hard economic and social conditions impeded community development, these shared

¹ A secret census conducted on behalf of the Australian Government of German and other nationals including Greeks with pro-German sympathies or activities during the First World War.

hardships encouraged a sense of community among Greek migrants causing them to realise that they would have to take steps if they were to maintain their culture and pass to their children, as the prevailing policy applying then was assimilation with the mainstream Anglo-community and institutions (Tsounis, 2008). Generally ignored or abandoned by the Orthodox church, Greek migrants in Australia relied on the ministries of the Church of England to offer them the rites of the Orthodox faith (Tamis, 2009) until 1898 when Orthodox churches were established in Melbourne and Sydney. It was a further forty years before Greek Orthodox services were available to Greek migrants in South Australia (Tsounis, 2008). A long period of tension and at times hostility continued between the appointed priests or church hierarchy and the laity as the struggle for dominance and authority by the church over the democratic communities continued, finally culminating in a schism (Tamis, 2009).

Fifis (2004) notes the creation of Greek Orthodox Communities (GOC) as indication of migrants taking actions for the first time to organise, describing the formation of GOC in Melbourne in 1897 and Sydney the following year as critical to the formation of the Greek community in Australia. In South Australia while few in number, estimated at around 300, Greeks living in metropolitan Adelaide in 1930 met to establish a Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia (GOCSA) (Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia Inc, 2007). Within two years of its inauguration, GOCSA was actively involved in offering Greek schooling and working to raise funds for a church which was completed in 1938 (Tsounis, 2008). In subsequent years, the GOCSA continued to grow in membership and activities through cultural and sporting events, fundraising and social events. Tensions and disagreements between various GOC and the Archdiocese continued unabated with the level of conflict fluctuating according to personalities in power at various times (Tsounis, 2008). Attempts made to transfer GOC property to the Archdiocesan Property Trust, along with setting up mixed lay-clergy conferences and ecclesiastical courts consistent with the Orthodox Church's structure, met with strong community resistance which led in 1960 to a break with the Archdiocese (Tsounis, 2008). This division represented more than another schism; this time it divided the community along ecclesiastical, cultural and political lines the disunity resulting in many projects or programs being unsuccessful in attracting government funding (Tsounis,

2008).

In recent times, cooperation between the Archdiocese and GOCSA is more common although deeply held differences still exist (Tsounis, 2008). Both organisations offer comprehensive ranges of services, which reflect the changing needs of the Greek community including cultural, spiritual and social aspects. Involvement in providing schooling continues and more recently both have increasingly engaged in operating aged care facilities to meet the needs of the ageing population. While initially designed specifically for Greek people, many of these services now cater for multicultural clients. Recognising Australia's multicultural nature, many of the cultural programs originally created to assist migrants maintain culture are now part of the cultural landscape and well patronised by the mainstream and many other communities; in South Australia, the Greek Odyssey Festival is an example (Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia Inc, 2007).

2.4.2 Development of Italian community organisations

Italians living in post-war South Australia faced problems similar to those experienced by Greek migrants with perhaps two differences. The Italian immigrant community was much larger in numbers than was the Greek community and the Catholic Church was established in South Australia. Italian migrants were predominately Roman Catholic. Further, the Church recognised very early during the post-war period the need to minister to the congregation (Tolcvay, 2004). As early as 1948 efforts were made to provide spiritual and material support to help migrants send their children to Catholic schools. By 1950, an Italian priest living in South Australia had formed the Catholic Italian Welfare Association (CIWA) with the aims to promote the Catholic faith and to help the needy (Tolcvay, 2004).

CIWA grew rapidly and offered social events, scholarships to help migrants send their children to Catholic schools along with general support for migrants. Within two years of its formation, the association had acquired offices with the help of the Adelaide Catholic Archdiocese. By 1958, it had built a hall as a venue where Italians could gather, celebrate, and preserve their culture.

Not all was plain sailing and the association had its share of administrative and

financial issues to deal with. To avoid a potential split in the community, the Catholic Archbishop replaced a priest who expressed desire to become association president despite the constitution preventing such an appointment (Tolcvay, 2004). Financial problems followed the building of the hall such that by 1960 the association had trouble in servicing its bank overdraft. Efforts through dissociating CIWA from the Catholic Church to expedite amalgamation with a suitable community club were initially unsuccessful. But eventually amalgamation and restructuring took place in 1964 to create the Italian Australian Centre Incorporated (Tolcvay, 2004).

By the 1960s needs of the Italian communities had changed. The number of migrants had increased dramatically and social clubs based on regional affiliation flourished. Villagers from towns such as Caulonia gathered to celebrate the town's patron saint St Hilarion, a model of celebration and cultural identification which other villages subsequently adopted (Cosmini-Rose & O'Connor, 2008). At around the same time community organisations appeared for example, the *Associazione Nazionale Famiglie degli Emigrati Inc.* (ANFE) with the purpose of helping newly arrived Italian migrants (Associazione Nazionale Famiglie degli Emigrati Inc, 2003).

These organisations have adapted their roles in meeting the changing needs of the Italian migrants, most recently those brought about by the ageing of many of their members and the Italian-born population generally. The Society of St Hilarion now operates several residential aged facilities primarily for Italians in the western suburbs, the location in which many Italians settled (The Society of St Hilarion Inc, 2007). Other organisations including the Italian Benevolent Foundation Inc., (IBF) were set up expressly to establish and operate benevolent institutions to provide residential and community care to older Italians (Italian Benevolent Foundation Inc, 2011). IBF and many other aged-care providers have in recent years evolved further to provide community-based care services, certificate III training in aged care as Registered Training Organisations (RTO), and assisting main-stream services to incorporate multicultural principles in to their provision of care (Italian Benevolent Foundation Inc, 2011).

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of the post-war migration wave from which I drew participants for this study for readers not familiar with South Australia's migration history as context within which to understand the study and findings. Issues discussed in this chapter did not influence the analysis of data at least consciously.

Post World War II was a period unique in Australia's migration history for two reasons; the number of migrants received in a relatively brief period and for the first time migrants came in large numbers from non-English speaking countries, in particular the Mediterranean region of southern Europe.

Overwhelmingly, the Australian government sought migrants to work in factories and on infrastructure projects as unskilled labourers. Many did not speak English on arrival and their level of education was frequently limited to a few years in primary school, with few progressing to secondary education. Some had no education and were illiterate in their birth language, as was the case with several older participants in my study. Chain migration often saw members from extended families, villages or regions settle in particular suburbs or towns, which in turn influenced their opportunities to find work, develop social networks, and learn English. Factor such as these subsequently influenced the manner in which participants find everyday information.

In the next chapter, I discuss the methodology used in this study and the reasons for my choice of adopting CGTM to investigate the information needs older Greek and Italian migrants in South Australia.

CHAPTER 3 CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I locate this thesis in a broader methodological discussion to describe and discuss my reasons to adopt Constructivist Grounded Theory Method (CGTM) for the research. As such, this chapter presents the more theoretical aspects that underpin the methods adopted for this study, which I discuss in the next chapter. I begin by discussing the theoretical framework, which supports CGTM, the historical development of Grounded Theory Method (GTM) and aspects of the method that have led to its broad application and the subsequent development of a constructivist perspective.

The highly contested nature of GTM is well known and illustrated by the well-established differences in interpretation of the original method as subsequently published separately by Glaser and Strauss, as too is Glaser's robust rejection of the versions of GTM developed by Strauss and others. While acknowledging this history is at times long, I discuss these well-documented differences to inform the development of more theoretically contemporary forms of the method. By adopting an epistemic perspective to this evolutionary history, I discuss how subsequent changes have addressed shortcomings in the original method in support of choosing CGTM.

3.2 Philosophical Pillars of this Research

In this section, I describe my ontological and epistemological positions, which lead me to adopt a constructivist form of GTM. Before doing so, I discuss the meanings of the terms 'constructionism' and 'constructivism' and their use in this thesis. Both terms represent interpretivist paradigms, their meanings differentiated by the extent to which a social dimension influences meaning (Crotty, 1998) In constructivism the emphasis is the on the role of cognitive processes of individuals in constructing experiences; whereas constructionists acknowledge the construction of

reality through the interaction of people with their social world(s). The approach taken and findings of this thesis exhibit aspects of both social constructionism and constructivism in that they consider aspects of social, or shared construction of realities, and the influence of cognitive processes on these constructions. Frequently, the terms constructionism and constructivism are used interchangeably (Crotty, 1998; Andrews, 2012) and described by the generic term 'constructivism' (Charmaz, 2000, 2006a; Williamson, 2013).

Discussing my ontological and epistemological positions provides the reader an understanding of how I view the world(s), as the personal perspective on such matters influences the form of GTM adopted (Annells, 1997). A constructivist approach requires the co-construction of reality by both the participant and researcher; finding ways to address the power imbalances that exist in the relationships with participants; and the researcher acknowledging the voices of participants in writing (Mills et al., 2006a). Consistent with these requirements of a constructivist approach is the topic of axiology which, as the study of values, brings the role of researcher in to the discussion of the research process (Ponterotto, 2005).

Described as ontologically relativist and epistemologically subjectivist, (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Mills et al., 2006a, 2006b) CGTM repositions and defines how this form of the method views reality and produces knowledge (Charmaz, 2009). Ontology in dealing with the 'what is' sets out to define the nature of reality (Crotty, 1998: 10). Constructivists accept the existence of multiple realities which require the involvement of a mind and are socially and experientially based (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) unlike positivists who argue to the contrary that the one 'real' reality is observable, measurable and 'apprehendable' (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Adopting a subjectivist epistemology assumes that knowledge is created in the interaction between researcher and participant (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) and while there exists this 'dialectic unit', 'Knowledge is ... inherently structured by the subjectivity of the researcher' (Breuer & Roth, 2003: para 1). Hence, constructivists accept multiple truths as being co-constructed by the interaction between researcher and participant that, consistent with the interpretative tradition, are relative to specific circumstances existent at the time (Benoliel, 1996). By adopting a constructivist perspective in this thesis, I acknowledged both the (re)constructed as well as co-constructed nature of

data resulting from the role of interpreters in language translation, effects of the passage of time on the recollection by participants and their reconstruction of events from the past, and my interpretation of their telling.

While epistemology is about how we know, there are variations of the definition. To Fallis (2006: 475), 'Epistemology looks at what knowledge is and how people come to know things about the world.' This is similar to Crotty's definition referred to above as in each of these definitions the authors refer to 'knowing' or 'knowledge', both concepts being of relevance to studies involving functional knowledge and information behaviour. Fallis (2006) goes further in referring to peoples understanding of the world, an issue central to my study of how and why older migrants obtain and use information in their everyday lives.

Distinctions between ontology and epistemology tend to disappear when considering a constructivist approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), or tend to merge more generally (Crotty, 1998). Crotty (1998: 11) cautions against the over-emphasis of ontology in research and the consequent confusion caused by merging of the term with epistemology, suggesting retaining the term for discussions of 'being'. Epistemology has more practical implications for the way in which research is conducted and the results presented (Crotty, 1998).

As this study employs CGTM, and is about information seeking and use for everyday activities it seems particularly relevant to consider the epistemological foundations of the chosen methodology. Paradoxically, little of the literature on information seeking and more broadly that of information behaviour has a sound epistemological foundation, as illustrated by Meyers and colleagues (2007) who observed that:

The literature of information seeking has tread lightly in the area of epistemology, in spite of the obvious connections between epistemic practices, individually and socially, and information behaviour.

This is a perspective supported by the lack of theoretical grounding evident in the extensive body of research conducted in information studies and its various sub-categories. As Jarvelin and Vakkari (1993: 139) found:

...both methodological discussion and analysis of the foundations of the discipline are a prerequisite for a more varied use of research strategies and a more general articulation of research problems.

Perhaps Strübing (2007) best encapsulates the justification when he calls for academic rigour and explication rather than simply sharing the faith in the method expressed by Glaser when he encourages researchers to, 'trust grounded theory, it works! Just do it, use it and publish!' (Glaser, 1998: 254). I concur with Strübing's (2007) perspective when he argues science is not about faith but rather justification of the claims made in the context of the theoretical and methodological framework.

From her constructivist perspective, Charmaz (1990) argues that making transparent a researcher's epistemic perspective can enrich analysis by clarifying concepts of reality and enhancing research processes. Without such an explanation, Jarvelin and Vakkari (1993: 139) argue that research risks not applying 'more varied use of research strategies and a more general articulation of research problems'. Each step undertaken in research includes assumptions about realities and human knowledge that influence how researchers plan research, collect and interpret data and report results (Crotty, 1998). This theorising makes transparent these assumptions and forms an integral function of any research; as Crotty (1998: 17) suggests, 'Without it, research is not research'. Therefore, understanding the underlying philosophies of research is important for several reasons: to appreciate the interrelationships of the selected methodology and methods; as a defence of one's chosen position; and to avoid confusion when discussing theoretical positions (Crotty, 1998). Further, a statement of ontological position defines the researcher's personal perspective of the world and his/her reality. Finally, consideration of epistemology is particularly relevant when discussing GTM in its various forms because of the role which contemporary epistemology played in its creation and the ways in which developments in epistemology influenced the subsequent development of the method (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Bryant, 2009)

In summary, the results of applying the framework suggested by Crotty (1998: 4) to the approach I adopted for my research are summarised in Figure 3 and illustrate both the relationship of each of the elements and their compatibility in providing a suitable framework in which to conduct this research.

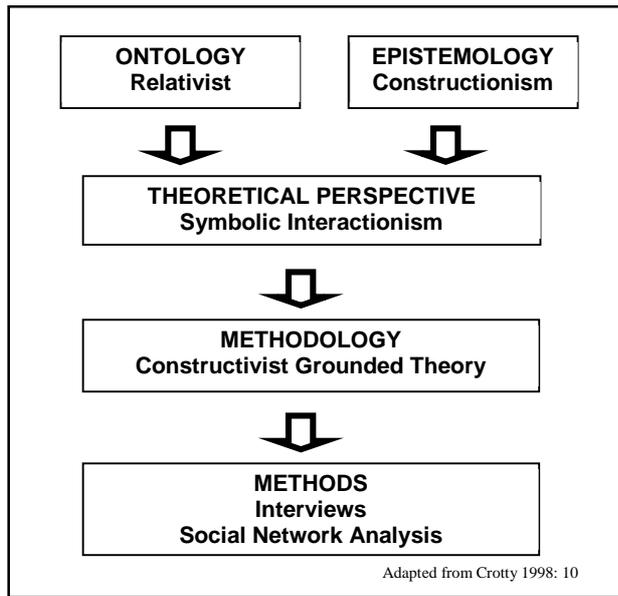


Figure 3: Theoretical Framework Underpinning this Thesis

3.3 Choosing an Appropriate Research Paradigm

A key aim of my research is to develop an understanding and a subsequent theoretical rendering of how older Greek and Italian migrants in an English-speaking country found information they needed in their everyday lives. My interest was more in the personal experiences of migrants in gathering what they needed to know and why this was so rather than any quantification of how often they used a particular means to access information. How and why participants use any one means of finding information is of interest but any quantification of the frequency of use of that medium is peripheral to this study. Therefore, I have adopted CGTM as a suitable qualitative approach and one that can accommodate the necessary aspects of the study.

Philosophical differences are central to the qualitative-quantitative debate (Abusabha & Woelfel, 2003). Qualitative researchers see themselves as responsive while seeing their quantitative counterparts as forcing human activities in to rigid categories when observing and recording human behaviour. Qualitative (interpretivist) research arising as a reformist movement in the 1970s (Schwandt, 2000) challenged the positivist hegemony of the period and provided, at least in part, a stimulus for Glaser

and Strauss (1967) to develop GTM in order to challenge the quantitative orthodoxy at the time.

Researchers have a smorgasbord of methods from which to choose when undertaking research (Baum, 1995) and, as with any task, selection of the most suitable tools for the job is an essential first step to achieving an outcome of satisfactory standard. Adopting a pluralist approach is one way that enables the selection of a method or methods best suited to address the research questions (Barker & Pistrang, 2005; Starks & Trinidad, 2007).

This was not necessary in my research, as the focus was an interpretative approach to understanding how older migrants found everyday information they needed and the effects their lived experiences, including migration, have had on their capabilities to do so. Hence, a qualitative approach was an appropriate framework for my study as I sought to understand the social context in which a phenomenon occurred, how people felt and what influenced their decision. It was about studying individuals' experiences in their natural settings to assist me to make sense of their socially constructed realities. Therefore, I chose CGTM as a suitable methodology consistent with my constructivist epistemology as a perspective that specifically acknowledges and accommodates issues around (re)construction of data because of recall of events by participants and in many cases a need for language translation for me to understand the data. As such this approach affords an understanding of the meanings flowing from the actions of participants (Pickard & Dixon, 2004). CGTM is an appropriate method for this study because it is about generating theory that is grounded in the realities of the social worlds of the participants, integral to which are social interactions and social structures, which embed the everyday information seeking activities of participants. Acknowledging the construction of multiple realities and adopting a naturalistic approach to the research enables me to consider the complexity and interactivities present in the everyday lives of participants more closely representing their contextual experiences. Considering the social influences on participants is important because to not do so risks exposing a study to the criticism of being what Benoliel (1996: 412) describes as 'a GT approach', due to the absence of key aspects of the method considered necessary for 'GT research'.

3.4 Constructivist Grounded Theory Method

Glaser and Strauss (1967) in *Discovery* invite readers to use grounded theory flexibly and to explore possible new directions for the method, a position reaffirmed later by Glaser (1978) which he subsequently described as ‘an adopt-and-adapt method’ (Glaser, 1999: 845). Contrary to these invitations to innovate, many researchers who took up the challenge to evolve GTM were strongly criticised by Glaser for the changes that he claims lead to qualitative data analysis (QDA) or a lack of understanding of the method as he previously described. For example, he criticised Strauss and Corbin for forcing data (Glaser, 1992); Charmaz for remodelling GTM through a constructivist perspective (Glaser, 2002a); Morse for not being clear as to the distinction between conceptual and description, (Glaser, 2002b); Creswell for default remodelling of GTM as QDA, (Glaser, 2004a); and Lincoln and Guba in their application of Natural Inquiry to GTM (Glaser, 2004b).

Despite Glaser’s frequent and at times personal criticisms of anyone who proposed changes contrary to his views of what constitutes GTM, Charmaz (2006a) accepted the invitation by Glaser and Strauss to use grounded theory flexibly, proposing a constructivist perspective as an attempt to address what she perceived as shortcomings in the positivist aspects of the original method. Adopting this perspective offers a contemporary revision of classic grounded theory as explicated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Glaser (1978). Charmaz (2006a) views GTM as a method which offers flexible principles and practices rather than prescriptive directions to be followed rigidly. Along with other authors including Bryant (2002) and Clarke (2003), she argues for the application of contemporary methodological perspectives to the use of these basic guidelines (Charmaz, 2006a). A constructivist perspective retains useful aspects of the method along with a strong commitment to the pragmatist foundations. Charmaz (2009: 129) argues that her use of a pragmatist perspective differs from that evident in *Discovery* in that it is reversed and turns back, ‘examining ourselves, our research situations, and our research process and products’. In so doing, it requires an examination of how the researcher constructs and reconstructs reality.

Unlike Glaser and Strauss, Charmaz (2006a: 10) argues that researchers construct

grounded theories as, ‘an *interpretive* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it’ (emphasis in original). Researchers are not the distant observers of phenomena through a one-way mirror of the natural world (Locke, 1996), but rather active participants in the interpretation of data and construction of theory who bring to the task their experiences, perceptions and knowledge.

3.4.1 Agreed necessary components of GTM

Subsequent development of the original method described by Glaser and Strauss is now so extensive as for several authors to question whether GTM is a method in its own right or more appropriately described as ‘a compendium of methods’ (Corbin, 2009: 41) or a ‘constellation of grounded theory methods’ (Charmaz, 2009: 135). Further, Bryant and Charmaz (2007: 11) suggest GTM should be considered as a ‘family of methods’ with shared characteristics yet at the same time possessing unique features. These common threads include comparative analysis of data, theoretical sampling, writing memos and theoretical saturation of categories (Corbin, 2009). GTM being described as a family of methods suggests the existence of a variety of methods claiming some attribute of GTM; like siblings sharing similar traits but different. In some cases these differences are so great, or the adoption of the term ‘grounded theory’ by some researchers in an attempt to legitimise inductive qualitative research, as to extend the range of variation beyond credibility. Charmaz (2009) warns of the dangers of too much diversity in interpretation of what constitutes GTM and suggests the extent of these differences between variants of the method and the frequent use of the term ‘grounded theory’ in an attempt to legitimise inductive qualitative research tests the credibility of claims of using GTM.

In subsequent sections I discuss in further detail each of these characteristics which several authors identify as being core to GTM, regardless of the particular form, when compared with the method as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987), without which a method should not be considered as Grounded Theory (Hood, 2007). A reading of the literature dealing with what a researcher must do to claim the method as GTM identifies agreement among authors recognised as experienced in the use and development of GTM. These findings are summarised in Table 3 and while they illustrate agreement on the core elements of GTM, they do not represent an exhaustive study of the literature but do show agreement on four

major components, namely,

- constant comparison method,
- theoretical sampling,
- memo writing and theoretical sorting and,
- theoretical saturation.

This limited comparison shows a high degree of congruence between the classical (Glaserian in particular) form of GTM and Charmaz’s constructivist form. This supports Charmaz’s (2006a: 9) stated intention when developing a constructivist version of GTM to ‘return to past grounded theory emphases’ by adopting and adapting many of the components identified in the original method to present a more flexible and contemporary version. I represent in brackets (✓) Charmaz’s position on the role of identifying a basic social process so as to acknowledge the complexity of issues she raises around identifying **the** basic social process and the importance this process has to participants, whether there are multiple processes operating in the setting or the influence the researcher (Charmaz, 2006a).

Table 3: Agreed Necessary Components of GTM

	Glaser & Strauss (1967)	Weiner (2010)	Charmaz & Bryant (2010)	Charmaz (2006a)	Hood (2007)	Locke (2007)	Corbin (2009)	Urquhart (2003)
Simultaneous data collection and analysis	✓	✓		✓				
Analytical codes from data	✓		✓	✓				✓
Constant Comparison method	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Memo writing and theoretical sorting	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Theoretical sampling	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Literature review after analysis	✓			✓		✓		
Theoretical saturation	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
Identify a Basic Social Process	✓			(✓)				

(Source: Compiled by the author)

As I indicated in the introduction, I have separated the discussion of the theoretical aspects of methodology and the practicalities of methods employed in this thesis. In the next four sub-sections, I discuss the theoretical aspects of these components of CGTM before I discuss their application as methods in collecting and analysing the research data in Chapter Four.

3.4.2 Constant comparison

Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed the constant comparison method as an alternate way in which to analyse qualitative data by combining explicit coding procedures with the process of theory development. Its purpose is to develop more systematically theory by putting some discipline into the vagueness and flexibility, which Glaser and Strauss acknowledged as necessary in the creative aspect of theory development. Glaser (2003: 24) sees use of the constant comparison method as a way to avoid 'data overwhelm' through early data analysis and subsequent delimiting of the issue.

Constant comparison is seen as an essential element of GTM, along with theoretical sampling (Holton, 2007) or engagement by the researcher (Charmaz, 2006a). In the constructivist form of GTM, Charmaz sees the comparative methods as tools used by the researcher in managing the various interactions taking place, which shape the development of the theoretical understanding and representation of the issue as a grounded theory.

Use of constant comparison method and theoretical sampling are inextricably linked in GTM (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in that constant comparison requires theoretical sampling to enable comparison of factors and explication of their relations in the process being investigated (Dey, 2007).

3.4.3 Theoretical sampling

Recognised by Covan (2007) as being the best explanation of the process, Glaser and Strauss (1967: 45) described theoretical sampling as:

[T]he process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his (*sic*) data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them in order to develop his (*sic*) theory as it

emerges. This process of data collection is *controlled* (emphasis in original) by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal.

Often researchers mistake theoretical sampling for sampling associated with addressing research questions or gathering population statistics (Charmaz, 2006a) or fail to use it in a way which delivers its full potential in developing categories (Mruck & Mey, 2007). Used correctly, theoretical sampling provides theoretical exploration of categories (Dey, 2007) guiding the researcher where and whom to sample next in pursuit of further development of concepts and theory; an approach which Charmaz (2006a: 103) describes as being, ‘strategic, specific and systematic’. Recognising its central role, along with that of constant comparison, Urquhart and colleagues (2010: 15) argue, ‘that, theoretical sampling is the single most assurance that a theory works’, in doing so exhibiting a realist perspective.

3.4.4 Writing and sorting memos

Writing memos is central to developing grounded theory and begins when the coding of data starts and continues through all stages of analysis of data to the writing of theory (Glaser, 1978; Charmaz, 2006a). The researcher uses memos to capture ideas that arise during data analysis, interrupting the process if necessary to catch these thoughts and conceptual connections as they happen. Writing memos encourages the researcher to analyse data early in the collection process with the resultant analysis and connections made providing stimulus to pursue new directions based on what participants are saying about the topic.

Glaser (1978) suggests the four goals of memo writing are: being able to theoretically develop ideas, importantly to do so with complete freedom, to store them in a form that enables later searching, and sorting. Memos offer the researcher a place to formulate ideas, move them around, expand them all the time developing ways of knowing as the research process proceeds (Lempert, 2007).

3.4.5 Theoretical saturation

In qualitative research, samples need to be both representative and guided by the emerging theory (Stern, 2007) but do not rely on size as a measure of adequacy. Instead researchers are encouraged ‘to collect data until saturation occurs’ (Morse, 1995: 147). Theoretical saturation ‘means that no additional data are being found

whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 61). It is achieved through constant comparison of incidents in the data until the process produces no new properties or dimensions from further coding and comparison (Holton, 2007).

In a way similar to the need to demonstrate how a researcher practises reflexivity, Bowen (2008) argues the need to explain how saturation is achieved and provide supporting evidence of it happening. Dey (2007) argues there is a need to further refine the concept, suggesting a researcher never knows when saturation is reached as there may be subsequent revelation of new information following completion of a research project. Perhaps Strauss and Corbin (1998: 136) were aware of this potentiality and the practicalities of research when they wrote:

Saturation is more a matter of reaching the point in the research where collecting additional data seems counter-productive; the 'new' that is uncovered does not add that much more to the explanation at this time. Or, as is sometimes the situation, the researcher runs out of time, money or both.

Issues raised by Dey (2007) support concerns expressed by Charmaz (2006a) when deciding whether saturation is sufficient to avoid premature completion of analysis and development of analyses which lack depth. Approaches offered as ways to deal with this problem include being open to the occurrence of saturation, returning to the field to gather further data and to recode earlier data in search of new leads (Charmaz, 2006a).

3.5 Ensuring Quality in this Thesis

There exists wide, if not total, agreement amongst researchers that the aim of research is to produce a quality product (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). However, difficulties arise in defining what constitutes 'quality' and how best to measure or assess it.

I have chosen to use the term 'quality' in discussing measures of methodological and analytical soundness of this research rather than terms often associated with other paradigms; for example quantitative research, rigour (Sandelowski, 1993; Hall & Callery, 2001; Sharts-Hopko, 2002); validity (Lomborg & Kirkevold, 2003). The

term ‘credibility’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999), associated with qualitative research is subsumed in the generic term ‘quality’.

I adopted the criteria proposed by Charmaz (2006a) as appropriate to assess the quality of this thesis recognising the need to apply criteria suitable for a constructivist paradigm (Pickard & Dixon, 2004) and the inappropriateness of transferring criteria between paradigms, (Koch & Harrington, 1998; Bryant, 2002; Tobin & Begley, 2004). Criteria proposed by Charmaz being consistent with those defined in COREQ-32 (Tong et al., 2007) and are broadly categorised by three domains – research team and reflexivity, study design and data analysis, and reporting.

Kvale (1995: 19) argues in post-modernist thinking the objectivist reality which validates knowledge, ‘is replaced by the social and linguistic construction of a perspectival reality where knowledge is validated through practice’, achieved through quality of investigation, dialogue and communication and through actions. In contrast, Bochner (2000: 269) confirms an objectivist perspective in that, ‘criteria are not found; they are made’.

Further, Koch and Harrington (1998) suggest a less formulaic and a more reflexive approach to defining quality of the entire research process. They propose using internally generated evaluation criteria such that detailed writing and a reflexive account of the research process replace set rules to establish rigour of qualitative research and that readers ‘decide for themselves whether the text is believable or plausible (our terms for rigour)’ (Koch & Harrington, 1998: 887).

In discussing issues associated with multilingual translation, a topic relevant to my study, Larkin and colleagues (2007) caution against using a narrow positivist definition of rigour in an interpretist paradigm. Such is the multitude of positions taken in relation to the relevance of the concept of validity to qualitative research Underwood and colleagues (2010) support the need for credibility in studies suggesting that researcher reflexivity is one way to achieve this and which I discuss in the next section.

Epistemological diversity (Flick, 2006), difficulties in applying criteria across paradigms (Sandelowski, 1986) and more generally tensions present in agreeing appropriate means by which to evaluate quality (Angen, 2000) make defining and evaluating quality of qualitative research difficult. Madill and colleagues (2000) argue the need for researchers to clearly define their epistemological position, conduct their work in a manner consistent with this position and present findings in a way to allow satisfactory evaluation. Consistent with this approach, I have outlined and discussed my epistemological position in relation to the research to provide a theoretical framework for the methods and have used extensive quotes from participants in presenting my findings as ways to allow evaluation.

Evaluating quality of GTM research has evolved in ways consistent with its development from its positivist origins to the more contemporary constructivist form. Glaser (1978, 1992) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) subsequently developed criteria to assess quality of GTM yet ignored the social construction of data (Hall & Callery, 2001). Glaser (1978) added a further criteria of *modifiability* to those of *fit*, *relevance* and the theory must *work*, first proposed in *Discovery*. Strauss and Corbin (1990) similarly argued the theory must *fit* the data and the theory as well as possess *understanding*, demonstrate *generality* and *control* consistent with a positivist perspective. Criteria chosen to evaluate quality must be consistent with the perspective of the methodology and appropriate to provide a checklist to evaluate critically the steps in developing theory and it is the criteria proposed by Charmaz (2006a).

Developed to reflect the epistemic repositioning of the constructivist form of GTM, Charmaz (2006a: 182-183) proposes four criteria suitable for evaluating findings from CGTM studies:

- *Credibility* – demonstrate intimate familiarity with the topic through sufficient data to allow the reader to form an independent assessment consistent with your claims;
- *Originality* – offering new insights or new conceptual renderings of the data to extend or further develop current ideas;
- *Resonance* – providing categories which reflect the fullness of the studied

phenomenon revealing liminal and taken-for granted meanings; linking larger collectivities and individual lives with your analysis making sense to participants; and,

- *Usefulness* – offering interpretations participants can use in their every-day lives, suggesting generic processes examined for tacit implications; stimulating further research contributing to a better society.

More broadly, Tracy (2010) proposes an expansive and flexible model consisting of eight key markers suitable to measure quality across different qualitative paradigms. These are, worthy topic, rich rigor, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, ethical and meaningful coherence. In addition to providing a common language of quality, Tracy proposes her model may help inform audiences not receptive to the benefits of qualitative research and to encourage dialogue between researchers across different paradigms.

The two models share elements considered by the authors as beneficial in evaluating research (Charmaz, 2006a; Tracy, 2010) and consistent with criteria contained in the COREQ-32 checklist (Tong et al., 2007). Both propose credibility and resonance specifically and further comparison shows different titles share common elements suggesting considerable agreement on what constitutes suitable criteria to assess quality in qualitative research. In Chapter Ten, (section 10.4), I present and discuss the processes used to maintain quality throughout this study along with an assessment of outcomes against the four criteria proposed by Charmaz (2006a).

3.5.1 Applying reflexivity in this thesis

Reflexivity has become increasingly important such as to be an integral part of interpretative research. Hall and Callery (2001) argue that reflexivity can enhance the rigour of a grounded theory as it can help develop theoretical sensitivity and increase transparency of the research. Taking a reflexive stance is an integral component of CGTM (Charmaz, 2006a) and one which requires more than simply telling the reader this is so but showing it to be the case through the manner in which the research is undertaken and written about (Stige et al., 2009). Reflexivity is important as I accept the reader will assess my reflexivity from their interpretation of the approach I took to the research and my reporting of the topic. As a first step in

this process, I will offer some personal reflections on my previous experiences that influence my thinking and recognition of the influences these experiences are likely to have on my approach to my research. In order to be reflexive I needed to have an awareness of my prior assumptions as recommended by Dey (2007) and to understand how they affect the research, and my interpretations and the participants' interpretations.

In acknowledging that a constructivist perspective engages the social context from which data are co-constructed by researcher and researcher-participant interaction, unlike the objectivist approach which sees data as real and standing apart from the context, (Charmaz, 2006a), I am aware of the concern expressed by Gibson (2007: 446) that using context in an unreflexive manner may accidentally promote a 'naïve social determinism'. As the data collection and analysis continued concurrently, the process of constant comparison helped me identify issues that were important to participants. Many participants reported experiences of food shortages, political instability, children at risk of being kidnapped by rebels and civil unrest, which would to many observers be seen as incentives to migrate; I was moved by such stories of hardship. Many of these statements could have justified an emotive value-laden code but instead I used more neutral and possibly less expressive terms when analysing what participants told me. It was difficult and required me to critically assess each statement, compare it with those made by other participants and chose carefully words to describe categories.

The original GTM (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and subsequent developments (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987; Corbin & Strauss, 1990) presented the researcher as a neutral observer whose values, life experience and social definition did not influence the research process. Consequently, these early iterations of the method did not discuss the role of the researcher. Much later Corbin did acknowledge the need to consider the experiences and beliefs of researchers as they influence the interactions they have with participants (Cisneros-Puebla, 2004). Following the 'crisis of representation debates' of the 1980s (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and more recently, discussion of reflexivity in qualitative research in particular that which was 'culturally co-constructed' became an essential part of research (Mruck & Mey, 2007: 517).

In setting out on the PhD journey, I profess to not fitting the profile of a ‘typical’ postgraduate student stereotypically thought of as young, recently graduated with Honours and taking the next logical step in an academic career. Instead, I return to academe many years after first graduating in medical science and subsequently working in varied roles, including for a period of several years in positivist scientific research. I therefore come to this project with values and beliefs accumulated from experiences of participation in the workforce and everyday life. What is more, I was embarking on a study requiring an understanding and the application of appropriate qualitative methods to the topic of research, knowing I must manage my positivist experience, a qualitative researcher who has to deal with a history of training and working in quantitative analysis. I agree with Suddaby (2006) when he suggests ongoing reflection is not easy, especially for researchers not familiar with a mode of enquiry in which the researcher is a central element of the process. With this awareness, I set out to find a suitable philosophical framework to support my research project and with which I am comfortable.

3.6 Grounded Theory Method

GTM is seen as being at the vanguard of the ‘qualitative revolution’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994: ix), recognised as both the most contested and a widely used qualitative research method (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007: 1, 3). Possibly more popular than ethnography (Morse, 2009), described by Ponterotto (2005: 133) as being ‘one of the most established and respected qualitative methods’, popular with researchers across a wide range of disciplines and subject areas (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

GTM is particularly relevant to the focus of this thesis. In a way similar to ethnography, it offers a way to explore the issue of finding and making use of information from participants’ perspectives and to report the findings in way that allows the reader to hear the voices of a group often ignored due to difficulties associated with cultural or language differences. Further, the constructivist approach accommodates issues associated with the re(construction) by participants of past events from many years previous, role of interpreters and language translation in constructing data from interviews and my interpretation of these data.

3.6.1 The 'discovery' of Grounded Theory

GTM emerged in the mid-1960s from the studies by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in to how patients and staff dealt with dying in hospitals and published in two books, *Awareness of Dying*, (Glaser & Strauss, 1965) and *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, (Discovery)* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). At a time when quantitative orthodoxy dominated the research agenda Glaser and Strauss set out to challenge this dominance (Benoliel, 2001) and produce a qualitative method of analysis of equal status and capable of producing results equivalent to those obtained by quantitative methods. Described as a manifesto 'for freedom from the sterile methods that permeated social sciences at the time.' (Star, 2007: 77) and by Bryant (2009: para 2) as offering 'a genuine alternative to the quantitative agenda of the time,' *Discovery* contained little in way of description of the method, the academic traditions of the authors, or the philosophical perspective(s) supporting the method.

The lack of attention to methodological aspects and an explication of a clear theoretical framework were to provide fertile ground for subsequent development of variants of the method along with widely differing interpretation of philosophical perspectives.

3.6.2 Implications of the divergence of views

Following the publication of *Discovery* in 1967, Glaser and Strauss embarked on separate professional journeys as they further explicated Grounded Theory and in Strauss's case a distinguished academic career. That co genitors of a method subsequently and separately develop different interpretations of the original is often a cause for discussion. However, changes to the method and the shift in position expressed by Strauss and the subsequent very public rejection of these changes by Glaser further fuelled the interest in the differences in perspectives. This divergence of views and subsequent discussions contributed to both the nature and future directions the method was to take leading to the development of a constructivist form.

In 1978, Glaser wrote *Theoretical Sensitivity* as an elaboration of the original method described in 1967 to update the original publication and to explain the theoretical

sensitivity analysts needed if they were to ‘render theoretically their discovered substantive, grounded categories’, (Glaser, 1978: 1). Strauss too authored a separate work *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists (QA)* in which he explains GTM from his perspective, (Strauss, 1987) and with Juliet Corbin co-authored *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Technique (Basics)* (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Glaser (1992) argues that aspects of methods developed by Strauss lead to the forcing of data through the use of his coding matrix and changes to his coding processes. Publication of *Basics* attracted criticism from not only Glaser but also others in relation to both theoretical and practical aspects. Bryant (2009) records the shift in theoretical positions evident in each author’s subsequent writings as being unexpected given their respective backgrounds such as to represent a reversal of roles. Strauss’s position evident in *Basics* negated his pragmatist heritage and was considered ‘at best philosophically naïve with largely unexamined positivist or realist assumptions.’ (Bryant, 2009: para 12). Glaser, on the other hand in subsequent writings continued to promote the data-driven more open approach evident in *Discovery*.

Students of Strauss and Glaser during the 1960s and 1970s recognised differences in approaches they took to teaching GTM (Shah et al., 2001). If this was so, it should be no surprise as Glaser and Strauss brought different and competing perspectives to GTM from their dramatically different professional backgrounds. Charmaz (2009) quoting Glaser acknowledged lessons learned early in his career when working collaboratively with Strauss was to deal constructively with the differences they had regarding methodology and theoretical frameworks (Glaser, 1991).

Glaser, having trained at Columbia University in rigorous quantitative methods with Paul Lazarsfeld, brought dispassionate empiricism, codified analysis, the use of specific language and an emphasis on emergent discoveries to his work with Strauss. Further, he proposed building theories to offer an abstract explication of a social phenomenon based, or grounded, in data, consistent with the approach proposed by Robert Merton (Charmaz, 2006a).

Strauss brought a pragmatist perspective to his work in the 1960s from his early studies whilst at the Chicago University influenced by the works of George Mead, Robert Park and Herbert Blumer (Bryant, 2009). The Chicago School of Sociology recognised for its long tradition in pragmatist philosophy and ethnographic and qualitative research. As a result, Strauss relied on field research for data; his pragmatism saw him focus on action considering language, meaning and agency of individuals. Strauss is acknowledged as bringing together pragmatism and SI through his melding of the ideas of Dewey and Mead (Bryant, 2009).

Strauss did not respond to Glaser's criticisms of his work or to subsequent publications by Glaser. What was more significant to GTM and its application was that both of the co-genitors of GTM did not in any of their subsequent works address fundamental issues of data, the role of the researcher and induction, issues considered of greater importance and which left GTM open to attack by its critics (Bryant, 2009).

GTM lacks a defined theoretical perspective but not sufficiently to prevent analysis of data. However, it is likely this lack of clarity, the disparate backgrounds of Glaser and Strauss and the failure to resolve their divergent ontological and epistemological perspectives provided preconditions for subsequent divergence of the method (Charmaz, 2009). In this regard, Strübing (2007) agrees with Charmaz (2009: 129) suggesting a more thorough explication of the theoretical basis of GTM would avoid misunderstandings of the method's procedures and epistemological foundation. It was this lack of theoretical definition which Bryant (2009: para 13) describes as 'the epistemological fairytale' which bedevilled the original method that stimulated the development of a constructivist form of the method.

Much has been written about the influences of pragmatist philosophy and ethnographic research of the Chicago School of Sociology which Strauss brought to his research (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Consistent with this discussion, Bryant (2009) argues the need to bring to the fore the relationship between pragmatism and GTM more broadly as a means to address some of the problems associated with the method.

3.6.3 Pragmatism, Symbolic Interactionism and Grounded Theory

Crotty (1998: 62) describes SI, a key element of CGTM as, 'pragmatism in sociological attire'. Pragmatism and SI closely align with and influenced the development and application of GTM commencing with Strauss's academic training at Chicago University. Problems caused by a lack of explication in the case of Strauss and the influence SI had on subsequent developments of a constructivist form of the method which builds on the pragmatist legacy of Strauss further demonstrate this close relationship (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010). Finally, Bryant (2009) argues that applying a pragmatist perspective highlights the central strengths of the method as well offering a way to resolve several difficulties.

Pragmatism is a philosophy in which truth of any statement is assessed in terms of its practical use (A Dictionary of Sociology, 2009.), that is, it 'works' in a practical sense. First use of the term is attributed to William James (1842-1910) who declared the term had been first used by his colleague C S Peirce (1839-1914) almost thirty years earlier (McDermid, 2010). Regardless of who first used the term, James and Pierce, along John Dewey (1859-1952) and George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) were responsible for the development and subsequent enhancement of the philosophy as well as the influence it was to have on subsequent thinking.

As a philosopher and social psychologist Mead was interested in understanding how the concept of human self arises from social interaction especially the role of language as symbols in this interaction (Cronk, 2010). It is this theory, which is central to the theoretical perspective of SI. Herbert Blumer (1969) is credited with the further development of what became known as the Chicago School of symbolic interactionism that emphasises the interpretive process in the construction of meaning. Blumer (1969) made SI attractive by distancing it from the structuralist orientation of functionalism and Marxism and by making less of the philosophical aspects of Mead's work, instead bringing out its methodological implications (Thiele, 2005). Strauss's background in SI arose from his involvement with the Chicago School which is recognised for its emphasis on pragmatist philosophy, Mead's social psychology and ethnographic research (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007: 32).

The role of pragmatism and SI in GTM is greater than just providing a historical context for the development of the method and the subsequent development of constructivist forms. Huber (1973: 275) argues that the epistemology of SI is such to make it 'reflect the social biases of the researcher and of the people whose behaviour is observed.' The original method as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and subsequent Glaserian forms demonstrate a relationship with pragmatism through which theories 'fit' and 'work' (Gibson, 2007: 443). As I discussed earlier in this section, Bryant (2009) argues in favour of adopting a pragmatist approach when considering GTM as it resolves a number of problems with the method as well as emphasising its inherent strengths. Firstly, the ultimate measure of good research should be that it makes a difference (Bryant, 2009: para 102). This in turn supports the position that theories and concepts are tools assessed in terms of their usefulness, which Bryant extends to the method used to create these theories and concepts. Further, as pragmatism assesses truth in terms of its practical use, theories and concepts developed are useful in practice while subject to modifiability and further development. This never-ending aspect of *knowing* rather knowledge requires researchers to understand their own role in the research and brings in aspects including reflexivity, positionality and orientation (Bryant, 2009: para 106). I discussed these issues and the co-construction of data previously in relation to my decision to adopt CGTM for my research.

3.6.4 Defining data in GTM

Data are central to any research as the basis from which codes, categories and finally theories are constructed. GTM is frequently described as a general method (Charmaz, 1990; Melia, 1996; Glaser, 1999; Kendall, 1999), suitable for use with any data or combination of data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1999). It is a method which has by default become associated with the more qualitative data (Glaser, 1999), often those derived from interviews. Charmaz (2006a) argues that quality research and credibility of findings begin with data, and criteria for assessing their quality include usefulness, suitability and sufficiency. Consistent with the contested nature of so many aspects of GTM it is not surprising to find differing perspectives around the nature of data along with methods of collection and analysis, a situation Charmaz (2000: 514) suggests is due possibly to the early development of the method dealing more with 'analytic schemes' than methods of data collection.

Glaser's repeated statement that 'all is data' (Glaser, 1998, 2002a, 2005) and his assumptions about data continue to pose problems for GTM including those arising from misinterpretation of his dictum to mean 'data is all'. (Bryant, 2009: para85). Failure by Strauss and Corbin and Glaser to acknowledge the possibility of others considering data from different perspectives suggests they considered data as 'an unexamined, even *immaculate* concept' (Emphasis in original) (Bryant, 2009: para 86). By adopting a constructivist perspective, I acknowledge the data collected are reconstructions of experiences as narrated by participants and that my interpretation of these data shape my emergent codes (Charmaz, 2000).

Early forms of GTM see data as 'real' and having an objective truth (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2000) from which researchers 'discover' theory (Hallberg, 2006); whereas, constructivist grounded theory acknowledges the active role of the researcher in the co-creation of data not simply the 'harvesting of something that is naturally occurring' (Bryant, 2009: para 82). From Charmaz's (2009: 131) perspective:

Constructivists see data as constructed rather than discovered and we see our analyses as interpretative renderings not as objective reports or the only viewpoint on the topic.

Glaser's perspective remains very much positivist and as such views data as objective truth from which a researcher discovers theory. His position on this and other aspects of GTM remain largely unaffected by developments, which flowed from the academic debates subsequent to the publication of *Discovery*. By the time of these debates and the shift in qualitative research towards a post-modern turn Glaser had left his academic position and did not participate in the discussions affecting theoretical developments, a reason Hallberg (2006) suggests as why Glaser retains a view consistent with the dominant perspective of the 1960s.

Consistent with Bryant's (2009) assertion of the benefits of adopting a pragmatist perspective when considering GTM, Strübing (2007) too adopts a pragmatist approach to define data and reality, acknowledging to do so means reality is in the making, not static and various processes and constructions lay behind empirical data. In this state of indeterminacy a thinking agent is needed 'to carve out an object, to

convert an indeterminate situation into a determinate one' (Shalin, 1986: 10); a researcher taking an active role in data selection and collection (Bryant, 2009) not simply collecting data as suggested by Glaser. This more nuanced understanding of data sees the relations between researcher, research participants and context rather than viewing data as definable material (Strübing, 2007). It also raises issues about theory and how a pragmatist perspective can describe meaning when discussing data in GTM

3.6.5 Status of theory in GTM

The central purpose of all forms of GTM is to develop theories supported by data, a process Glaser and Strauss (1967: 1) describe as 'the discovery of theory from data – systematically obtained and analysed in social research'. The differing interpretations of the term 'theory' in such a range of contexts, from the everyday speculation as to why a team lost a match to serious scientific endeavour in physics and evolution, illustrate the importance of discussing its meaning in context when discussing GTM. An aim of this thesis is to produce a 'middle-range' theory grounded in data collected during this study which explains the studied phenomenon of how older CALD migrants found everyday information. Unlike the grand theories of mid-twentieth century sociology that had no basis in 'systematically analysed data' (Charmaz, 2006a: p7).

In considering their empirical status, Strübing (2007) sees theories positioned along a continuum of knowledge and that theories in GTM start at a very basic level of thinking. Development of theory begins with analysis of the collected data and that interpretation of these data is influenced by previous knowledge of the researcher (Strübing, 2007) consistent with the view of Glaser and Strauss clarified after earlier suggesting the researcher as a *tabula rasa* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 2-3).

Bryant (2009) argues the status of theory in GTM fits the latter definition as any theory is grounded in data and with further work may acquire a recognised status as an explanation for the phenomenon being investigated. To establish the function of theory arising from GTM, Flick (2006) suggests consideration of two points as essential: as 'versions of the world' theories undergo continuous revision and findings should be considered preliminary that may be open to change consistent

with subsequent information. This view of ‘theory as process’ is consistent with the pragmatist perspective of Strauss influenced by the works of Peirce, James, Dewey and Mead (Strübing, 2007). As evident in *Discovery*, ‘the published word is not the final one, but only a pause in the never-ending process of generating theory’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 40). Consistent with this processual nature and Glaser’s (1978) suggested use of gerunds, Charmaz (2006a: 128) prefers to use the term ‘theorising’ as ‘[i]t entails the practical activity of engaging the world and of constructing abstract understandings about and within it.’

Acknowledging the influence of pragmatism on constructivist grounded theory (Bryant, 2009) I accept that the grounded theory which I have co-constructed with participants will likely evolve and develop further in light of new empirical data and perceptions and that readers will judge it on its usefulness and relevance.

3.6.6 Theoretical sensitivity in GTM

The concept of Theoretical Sensitivity is critical and central to CGTM and other forms of GTM (Bryant, 2009) and at the same time its role is considered as paradoxical (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Bryant, 2009). Glaser and Strauss (1967: 46) acknowledged the need for researchers to be ‘theoretically sensitive’ to ‘conceptualize and formulate a theory as it emerges from the data’. Glaser (1992: 27) describes theoretical sensitivity as ‘an ability to generate concepts from data and to relate them according to the normal models of theory in general, and theory development in sociology, in particular.’ This ability to conceptualise requires of the researcher an analytical temperament and competence (Holton, 2007).

Issues arise for researchers when trying to accommodate the concept of emergence of categories from data with advice to delay reading literature related to the topic. Glaser and Strauss (1967: 253) acknowledge difficulties arise in reconciling these conflicting requirements as researchers do not approach the field with a mind free of prior theoretical knowledge as ‘the trick is to line up what one takes as theoretically possible or probable with what one is finding in the field.’ In rejecting the possibility of approaching empirical research free of theoretical preconceptions Kelle (2007) argues that the use of concepts such as theoretical sensitivity represents an attempts to resolve fundamental methodological issues including Glaser’s adherence to

inductivism (Kelle, 2005). Further, Glaser's reliance on 'emergence' suggests to Kelle (2007: 205-206) a hint of 'epistemological fundamentalism' rather than his recognition that the development of categories from data depends on pre-existent theoretical concepts.

In a similar fashion to the experience of trying to define what represents quality research and how to measure it, which I discussed in section 3.5, Bryant (2009) reports challenges in both describing theoretical sensitivity and how researchers may develop the necessary skills; suggesting associating it with abduction may help. Abduction is an innovative way of interpreting collected data in a way for which there are no pre-existing rules to do so thus bringing together rational and creative aspects of research (Reichertz, 2007, 2010). The required dual thinking brings together a process involving systematic inquiry with a form of thinking that is more 'the irrational free-playing mode (Locke, 2007: 569).

Recognising its importance in constructing theory, Charmaz (2006a) proposes theorising as a way to develop theoretical sensitivity. In suggesting a 'theoretical playfulness' in the process, Charmaz makes explicit the connections between the data collected in the field with the theorising undertaken by the researcher in that, 'When you theorize, you reach down to fundamentals, up to abstractions, and probe into experience.' (Charmaz, 2006a: 135). Drawing on the emphasis which gerunds have for action and process (Glaser, 1978), Charmaz reports being able to develop theoretical sensitivity and focus on sequences and connections rather than description of individuals.

My experience in managing an information service and professional relationships with ethno-specific service providers contributed to my theoretical sensitivity in affording me some understanding of issues related to how older people find information they need. Familiarity with the relevant literature and professional experience gained from working in various positions in the human services sector helped me respond to issues raised through interviews in an informed or nuanced manner. Having a theoretical understanding of the issues is not without risks and I remained constantly alert to the danger of my forcing of data because of this prior knowledge during interviews and when analysing data.

3.7 Conclusion

In presenting a discussion of the methodological aspects of the significant developments in GTM that lead to its constructivist form, this chapter has established a theoretical framework for the approach adopted as a method of inquiry for this study. I have argued that the interpretivist approach is an appropriate paradigm and that CGTM accommodates aspects of the study involving (re)construction of data by participants, the role of interpreters and my role in constructing data. This chapter has discussed the influence of pragmatism in the development of GTM and its suggested role in placing the method on a firmer theoretical foundation along with the importance of adopting SI as a theoretical perspective. The pragmatist perspective of 'theory as process' is consistent with the manner in which participants in this study found what they needed to know. The next chapter describes the methods of inquiry and sources of data used in this study.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed a constructivist approach to GTM used in this study. In this chapter, I provide an explication of the methods applied during the process of constructing and analysing data. Following the introduction, in section 4.2, I discuss the recruitment of participants to the project and the reasons for the approach taken.

In section 4.3, I discuss sampling of a population as an important step to provide data relevant to the research questions or topics of interest in the research project. I discuss this important step from a qualitative research perspective and then discuss the theoretical sampling - a form of sampling which is unique to all forms of GTM as an essential process in developing rich grounded theory.

Aspects of data generation, analysis and storage are discussed in section 4.4, including interview process, role of interpreters in generating data, transcribing of audio records of interviews and the subsequent three stage coding process used in CGTM. Next, I discuss measures taken to manage data including using NVivo9 to store and sort codes, writing and role of memos in developing theory and finally the use of qualitative social network analysis to diversify data collection to explicate further participant information behaviour.

Section 4.5 begins with a consideration of ethical aspects of the research.

Subsequent sub-sections discuss institutional ethics committee approval, steps taken to maintain the confidentiality of participant identity and data and, measures taken to provide adequate information about the project in the preferred language of the participants to allow them to give their informed consent. Next, I further discuss the roles which reflexivity and my positionality relative to the participants play in generating data as being part of the research process. Section 4.6 is a short conclusion to this chapter.

4.2 Recruitment of Participants

Choosing a sample of participants or material relevant to the topic of study is an essential first step in any research project. One that arises at each stage during the research process; from identifying the most appropriate group from which to draw participants, convenience sampling, (Morse, 2007) to selecting material for use in presentations of the findings, presentational sampling, (Flick, 2006).

In response to the complexity and extent of this literature addressing the problems associated with sampling, Coyne (1997) analysed critically the use of terms 'selective', 'purposeful' and 'theoretical' when applied to sampling in qualitative research and concluded that theoretical sampling is an example of purposeful sampling which is used in the initial stages of a study. However, she rejects as misleading the views of authors who see all purposeful sampling as being theoretical. Flick (2006) locates the differing perspectives at two poles based on either abstract or concrete criteria. Applying abstract criteria enables a researcher to identify and select material, which, from prior knowledge, is likely to offer a productive source of data needed to address the research question(s).

4.2.1 Purposeful sampling

As the purpose of this study is to understand the information aspects of the experiences of older Greek and Italian migrants it seemed appropriate for me to contact service providers in these communities with the expectation of finding participants likely to meet the research criteria. This approach is consistent with Glaser (1978: 45) noting in the initial stages of a study that researchers 'will go to the groups which they believe will *maximise the possibilities* [italics in original] of obtaining data and leads for more data on their question'.

The 54 participants in the study were first generation migrants from Greece (32) and Italy (22) who came to South Australia during the post-war migration boom and who at the time of the interviews were living in the community in metropolitan Adelaide or the Riverland region. There were 40 females and 14 males in the cohort. The required minimum age was 55 years, with no upper age limit. Ages ranged from 63 to 94 years with an average of 74.1 years. Participants had lived on average in Australia for 46 years, with a range of 16 to 82 years. A more detailed summary of

the characteristics of the study participants is shown in Appendix 2. Recruitment of participants proceeded in three stages consistent with processes consistent with the various forms for GTM (Glaser, 1998; Charmaz, 2006a).

Table 4 provides a summary of the number of participants recruited at each stage and the recruitment source.

Table 4: Sources of Study Participants

Study Stage	Interview Structure	Metropolitan Adelaide				Riverland				Total
		Greek		Italian		Greek		Italian		
		Svc Prov	Non SP	Svc Prov	Non SP	Svc Prov	Non SP	Svc Prov	Non SP	
1	Group	15	-	6	-	10	-	11	-	42
2	Individual	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Couple	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	8
3	Individual (Isolated)	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2

Notes:

Numbers indicate the number of participants

Svc Prov – Clients of and recruited through ethno specific service providers

Non SP – Non-users of service providers recruited through professional networks

Isolated – Linguistically and/or socially isolated participant

For the first stage of the project, I approached organisations in the respective communities to assist me in the purposive selection of participants by distributing information about the project and providing bi-lingual staff to help arrange venues to hold focussed interviews as well as interpreting and translating questions and participants' responses. I recruited forty-two participants in the first stage of the study, involving eight group interviews (four metropolitan, two Riverland).

Consistent with CGTM, data collected from these interviews and the subsequent analysis stimulated topics warranting investigation with subsequent groups or individuals. First, it emerged that participant used these organisations as sources of information or as means to access other sources more broadly. Second, was the centrality of acquisition of English-language, which participants perceived as enabling them to access information from a broader range of sources and assisted them in their acculturation process.

4.2.2 Theoretical sampling

Following the purposeful selection of a sample in the initial stage of the project, I employed theoretical sampling as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Glaser (1998: 157) subsequently illustrates the central nature of theoretical sampling in GTM when he describes its role in guiding subsequent data collection as ‘the where next’ in collecting data, the ‘for what’ according to the codes, and the ‘why’ from the analysis in memos’. Concurrent collection and analysis of data in conjunction with the writing and reviewing of memos guided me to where to collect data related to emergent issues. To progress the conceptual development of categories I sought to interview migrants who did not use ethno specific service providers, or later, to find migrants who did not speak English, to understand the ways in which these issues influenced their ability to find everyday information and to develop categories.

This led to the second phase of interviews with participants whom I recruited through my professional networks. I approached colleagues in the broader Greek and Italian communities to distribute printed information material in Greek or Italian as appropriate about the project to potential participants who met the criteria but who were not members of the organisations that I used to recruit participants previously. Through this approach, I recruited an additional six Greek and four Italian participants with whom I discussed aspects of their information behaviour and explored their social and information networks through adopting qualitative social network analysis, the details of which I discuss in section 4.3.10. During these interviews, the role of English language acquisition again emerged as central to information gathering and participants talked about the difficulties they observed in fellow migrants who had not acquired functional English-language skills. Further, social isolation for these migrants appeared to compound problems caused by a lack of English language. It was therefore pertinent to my study to recruit purposively participants who were linguistically and/or socially isolated to investigate further the influence of English language and social contacts on their capacity to find everyday information.

Recruiting participants for the third stage of data collection proved challenging due to their social and linguistic isolation resulting in them having little or no contact

with the broader Anglo-Australian community and ethno-specific service providers. Identifying and contacting potential participants who met the criteria required considerable effort on my part and assistance from colleagues in the respective communities proved essential. After several unsuccessful attempts to do so, I interviewed two people (one Greek, one Italian) with the assistance of interpreters. Both were linguistically isolated and one was socially isolated due to personal circumstances and health-related issues. I present and discuss the findings as case studies in chapters seven and eight, illustrating the important roles that ethno specific service providers and social networks play in mediating access to services and information.

4.3 Data Generation

Preserving the form and content of analytic findings is central to CGTM, and so in this thesis I have when possible presented my findings in the words of participants incorporating discussion of extant literature in the theoretical analysis of these findings. Each quotation has a unique identifier, which consists of the country of birth and sex of the participant and a series of digits representing the month and year when the interview occurred. Further, some identifiers include a location and the term 'Interpreter' to indicate the quotation used is a representation of the interpreter's translation of the response made by the participant. For example, I use an identifier (Interpreter Greek Female Riverland 0409) when the quote is an English translation by the interpreter of a response from a Greek female participant during interviews held in the Riverland region in April 2009. Use of encoded identifiers protects the anonymity of participants while providing sufficient information to allow for auditing of data if required.

4.3.1 Interview process

It is essential to collect data relevant to the purpose of a research project in a form consistent with the epistemological framework of the methodology. Sandelowski (2002) describes four major categories of data relevant to CGTM as being: artefacts, documents, observations and interviews, of which the interview, in its various forms, is the most frequently used means of generating data for qualitative research (Nunokoosing, 2005). For the purpose of this study, I employed focussed interviews in groups and with individuals during various stages of data collection. Whether I

interviewed groups, couples or individuals depended on the availability of participants and the stage of data collection. Following the initial round of group interviews organised with the assistance of service providers I needed to interview participants selected in a way consistent with theoretical sampling to explore further topics that emerged during previous interviews.

Initially developed by Robert Merton (Merton & Kendall, 1946; Merton, 1987) and used extensively in market research (Lezaun, 2007) the focussed interview is now widely used across a diversity of contexts including health research and social sciences (Colucci, 2007; Culley et al., 2007). Conflation of the terms focussed interview and focus group is common and congruence of the intended purpose of each are points noted by Merton (1987: 555) who continues to favour the former term as focus group participants do not possess ‘a common identity or a continuing unity, shared norms and goals,’ recognised attributes of groups.

Guidelines developed for use in focussed interviews by Merton and Kendall (1946) remain broadly relevant for use today (Colucci, 2007) as demonstrated by their application in my research. These include:

- *participants known to have been involved in a specific situation* – all experienced the processes of migration and in stage one were clients of an ethno specific service provider;
- *the researcher has some understanding of the meaning or structure of the event* – experience in providing information to older people including non-English speaking communities and facilitating interviews and meetings;
- *the subsequent development and use of an interview guide assists in systematic questioning of participants* – a non-directive questioning style and flexible use of an interview guide;
- *the interview deals with subjective experiences of participants* – the purpose of this research and the interpretivist approach adopted that seeks to understand the subjective experiences of participants.

This thesis adopted a non-directive questioning style and the flexible use of an interview guide consistent with the principles of SI thereby making it appropriate for

use with CGTM. Kidd and Parshall (2000) caution against the assumption of focussed interviews being highly structured. They acknowledge the importance of the use of non-directive questions to elicit voluntary responses from participants. Further, they express caution on the limiting effects, which a non-evolving interview guide may have on the application of the constant comparative method of grounded theory. Flick (2006) notes that Merton and Kendall call for the flexible use of an interview guide and this concurs with my use of a non-directive style of interview.

I facilitated the focussed interviews of groups consisting of two to 10 participants as shown previously in Table 4 in section 4.2. Each group lasted around 60 minutes and was audio-recorded using a digital recorder. Subsequent interviews in stages two and three of the study were with couples or individuals, in all 12 participants, and conducted in a similar manner often in the participant's home as it offered the greatest convenience to them.

Groups consisted of participants from the same ethnic community for reasons of convenience related to language interpretation and the groups often coinciding with events arranged by respective ethno-specific service providers. Participants could choose to respond in English or their birth language if they preferred, as a bi-lingual staff member of the ethno-specific organisation was present to interpret questions and subsequent responses and discussion if necessary. I used an interview guide of topics to provide a broad structure within which participants were encouraged to discuss aspects of topics they considered relevant to the purpose of the interview. (See Appendix Four).

Consistent with CGTM, the discussion in earlier interviews involving groups, couples or individuals led to changes to topics presented to the later groups and expanded the areas worthy of further investigation. For example, one such topic to arise during interviews was the extensive use by participants of their social networks as means of gathering and sharing information. Initially, these endogenous networks provided invaluable support and information for migrants to find what they needed to settle. Subsequently, networks spread more widely to include information sources in the broader Anglo-community offering a more extensive and diverse range of contacts and information. In sub-section 4.3.10, I discuss the addition of qualitative

Social Network Analysis to investigate further the networks and their role in information seeking.

4.3.2 Role of interpreters in data generation

Choosing to investigate how older migrants from CALD backgrounds gather and use information integral to their every-day lives presented for me a dilemma involving language. To address this, I needed to find a way to engage with those who did not speak English sufficiently well to participate without some language assistance, rather than interview participants only with adequate English language skills. To engage participants because they could speak English well was a convenient option for me but it excluded a group already likely to be disadvantaged because of their limited English-language skills. In particular, language is a key component of accessing information, as Esposito's (2001) study showed migrants with a low level of acculturation or limited English language skills are at greatest risk of not accessing health services or health-related information. It was not my intention to compound this isolation. Engaging an interpreter in interviews complicates the interview process (Kapborg & Berterö, 2002) and often cross cultural-research neglects to discuss the issues of language, researchers' backgrounds and the role of interpreters (Regmi et al., 2010). However, potential difficulties associated with language translation were not adequate reasons to ignore these issues or to exclude participants and adopting a constructivist perspective was one measure to address this issue. To the contrary, low levels of English-language skills were a sound reason to include such a group. It is appropriate to engage participants who do and do not speak English as this study is about how older first-generation migrants, whose birth languages are other than English, find and use information in an English speaking culture.

As a monolingual researcher, I was aware that many potential participants would likely not speak English at all or prefer to use their birth language to better understand questions and formulate responses. It was unrealistic that I would achieve fluency in Greek and Italian in the period available in which to undertake the research. Therefore, it was necessary to develop ways to address this issue and give a voice to participants who were likely to have a range of abilities in English-language skills. To do so represents more than a solution to a technical issue; it was

consistent with the multiple meanings that contextualise the epistemological approach adopted for this research.

Having decided to engage interpreters during interviews to translate for me begged the question of what would constitute a quality translation. Derrida and Venuti (2001: 177) describe a 'good' translation as one, 'that does its job or duty while inscribing in the receiving language the most relevant equivalent for an original.' Further, translation is not a literal word-to-word process, rather, 'It suffices to transmit the idea, the figure, the force.' (Derrida & Venuti, 2001: 180)

Dialogue with ethno-specific service providers was essential to providing me with advice on culturally appropriate approaches, issues around language and their assistance in purposive sampling of participants. Translated versions of information about the project and consent forms (see section 4.4.4) assisted in this process, as too did bi-lingual workers who explained the purpose of the project to participants and assisted with interpreting questions and responses during interviews. The interpreters were all first or second generation Australian-born, of Italian or Greek parents.

Early in the development of this project I made the decision to interview participants whose preference was to use their birth language and that I would address the technical and epistemological issues associated with the translation of questions and participants' responses in to English. Consequently, making this decision raised many further issues about the roles of interpreters or translators in research in relation to epistemological consequences. Giving consideration to the role of the interpreter in research is of equal importance to the ongoing debate of the role of the researcher and Temple (1997) argues the inseparability of translation and theoretical perspective as a way of introducing reflexivity. She subsequently, (Temple, 2006a) applies the concept of 'intellectual auto/biographies' to incorporate reflexivity on the part of the researcher and co-workers acknowledging that the interpreter, along with the researcher and participant, has a positionality which influences the interview and the knowledge produced. Temple (2006a) quoting Stanley (1990: 62) describes intellectual auto/biographies as:

an analytic (not just descriptive) concern with the specifics of how we come to understand what we do, by locating acts of understanding in an explication of the grounded contexts these are located in and arise from.

Similarly, Ficklin and Jones (2009) argue the necessity to discuss the presence of the interpreter and the effect this has on the interview process.

Research by Anglophones involving non-English speaking communities is increasing (Temple, 2006b) and this is the case in Australia as researchers engage participants from multicultural and longer-term, emerging communities. Drawing widely on matters arising from the issues of translation, identity and border, Temple and Edwards (2002) apply them to research involving interpreters and discuss the benefits of doing so. First, their research includes interpreters in debates on perspective. Second, to involve them offers an opportunity to gain an understanding of the interpreter's position and perspective in approaching the research. Third, it makes transparent tensions that result from making visible the researcher, interpreter and other co-workers and illustrates the difficulties and issues involved in these multiple roles allowing for open discussion.

Language possesses a powerful symbolism filled with social values and cultural beliefs of the speaker. Recipients interpret the meanings implied in transmitted language in response to their cultural and social experiences, which may differ to varying degrees to that of the originator. Language is not neutral and an exact translation of a word may mean different things in different cultures. Adopting a constructivist perspective, I accept there can be no one correct translation of a text, as I accept my interpretations of data are influenced by my own experiences, rather there are multiple meanings influenced by social and other factors. In so doing, I was obligated to accept responsibility to propose a way to deal with translation as important epistemological and ethical issues.

Temple (2005) examines three of the number of approaches used by researchers when dealing with cross language translations. In summary, one approach is to see there being no issue (denying any influences translations may have on data), second that there is no point (ignore the issue as not important or eschewing the effort required to deal with the associated difficulties), and thirdly to make clear the context

of the interview and subsequent report. It was this third option that I adopted for my research. Dismissing the existence of an issue implies adoption of an objectivist perspective in which the search is for an accurate translation of language. Further, studies sometimes involve non-English speaking participants but provide little explanation of how language translation was handled and worse ignore non-English speaking members of minority communities, effectively excluding their perspectives from any discussion. Several authors agree that in cases when research involves interpreters the report should clearly describe who these people are and their role in the research project (Temple, 1997; Birbili, 2000; Esposito, 2001; Berman & Tyyskä, 2010). Larkin and colleagues (2007), in acknowledging the threat which translations pose to rigour, support the call by Temple (2002) to bring the interpreters out of the shadows to more clearly define their role in the research. My approach was to acknowledge and discuss the role of interpreters in the research and their influences on the data and my subsequent interpretation. Consequently, in reporting data I attribute comments made specifically by an interpreter in response to something a participant said or more generally as further explanation.

In conducting my research, I experienced a wide range of preferred choice of language used by participants. Many participants reported being comfortable using English for the entire interview, others spoke and understood English but were more comfortable when replying in their birth language and a small number required language assistance to both understand and reply to questions as they possessed a limited command of spoken English language. A few participants, frequently older females, were illiterate in English as well as their birth language requiring oral translation of documents relating to their agreement to participate in interviews. On occasions when participants apologised for their limited understanding and command of English language, I reminded them that their English was much better than either my Italian or Greek.

4.3.3 Transcribing data

Several authors express concern about the lack of attention paid to methodological and theoretical aspects of the transcription process employed in research (Poland, 1995; Tilley, 2003; Davidson, 2009). Audiotapes and more recently digital audio files of interviews and their transcripts now represent the major source of qualitative

research data collected from interviews and focus groups. Despite this widespread use, issues of transcription have until recently attracted little interest as a unique topic of research or its role in qualitative studies (Poland, 1995).

Fundamental concerns expressed by Ochs (1979) in her seminal work involving the use of transcription in child language studies remain pertinent to researchers from diverse disciplines. Ochs (1979: 44) considered a careful study of transcription important as:

[T]he transcripts are researchers' data'; 'transcription is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions'; and 'the process of transcription has not been foregrounded in empirical studies of verbal behaviour.

Lapadat and Lindsay (1998) identify five major problems associated with the role of transcription in qualitative research. First, is the lack of attention shown to its role in analysis and subsequently to the need for methodological rigour. Second, are the limits placed on the interpretative and flexible use of transcription due to placing different demands on the methodology following its broad application across disciplines and the quest for standard conventions. Third, is how to represent the nature of reality; fourth, the relationship between oral language and meaning; and finally, the role of the researcher in the interpretative analysis of data.

There is increasing agreement of an understanding of transcription 'as a process that is theoretical, selective, interpretative and representational' (Davidson, 2009: 37). Transcription is a selective, translational process, which converts sounds (voices) to symbols (text) and as a result, does not transform certain aspects of conversations in to text. It is important to recognise that transcribing entails choices on the part of the researcher, for example acknowledging some contextualising cues, and the presence of 'a perpetual tension between authority and authorship' (Vigouroux, 2007: 64). I engaged a professional transcription service with instructions to transcribe English-language sections of recordings to retain oral form such as apparent grammatical errors and hesitations.

In arranging to have the English-language components of the recordings transcribed I adopted a full tape-transcribe-code-interpret process (TTCI) which Lapadat and

Lindsay (1998) acknowledge as being widely accepted as more complete, accurate and unbiased. This approach is consistent with that favoured by Charmaz (2006a) as a measure to provide a deeper level of understanding of the data. Unlike Glaser (1998: 107) who rejects the recording and subsequent transcription of interviews, unambiguously advising against recording interviews describing them as, ‘One of the strongest evidentiary invasions in to grounded theory’; instead preferring to rely on field notes written during or after an interview. Similarly, Strauss encouraged his students to record field notes or interviewer notes considering them to be more important than verbatim recordings of interviews (Covan, 2007). This view is not shared by Poland (1995: 306) who supports the value of field notes to clarify aspects of interview process but cautions against the use of field notes as ‘a gold standard against which to assess transcription.’ Instead, Charmaz (2006a) argues in favour of the benefits to accrue from transcribing both entire interviews and field notes as to do so preserves detail and provides opportunities for subsequent recoding of data.

English-language components of the audio files, consisting of participants’ responses made in English or translated into English by the interpreter, were transcribed by a professional transcription service. Bucholtz (2000) argues for the need to discuss transcription as it relates to a process of power involving both interpretative and representational aspects. How an audio file is transcribed is in response to the situational context of the process the resultant styles described as naturalized transcription which remains more faithful to the oral form retaining elements such as ‘ums’, ‘ahs’ or denaturalized transcription in which written aspects have primacy over the oral forms. In response to the need for a conceptual framework, Oliver et al. (2005) propose a naturalism-denaturalism continuum to define the transcription process based on the extent to which every aspect of speech is present in a transcript. In this model, adopting naturalism would transcribe every utterance of speech whereas applying denaturalism sees the removal of ‘idiosyncratic elements of speech’ (Oliver et al., 2005: 1273-4).

In my study, the transcriptions are a more denaturalised representation (described according to Bucholtz’s continuum) of the conversations in that they do not include events such as grammatical errors, stutters, repeated words and pauses. It was an intentional decision to have the tapes transcribed in this manner to avoid an

additional interpretive step on the part of the transcriptionist who did not have responsibility to correct grammar or interpret the meanings of various intonations, nonverbal sounds, such as laughter, or pauses. Consequently, these verbatim transcripts would be described by Mondada (2007) as working transcripts, suitable for analysis but requiring further editing before publication.

Some methodologies such as conversation analysis depend on the microanalysis of various and each element of conversations. However, as the transcripts were used as data for a study employing CGTM it was more important to focus on the 'accuracy of the information content' (MacLean et al., 2004: 116) and meaning, rather than the communication of perceptions. As such, a denaturalised approach in which elements of speech were removed, would have been adequate as the purpose of CGTM is to capture an emic perspective (Oliver et al., 2005).

Taking steps to achieve and maintain quality is of paramount importance in any research project and in this study, I sought measures that assisted in achieving an acceptable standard. Like other aspects of qualitative research, there is no external 'gold standard' of quality to apply to transcription (Poland, 1995). Early works (Ochs, 1979) argued for standardised procedures for transcription within paediatric psycholinguistics followed later by calls for adoption of central notation systems in other areas of research. However, these calls went unanswered as the broad theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches adopted by various researchers required development of transcriptions that differed widely. In the face of the obvious limitations of standardised approaches to transcription and the need for greater transparency and rigour in qualitative methods researchers called for alternative approaches. Slembrouck (2007) called for a new approach through reflection on the transcription practice to alert researchers to important choices and highlight some of the socio-political choices which surround them. Similarly, several other authors (Poland, 1995; Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; Bucholtz, 2000), suggest adopting a reflexive approach as a way to shed light on the implications inherent in the decision whether to use transcription and having done so discuss the implications and limitations of the method employed. In attempting to achieve quality in transcriptions, Duranti (2006) posits an extension of the reflective process to involve 'descriptive adequacy', providing a level of description to allow making

observations that lead to testable hypotheses applicable in other research perspectives.

Poland (1995) discusses possible ways to achieve optimal transcription quality, suggesting a methods section in a report which describes the steps taken to address the errors inherent in transcription. He describes these errors under four broad headings of; audio recording quality, directions or instruction provided to the transcriptionist, review of initial transcripts to identify and resolve any issues, and, if possible, engage the transcriptionist in the study as a co-worker. This last point was not an option in this research project but the concept has merit where appropriate. I remained cognisant of the importance of the need to address these issues and took steps to demonstrate the effort made to provide sufficient information to allow the reader to decide the adequacy or otherwise of the approach. Adopting Poland's (1995) approach led me to take a number of measures which included:

Audio-recording quality

Locations chosen to hold interviews were primarily convenient and familiar to the participants to ensure their comfort and encourage a relaxed but functional environment. Preference for rooms with sound absorbing floor coverings, upholstered chairs and curtains to reduce echo offered the best possible conditions to make quality recordings. Conversations were recorded using a Sony IC Recorder (ICD-MX20) which was placed centrally to all participants on an absorbent base to minimise extraneous sounds travelling through the table. Tests carried out before the start of each interview session established suitable recording levels and I installed new batteries before each session to reduce the risk of equipment failure.

Instructions to transcriptionists

After each interview session, I transferred the audio file from the recorder to my computer, burnt it to a compact disc (CD) and delivered it to a professional transcription service to produce a document file (in MS Word) of the audio file. Transcribers were experienced in transcribing lengthy files from legal practitioners, medical specialists and recordings of meeting proceedings. All staff of the company had signed confidentiality agreements and I received no reports of situations where an allocated transcriptionist recognised names or voices on any of the interview

records.

Instructions given were for a 'verbatim' transcription of the audio file not including linguistic conventions or symbols that represented a denaturalised form of the spoken record. Indecipherable sections were marked as such and a bracketed question mark (?) indicated uncertainty of the correct spelling of a word, often a name of a geographical location. The transcription service returned the CD containing the recorded interview along with the transcript in MS Word to me.

Review and editing of transcriptions

Each transcript was subsequently checked against the original audio files by the researcher listening to the recording of each interview session and correcting any obvious misinterpretations or misspellings of words. Simultaneous conversations, participants speaking with strong accents and the use of two languages in the same conversation made it difficult on occasions to transcribe fully and accurately the audio recording. Intensive efforts were applied to transcribing sections of the recording that the transcriptionist could not understand and had indicated as such on the transcript. I was able to transcribe several such passages but did so only when I was confident of having understood the section of the file. I noted and left sections that were indecipherable after numerous attempts to gain an understanding of the conversation. Analysing data from focus groups involving animated and engaged participants using two languages is difficult and time consuming (Culley et al., 2007). Difficulties I experienced when attempting to decipher the mutual simultaneous conversations that occurred during a focus group were not unique as Tilley (2003: 758) describes the experience as unravelling 'knots of information', a description with which I readily agree. Further, Kidd and Parshall (2000) acknowledge the limitations such situations place on the recording and transcription of focus groups during periods of lively concurrent conversation.

4.3.4 Coding of data

CGTM is about developing theory by a process of conceptualising empirical data into a more abstract form that explains what is happening in the data. This is achieved by coding of data which Charmaz (2006a: 46) describes as 'the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data'. In

Appendix Two, I provide a map of the coding process that lead to the development of categories that informed the substantive theory. I developed several coding maps, the first early during the interview and coding process. Subsequent iterations evolved and changed as my theoretical understanding developed through the process of constant comparison and the further investigation guided by theoretical sampling to elaborate concepts that emerged during interviews.

4.3.5 Initial coding

This first step in coding brings the researcher close to the data in trying to see what is there rather than apply categories based on, or influenced by preconceived concepts and personal experiences (Charmaz, 2006a). As recommended by Charmaz, I undertook initial coding by examining each transcript from interviews on a line-by-line basis giving a name to ideas, events or actions expressed by participants as they described their information-related experiences importantly from their perspective. Appendix Two is an example of line-by-line coding of an excerpt from an interview. I followed the advice of Glaser (1978) and Charmaz (2006a) and used gerunds to preserve action and when appropriate used actual words of participants (in vivo codes) to capture the essence of their experiences and to manage the possibility of my introducing professional terms. The following table (Table Five) illustrates the Initial Codes developed during line-by-line coding of a section of an interview transcript.

Table 5: Example of Initial Coding

Transcript (Greek Female 0709)	Initial Codes
I mean <u>it was hard</u> , you know, that was hard	Recalling difficulties
But <u>we work hard</u> and	Hard working/Work ethic
<u>that's why, you know, we buy a house and</u>	Reason for financial success
<u>everything</u> because we really <u>come with a case,</u>	Few possessions
<u>that's it,</u>	
and we have <u>start from the scratch</u> , you know. We	Starting from scratch
<u>bought second hand furniture</u> and, you know,	Frugal/ making do
slowly but I reckon <u>that was happier years in those</u>	Recalling happy times
<u>days</u>	

To elaborate further, I refer to the words used by one participant in describing her experience of migrating to Australia. Several participants referred to arriving with a suitcase of possessions, but this woman went on to describe in her words a new beginning with few possessions, ‘we really come with a case, that’s it, and we have to start from the scratch, you know.’ By adopting a section of this phrase with a small change to include a gerund, ‘*starting from scratch*’ became an in vivo code to describe the situation from a participant’s perspective of how many felt on first arriving in Australia.

4.3.6 Focussed coding

The next step in the coding process was focussed coding which Charmaz (2006a: 57) describes as ‘more directed selective and conceptual’ than the initial coding. Focussed coding explains larger bodies of text by using significant or frequent codes used earlier to analyse data. Consistent with GTM I undertook a process of constantly comparing codes used in previous interviews with those to emerge from analysis of transcripts of later interviews to analyse events or comments for potentially new perspectives or better understanding. When comparing responses to questions of how they felt when first arriving in Australia I described their responses as ‘starting from scratch’, applying the in vivo code discussed previously to represent the various views describing the new beginning with very little capital.

Consistent with the emergent nature of coding, a focussed code, *becoming informed* which I developed early in the coding process to explain the processes involved in participants finding what they needed to know subsequently became a category and eventually used to describe the theory. In a similar way, initial codes used to describe diverse sources of information included, ‘books/libraries as sources,’ ‘community organisations,’ ‘free to air television’ and ‘spouse as source’ were developed into a focussed code ‘*Choosing information source*’. With subsequent analysis and increasing conceptualisation of the data, this focussed code along with ‘*Using Social and Information Network*’, ‘*Perceived Importance*’ and ‘*Preferred form to receive information*’ informed the theoretical code ‘*Ways of finding out.*’ Finally, this code became a category in the substantive theory.

4.3.7 Theoretical coding

Theoretical coding is a sophisticated level of coding that conceptualises possible ways categories developed during focussed coding relate to each other in ways to explain a theory (Charmaz, 2006a). Glaser (1978: 72) argues their purpose is to ‘weave the fractured story back together again.’ Both Glaser (1978) and Strauss (1987) separately in later publications attempt to explain theoretical coding in their efforts to address the methodological gaps evident in *Discovery* by approaches which proved to be quite different. In an effort to provide direction to researchers, Glaser proposes the use of ‘coding families’ - grouping of theoretical concepts from various sociological, epistemological or everyday perspectives – to develop theoretical models. Strauss developed ‘coding paradigms’ to offer theoretical explanations for use during ‘axial coding’ as a way to clarify relations between categories. In axial coding a specified category is defined as an ‘axis’ for purposes of further analysis and development of theory.

I felt ill-equipped to use Glaser’s ‘coding families’, a feeling made worse by the unstructured way in which Glaser presents his proposed analytical framework. Strauss (1987) and later Strauss and Corbin (1990) offer a clearer explication of the process to develop a theoretical understanding of data. However, while conscious of the criticisms of adopting this approach I found attractive the authors’ advice to use a model of action based on pragmatism and interactionism. Eventually I adopted an approach to developing categories which drew heavily on topics of interest identified by participants, ‘common sense categories’ (Kelle, 2007: 209). Consistent with the principle of approaching the field with an open mind and looking to find those issues, which participants indicate as being important, I drew on their responses to develop codes and then categories that reflect this importance to them and to a lesser degree rely on a specific theoretical perspective. As an example, I incorporated the in vivo code ‘starting from scratch’, that I discussed earlier, into the category *Leaving Home and Starting from Scratch* to encapsulate and describe the migration experience as expressed by participants. Focussed codes that informed this category were ‘Reasons to leave home’, ‘Choosing Australia’ and ‘First impressions’ and Appendix Two contains coding maps for each category.

4.3.8 Managing the data

As this study produced large amounts of data from interviews, it was necessary to have in place a process to manage and sort data as they were generated and subsequently be able to recall it when required. Initially, I coded transcripts of interviews and recorded codes in an MS Word document to see what codes would emerge before installing QSR NVivo9 to store and help sort data. On reflection, the time spent carrying out initial coding and manual sorting of codes allowed me to immerse myself in the data. Storing data on NVivo allowed for much easier sorting of codes and categories that I developed and subsequently allowed for a degree of interrogation unachievable with a manual system.

4.3.9 Memoing

Glaser (1978) describes memo writing as being central in the process of generating theory, so much so that to not do so indicates a researcher is not doing grounded theory. Memo writing is a continuous process by which to capture the researcher's observations and impressions gathered during focus groups along with ideas and thoughts as analysis of the collected data continues. As the collection of data progressed, and coding produced more analytical material I found the nature of the memos changed from being descriptive and mechanical to becoming more theoretical or abstract. In Appendix Three, examples of memos illustrate the nature of topics discussed and the increasingly theoretical aspects of topics.

There are few rules on how to write memos, other than to do what works (Charmaz, 2006a) and to '*stop and memo*' (italics in original), (Glaser, 1978: 83). Memos are written for a purpose and Glaser (1978) describes the four basic goals of memo writing as being; to capture development of ideas, being able to write freely, building a body of material suitable for subsequent analysis which must be sortable if one is to recall contents. I found the form of the memos I wrote varied greatly from short notes and a few dot points extending to pages in length. Good syntax was frequently lacking but writing a memo allowed me to record my thoughts and impressions at the time and before I found myself moving on to another perspective or idea. For the duration of the study, I wrote most memos by hand recording them in a notebook, which I kept close by at all times. I later transcribed these in to MS Word and imported them into NVivo to enable subsequent sorting. All of these aspects I found

to be consistent with Glaser's goals of memo writing.

4.3.10 Diversifying data generation - Social Network Analysis

From the early group interviews, social networks emerged as important to participants in my study to their finding everyday information, especially for those not actively involved with ethno specific service providers. Consistent with CGTM, further participants were recruited using theoretical sampling to investigate this issue. The widespread application of SNA to a broad range of topics including health and well-being information, migration and older people strongly suggest its suitability as a method in my study of the sources and means by which older migrants gather information.

Social networks influence help-seeking behaviour and subsequent use of human services (Birkel & Reppucci, 1983); food shopping and nutrition of older people (Turrini et al., 2010); information exchange (Haythornthwaite, 1996), information seeking (Borgatti & Cross, 2003) and information management (Huotari, 1999); job-seeking (Granovetter, 1973; Harvey, 2008); program evaluation in schools (Penuel et al., 2006) and migration decision-making (Haug, 2008). Litwin (1995) reported on the role of networks in elderly Russian Jewish immigrants in Israel and network type and social support available to people over 75 years, 'old-old' (Litwin & Landau, 2000). Social networks have been shown to influence health policy (Smith & Christakis, 2008), health status broadly (Fowler & Christakis, 2008a) and individually, positively through the spread of happiness (Fowler & Christakis, 2008b) and negatively from the spread of obesity (Christakis & Fowler, 2007). In regional development, social networks influence broader social processes such as partnerships to successfully implement social and economic development programs (Serrat, 2009).

SNA has become an increasingly popular analytic tool over recent years (Heath et al., 2009) due largely to its usefulness across a broad range of situations and the important role social networks play in many human and economic situations. The term 'social networks' was first used by John Barnes in 1954 (Mitchell, 1974).

Borgatti and Halgin (2011: 2) describe a network as:

[A] set of actors or nodes along with a set of ties of a specified type ... that link them. The ties interconnect through shared end points to form paths that indirectly link nodes that are not directly tied.

In response to earlier mathematical approaches to measure networks (Scott, 1988; Commission of the European Communities, 2007), Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) cautioned regarding the failure of network analysis to consider the role of values, beliefs and ideals of participants in considering social action and as a consequence diminished the application of a qualitative form of the method by which to gain rich contextual understanding and analysis of social phenomena (Heath et al., 2009).

As previously explained, adding a second research method in response to initial findings conforms to CGTM. Consistent with the application of SNA described by Tobin and Begley (2004) I chose a qualitative form of SNA as a means of developing a more comprehensive understanding of the social networks used by participants to obtain information and not as a form of triangulation to confirm existing data. Choosing what nodes and ties constitute a network is for the researcher to decide guided by the research questions (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011). For this study I adopted a bottom up perspective using an egocentric network (Alexander, 2009) in which individual participants were the node and the ties were the connections they had with their sources of information.

During interviews, I asked each participant to identify the type of information they used for their everyday life and the source(s) to which they referred in obtaining this information. I recorded the information by hand on a large sheet of paper by representing each participant in the centre of the sheet and drawing various ties and nodes as they described to me their sources of information and other attributes. An interview guide was used to ensure each participant was asked about a minimum set of information sources. Appendix Four presents the interview guide used during each stage of data collection. For each participant's network, I recorded:

- Sources of information needed for everyday activities
- The direction of flow of the information depicted by one or two way arrows
- Their assessment of the absolute importance of a tie on a scale of 1 – 5 (with 1 being least important and 5 most important)

- The type of tie as described by Borgatti and Halgin (2011):
 - State-type – kinship (family relation) or cognitive (knows)
 - Event-type – interaction (giving receiving advice)
- Nature of the flow of information along each tie (e.g. exchange of news, advice related to health services)
- The language used in gathering and sharing information.

Following each interview, I created a diagram of the network using MS Word (see Figure Four) from the hand drawn diagram constructed with the participant during interview and sent a copy of it to the participant asking that they review and comment on its accuracy and completeness.

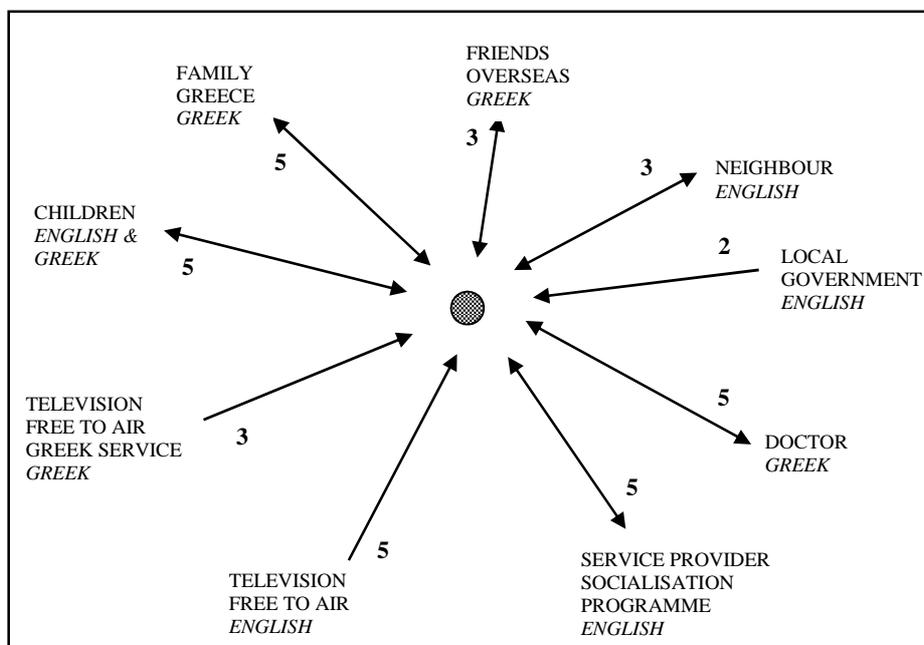


Figure 4: Example of Participant Social Network

4.4 Ethical Considerations

Contemporary discussion of ethics tends to adopt a relativist position meaning there are no absolute standards defining ethical practice when conducting research. There are however, established guidelines and principles to protect participants' and researchers' individual interests and rights (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2007). These guidelines require *inter alia*, free and informed consent by participants, consultation and cultural sensitivity by the researcher, minimisation of

harm to participants, maintenance of confidentiality and anonymity, and a continued duty of care by the researcher to participants. Flick (2006) quoting Murphy and Dingwell (2001) refers to four issues as essential to providing an appropriate framework incorporating non-maleficence, beneficence, autonomy or self-determination and justice. Some of these criteria originate in a medical and quantitative tradition, aspects that Cutcliffe and Ramcharan (2002) argue disadvantage qualitative research proposals presented to ethics committees for approval; its emergent methodology is one such aspect. I managed this when it arose in my study by making a subsequent successful application for amended approval to recruit participants by different means to those specified in my initial application. To understand the role of the service providers in relation to other sources of information I needed to recruit purposively participants who did not use ethno-specific organisations in order to understand how these 'non-members' found information.

Ramcharan and Cutcliffe (2001: 360) propose a more equitable method of assessing ethics of qualitative research involving ongoing monitoring of ethics over the period of research; a process they describe as 'ethics of process'. Adoption of such an approach provides ways to address issues including ongoing informed consent, cases where participants over-disclose and 'member-checks', a process by which a researcher reviews findings with participants to validate results. This last point is an important one often used to validate results and establishing rigour is an issue I discuss in more detail in a later section.

Ethical considerations in research are not restricted to relationships between the researcher and participants but include issues of positionality, which I discuss later in section 4.4.5. An ethical approach to research starts with planning a research project and consideration of the benefits and costs of the topic, continuing through recruitment of participants, handling and analysis of data and finally the presentation of results. A well-planned research project is not necessarily ethical and equally the opposite applies. At every stage of a project, the researcher must be aware and prepared to deal with ethical aspects by maintaining sufficient reflexivity necessary to address any issues that may arise with understanding, appreciating the other person's perspective. Adopting a proactive approach when planning a project may

minimise the occurrence of unanticipated issues. Attention to issues of ethical research is essential and more so when research is conducted across a cultural context, (Marshall & Batten, 2004).

4.4.1 Ethics in this study

Ethics influence every aspect of research and as such, offer a framework in which researchers operate and which they use to measure actions and outcomes of various stages of research. Ethical considerations occurred at every major step of my research from the earliest stage of formulating the research project, to how I recruited and interacted with participants, and finally the manner in which I handled data and wrote up the findings. Tracy's (2010) four practices of ethics – procedural, situational, relational and exiting - provide a useful structure with which to evaluate the research.

Procedural ethics are those actions associated generally with research and administered by institution ethics committees in accordance with established national or international guidelines. This study met and maintained all the requirements specified by the institutional ethics committee for the study as I discuss in the next section (4.4.2).

Situational ethics do not have the guidelines and requirements associated with procedural ethics, requiring researchers to make decisions to deal with the unpredictable, yet ethically significant issues that arise during fieldwork (Ellis, 2007). Consequently, during interviews I constantly reviewed whether the methods and the data generated justified the outcomes. Fortunately, such situations occurred infrequently due in part to the general nature of my inquiry about everyday information needs. On occasions when discussion strayed to areas not relevant to my research or when tensions developed between spouses I was required to make decisions about the potential value of any data gathered balanced against risks to participants. In these rare occurrences, I steered the conversation back towards the topic of interest and changed the questions to another aspect of the research.

Relational ethics guided my dealings with participants, always mindful that my attitude, appearance and other characteristics influenced how they perceived me.

Again, there are no guidelines but rather ‘an ethic of care’, which values mutual respect and dignity, influences our relationships with participants (Ellis, 2007: 4). It is possible that my life experience of attending school with many migrant children during the 1950s and 1960s and exposure to other cultures both socially and in the work place prior to the adoption of multiculturalism assisted me in understanding older migrants, which lead to there being a sense of mutual respect and trust. In this situation, my age afforded a benefit in that, combined with the associated life experience, it reduced the age gap between participants and the researcher. Further, the presence of an interpreter, whom many participants knew, contributed to the mutual understanding.

Exiting ethics ensure ethical considerations continue after the completion of data collection and influence the presentation of results. Being ever mindful that the symbolic power of words means taking care when presenting data as readers may misread or interpret findings in ways to misrepresent them (Tracy, 2010) required my careful consideration of the manner in which data were presented. Evaluating the quality of this study by using these four aspects of ethics engages criteria with broad application across qualitative methods generally.

4.4.2 Ethics approval

Flinders University of South Australia Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee approved this project on 10 November 2008, Project No. 4322. Consistent with the process of theoretical sampling, I subsequently identified a need to recruit more broadly participants who were not members of the organisations that assisted in recruiting participants for the first series of focus groups. I sought approval to recruit participants who were not actively involved with these organisations to investigate whether membership affected the information seeking behaviour and networks of older migrants who do not rely on these organisations for information. The Committee granted modification approval on 5 May 2010.

4.4.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality regarding participants’ identities is essential and every effort was made to maintain this at each stage of the research project. During interviews, the given or first names were used to identify participants and no person is identified

during presentation and discussion of results. In addition, I confirmed to participants and the interpreter the importance of maintaining confidentiality and asked that they kept conversations confidential. All printed copies of transcripts are held in my office, electronic files of these transcripts are stored on my laptop computer and protected with a password. I took steps to ensure data contained in these files were de-identified. Data are stored on compact disk and lodged with the Discipline of Public Health in accordance with the University's requirements for data storage.

Choosing to study Greek and Italian migrants further increased anonymity as they represent the second and the largest groups respectively of post-war CALD migrants in South Australia. Engaging participants from these numerically large groups further protected the identities of participants outside the particular focussed interview group in which they participated. At the start of each group interview, I asked participants and interpreters to keep confidential the content of any discussion.

4.4.4 Informed consent

Potential participants received an information sheet about the project, introductory letter and consent form in English, or translated in Greek or Italian by a government-funded professional translation service (Interpreting and Translating Centre). The interpreter present at interviews read the material to illiterate participants before they made a decision to take part in the project indicating verbally their agreement to participate and signing a consent form.

Several participants found the language used in translations of documents explaining the project to be quite formal in structure making it more difficult for them to understand aspects of the study. Subsequent conversations with colleagues who spoke Greek or Italian confirmed the translations represented accurately the content of the English language documents but did so using a formal linguistic style. This experience illustrates issues that may arise when using formal translations. Firstly, professional translation services produce technically correct translations that convey meanings but use a formal language structure to do so. Second, testing translated documents for meaning and level of comprehension in the study population before use with potential participants may afford opportunities to adjust language structure to improve comprehension without loss of accuracy or meaning. In retrospect, I

should have implemented this process, instead of having relied on the credentials of a professional translator service to provide an accurate translation. Translations need to be both accurate and written in a manner appropriate for the intended audience. In this study, I addressed this matter, by the interpreter explaining further information about the project and encouraging participants to ask questions.

At the start of each interview session, I introduced myself and explained the purpose of the research, either directly in English or with the help of the interpreter, in the group's preferred language. Then I advised participants of their right to withdraw from the process at any time, to choose not to answer specific questions if they wished and that there were no adverse consequences if they did so. Participants were asked in English, as well as in their preferred birth language, whether they understood the purpose of the project and if they had any questions. Oral confirmations of consent were recorded at the start of the transcript of interview. All participants provided written informed consent and no participant withdrew from a focus group or interview.

4.4.5 Reflexivity and participant-researcher-interpreter positionality

Adopting a constructivist GTM with its relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology redefines the relationship between the researcher and participants bringing in to focus the role of the researcher as author, (Mills et al., 2006a, 2006b). As previously discussed section 3.6.3, GTM has its basis in SI which is consistent with the method's concern being 'to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behaviour which is relevant and problematic for those involved' (Glaser, 1978: 93). Interpretations of the influence of personal experience on the research process differ. Glaser, in his early writings (1978, 1992) sees personal experience as data and accommodated in the constant comparison method. A view he rejects in his later works (Glaser, 2001) as constant comparison method insulates data from the effects of researcher experience. Neill (2006) argues the need to reflect on the manner in which researcher experience and perceptions influence the research relationship at various stages of the research process including sample recruitment, nature of data collected and subsequent analysis..

As interpretations of earlier writings suggest that reflexivity is embedded in theoretical sensitivity, it would therefore seem appropriate for reflexivity to be an integral component of GTM. However, a more compelling reason to consider reflexivity in GTM is its origins in SI (Neill, 2006). While the more recent constructivist variants of GTM acknowledge this, it is not so with the original or Glaserian forms of the method. Lempert (2007) reports that the role of or need for reflexivity by the researcher attracted little attention of the authors due, at least in part, to the positivist perspective present in the original method presented by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 and in subsequent separate writings of both authors. I would argue differently to Lempert's position that none of the original authors considered ways in which positionality affected research, as in subsequent writings in which Glaser and Strauss wrote separate and divergent views about GTM not surprisingly their positions on the influence of the researcher on the research differed. Consistent with the previous divergence of perspectives, Glaser rejects the need for reflexivity claiming it to be a distraction from the collection of data, (Neill, 2006). Continuing, Neill quoting Glaser (2001: 47) as describing reflexivity as 'paralysing, self-destructive and stifling of productivity'. Strauss and Corbin (1990) acknowledge the influence of experience and knowledge on a researcher's perspective and the manner in which they interpreted and presented data. Corbin subsequently elaborates this position when in conversation with Cisneros-Puebla (2004: 21) states:

[W]e know that our perspective and belief systems influence how we view and work with data. We want our readers to understand why it is important to look at experiences, feelings, action/interaction, to denote the structure or context in which these are located, and why it is important to study process.

Corbin (2009) acknowledges the importance of endeavouring to see the participant's world from their perspective. Lempert (2007) also argues the importance of researcher positionality on the research process; of particular relevance to my research being the discussions of the influence of cultural differences between researcher and participant. Further, it was necessary to consider the involvement of a third party as interpreter in several researcher-participant interactions.

Through a more contemporary constructivist perspective, Charmaz (2006a) takes a very different view to that of earlier researchers in acknowledging the existence of

presuppositions of researchers and interpreters and the need to deal with their effects on the research. Consistent with my adopting a constructivist perspective, I acknowledge that data arise from the interaction between participant and researcher and therefore find it necessary to assess critically my relationship with the participants and to review constantly this positioning during the research process. Matching of characteristics of researcher and participants, including age, ethnicity, social position and gender, are ways to address power differences in interview situations (Hood et al., 1996; Mahon et al., 1996; Neill, 2006). Assessed by criteria such as these I was a complete 'outsider' to the groups; being male, a fourth generation Australian born of Celtic-Anglo origins, a monolingual Anglophone, tertiary educated and knowledgeable about many relevant issues through my management of an information service for older people. I was of an age closer to those of participants than would have been the case for younger students but still more like that of their now adult children. As such, this may have encouraged a greater degree of disclosure by some who felt more comfortable with an older person.

I shared my years of primary and secondary schooling during the 1950s and 1960s with children of recently arrived migrants from Greece, Italy and several other European countries along with large numbers of migrants from the United Kingdom. During this period, it was commonplace for government schools to have large numbers of newly arrived migrant children from CALD backgrounds as well those with Anglo-Celtic backgrounds.

On reflection, it is possible that these experiences had some influence on my interest in the topic, the approach taken to the research and the way in which I interact with participants. As a child and fellow student, these new arrivals were obviously different in cultural norms and language but so too were many English-speaking migrants or Australian-born students from backgrounds that were markedly different to my own. These childhood experiences along with others gained subsequently had influenced my attitudes and beliefs regarding cultural differences over many years and on reflection enabled me to approach older migrants with some understanding, albeit from my perspective as an outsider.

Adopting a reflexive approach has both limitations and difficulties for the researcher. To write in such a manner assumes the ability to be self-reflexive and possess an awareness of our own biases along with the ability to recognise rather than rationalise our prejudices, at the same time avoiding the opportunity to write about ourselves to the point of autobiographical irrelevance (Haggerty, 2003).

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the methods used in this study, beginning with a description of the recruitment of participants and subsequent theoretical sampling as used in CGTM to develop rich grounded theory. Then I discussed aspects of collecting, analysing and managing data including the role of interpreters, issues of transcription of interview records and subsequent coding to develop categories. I employed both focussed interviews and qualitative social network analysis to ascertain and understand aspects relating to participants finding everyday information. Finally, I discussed ethical aspects of my study, including measures taken to meet regulatory requirements of research and ways in which I engaged aspects of ethics to enhance the quality of the research.

Chapter Five, which follows, is the first of four chapters in which I present and discuss the empirical findings of this study, each in turn dealing with a category of the substantive theory.

CHAPTER 5 LEAVING HOME AND STARTING FROM SCRATCH

'...because we really come with a case, that's it, and we have to start from the scratch, you know.' (Greek Female 0709)

5.1 Introduction

This is the first of four chapters in which I present and discuss the findings of the empirical research in a manner consistent with a constructivist approach which by 'situating grounded theories in their social, historical, local and interactional contexts strengthens them.' (Charmaz, 2006a: 180). The subject of this chapter is the category, which locates the participants' information seeking experiences in the migration process and the influence, which the conditions existent at the time of the decision to migrate had on the information experiences of participants. In later chapters I discuss the influence that subsequent experiences, including the most recent had on finding information. In this chapter, I discuss the category *Leaving Home and Starting From Scratch* that describes various aspects of the migration experiences of participants and their responses. The following three chapters in turn present and discuss the other three categories and then in Chapter Nine I present and discuss the basic social process *Needing to Know* and the substantive theory *Becoming Informed*.

The approach to discussing the category is to begin by presenting in section 5.2 the theoretical lens through which I view the findings. Then, in section 5.3, I provide a brief discussion of relevant migration theories, which inform aspects the category. Sections 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 present the findings of this study and discuss them in relation to the theoretical aspects presented previously. Finally, section 5.7 presents concluding remarks, drawing together major aspects of the discussion of aspects of this category.

To assist the reader follow the structure of the thesis, I present a diagram at the introduction of each of the next five chapters, which locates the category that is the topic of that chapter in relation to other categories and to the substantive theory.

Figure 5 presents this information for this chapter.

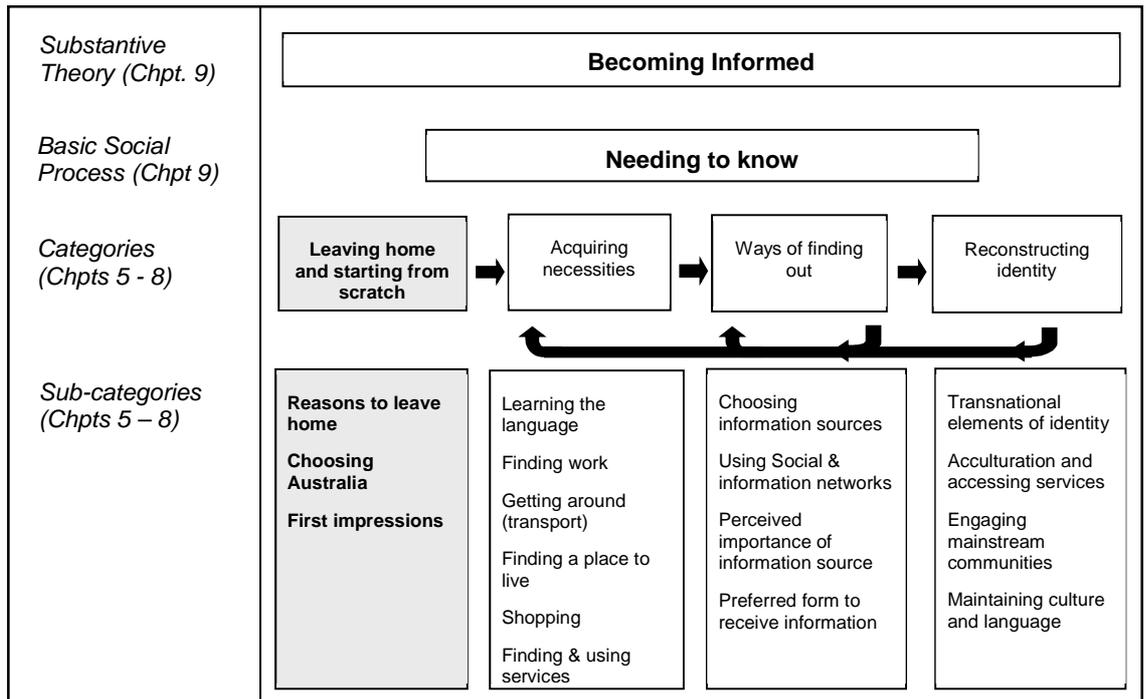


Figure 5: Locating ‘Leaving Home...’ in the Substantive Theory

5.2 Considering Responses to the Migration Experience

I examine the findings represented by the category *Leaving Home and Starting from Scratch* through a dual lens of transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991, 1996) and intercultural competency: an approach described by Taylor (1994: 154) as

an adaptive capacity based on an inclusive and integrative worldview, which allows participants to effectively accommodate the demands of living in a host culture.

As such, Taylor’s approach focusses on the learning of skills and the attributes required to adjust to the requirements of functioning in a host culture and includes language skills and interpersonal communications. When describing intercultural competency, Taylor (1994) referred to different but related terminologies including culture shock, cross-cultural adaptation, cross-cultural adjustment and inter-cultural transformation. I refer to these aspects later in this chapter and again in Chapter Eight in relation to the influence of these acculturative changes on migrant identity and the manner in which they find information.

Mezirow’s Transformative Learning Theory (TLT) describes a learning process

initiated by a dilemma, which unresolved by further information requires a more critical reflective approach and identifies ten phases to the process in which individuals undergo a personal transformation. In a later development, Mezirow added a further stage between stages eight and nine, recognising the role of (re)negotiating relationships in the process. Mezirow's theory is complex and comprehensive in construing meaning from experience to provide grounds for action. However, Clark and Wilson (1991) argue that Mezirow in doing so, systematically seeks to remove any element of context which they posit as essential in bringing meaning to experience. Mindful of this criticism I spend some time locating the transformative learning process of participants in the broader social and economic circumstances presented earlier in Chapter Two. To theoretically position the outcomes of the cultural contacts between the participants and the host society I draw on Oberg's (1960) concept of 'culture shock'. In the next chapter, I discuss TLT in more detail along with the literature on cross-cultural adaptation to inform the theoretical framework in which I locate further findings. As an introduction to this current chapter the first stage of this personal transformation described in TLT as 'a disorienting dilemma' is of particular relevance as the process of migration experienced by participants in this study was represented by them as a major disruption to their lives, providing the '*catalyst for change*' (Taylor, 1994: 158) (italics in original). The various changes experienced including, geographical, social, linguistic and cultural to mention a few, mean the information needs had changed to enable them to operate in their new surroundings. Migration emerged as a major aspect in the process of becoming informed which required me to review the various theories of migration and I present this review as a brief summary at the beginning of this chapter before discussing the relevance to the findings.

Influencing circumstances to effect migration and the subsequent responses by participants to the experience are conceptualised as processes in action – Strauss and Corbin's 'moving picture.' According to Strauss and Corbin (1998: 166), 'Process demonstrates the ability of individuals... to respond to and/or shape the situations in which they find themselves.' I discuss the influence of process and context on the developing theory and my interpretation of results, when I consider the influences of family, community and national policy on acculturation of migrants.

In acknowledging that a constructivist perspective engages the social context, I am aware of the concern expressed by Gibson (2007: 446) that using context in a unreflexive manner may accidentally promote a 'naïve social determinism'. As the data collection and analysis continued concurrently, the process of constant comparison helped me identify issues that were important to participants. Many of the statements of enduring hardship before migrating warranted an emotive value-laden code but instead I used more neutral and possibly less expressive terms when analysing data.

5.3 Theoretical Explication of Migration

In this section, I do not propose to provide an exhaustive review of the migration literature but to provide a general theoretical background, which is sufficient to inform the topic of this research which is how migrants find everyday information they need. However, it is important to attempt to reconcile the theoretical tensions that result from the different epistemological assumptions inherent in the methodologies employed by the various disciplines engaged in migration research. Consistent with CGTM I discuss the relevance of extant theories in developing a theoretical framework in which to locate the findings of my research and the development of theory. Having offered a limited review of relevant migration theories, in section 5.4 I present and discuss my results in this theoretical framework.

Despite there being numerous theoretical frameworks which are in turn based on various perspectives, there is not a single theory which adequately describes the process and associated factors which lead to and drive the process of migration (Schoorl et al., 2000; de Haas, 2008). This is a situation which Massey et al. (1993: 432) suggest is due to the many perspectives continuing to draw heavily on nineteenth century thinking and the need to engage a more nuanced and multidisciplinary approach to migration research 'that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels and assumptions'.

Migration theories can be broadly grouped in one of three categories - theories that describe individual behaviour, those that attribute migration to broader structural determinants and approaches that integrate aspects of theories from the previous two

categories. In Figure 6, I summarise the theories relevant to my research.

Neo-Classical Approaches	Historical-Structuralist Approaches	Integrative Approaches
Human Capital Push-Pull Theory	World System Dependency Theory	Structuration Theory Transnational Migration Cumulative Causation Network Theory and Chain Migration

Figure 6: Conceptual Approaches to Migration Research Relevant to this Study

In the next sections, I briefly discuss theories salient to aspects of my research that relate to reasons for participants to leave their home country, the nature of the migration process, their subsequent settlement and development of identity while acknowledging there are other theories to explain the phenomenon. However, consistent with CGTM they do not earn a place in the development of my substantive theory. In doing so, I also acknowledge calls made more recently for a systems approach to the study of migration through adoption of interdisciplinary approaches (Haug, 2008).

5.3.1 Neo-classical approaches

Foundation of neo-classical migration theory is attributed to Ravenstein's laws of migration published in the late nineteenth century (de Haas, 2008). Ravenstein saw the major causes of migration as economic in which people moved from low-income to high-income regions, from low-density to high-density population centres. Subsequent development of these laws saw the consideration of the roles of human capital and the probability of finding employment.

Sjaastad's (1962) human capital theory of migration argues that decisions to migrate are based on short and/or long term benefits with an emphasis on maximising economic capital. This model was further elaborated by Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970) incorporating a measure of the probability of finding employment to explain the contradictory behaviour of continued migration at a time of rising unemployment in urban areas.

Lee (1966) adopted a differing theoretical approach to Ravenstein's laws of migration in that he recognised the influence of non-economic factors on individuals' decisions to migrate and the selective nature of migration. Lee's 'push-pull' model explains migration as the result of a combination of factors operating at the area of origin, associated with the destination, intervening obstacles such as distance, immigration laws as well as personal characteristics of the migrant. Further, Lee argues that migration takes place in well-defined streams, facilitating the movement of migrants between particular sites of origin and destination due to both opportunities and the flow of knowledge back to areas of origin, which facilitate subsequent migration. Frequently described as a 'push-pull theory of migration' reflecting the negative or positive influence the factors have on the decision to migrate, the term was not one used by Lee (de Haas, 2008). The push-pull model is widely used to explain labour migration due largely to its ability to integrate factors that influence decision-making (Zimmermann, 1996; Schoorl et al., 2000; Akl et al., 2007). It does however have its detractors, often due to the association with economic theory and subsequent narrow focus (Hooghe et al., 2008). De Haas (2008) is critical of what he describes as the descriptive nature, ad hoc explanations and arbitrary handling of factors which influence migration, questioning whether the model is worthy of being called a theory.

Despite such criticisms, Lee's theory provides a clear description of the circumstances that influenced many participants in my study to migrate. Poor economic, social and political conditions in home countries provided the 'push', while promises of a better life and financial incentives offered by the Australian Government acted as pull factors to many who migrated.

5.3.2 Historical-Structuralist approaches

During the 1970s the optimism of neoclassical views linking migration and development were increasingly replaced by a pessimistic perspective in which migration increased rather than decreased spatial disparities in development (de Haas, 2010). An historical-structuralist approach examines migration in the context of the socioeconomic and political processes of which it is part and cannot be explained by personal decisions or motivations (Portes, 1978). Subsequent developments of historical-structuralist approaches lead to the development of

theories to explain the flow of labour and or capital between the developed (core) and the underdeveloped (periphery) regions or countries.

World System Theory is one such approach which argues that international migration follows the expanding global markets in to peripheral economies with subsequent counter movement of (cheap) labour towards the core as a result of the disruptive social changes caused by the injection of capital in to peripheral economies (Massey et al., 1993).

A further framework is Dependency Theory, which explores the link between economic dependency at the periphery and core and views migration towards the core as exploitative and uni-directional (Zolberg, 1989). Portes (1978) views the migration triggered by an exacerbation of incentives to leave the periphery (push factors) being further expanded by the development of networks between migrants and potential migrants remaining at the periphery.

5.3.3 Integrative approaches

Many authors agree with Massey et al. (1998) that there is no one theory which adequately explains international migration (Hooghe et al., 2008; Bakewell, 2010). Others, including Haug (2008) suggest that theories based on one perspective, such as micro-economic issues, fail to address non-economic motives of either the migrant or receiving country often associated with migration. Bakewell et al. (2011) call for greater engagement of migration research and social theory generally and the structure-agency debate more specifically to better understand the relative contributions made by structures and personal choices made by migrants. In the following section, I discuss briefly approaches suggested as ways to achieve a broader understanding of migration through adopting a more integrative approach

a) Structuration Theory

The structure-agency debate in social theory is recognised as being problematic in resolving the tensions between human capital and structural aspects of society (Bakewell, 2010). This issue represents more than a theoretical divide as it has implications for the study of migration as well as network analysis, two issues central to my research. Structuration theory (Bourdieu, 1977a; Giddens, 1984) is presented

as a way to define whether migration is 'forced' or 'voluntary', that is, to what extent have migrants exercised agency or have structural arrangements influenced their decisions (Bakewell et al., 2011). In a similar manner to that of Berger and Luckmann (1966), Giddens argues that structures are constructs of human beings and goes on to argue that these structures both enable and constrain human agency (Giddens, 1984). Defining the respective contributions made by structure or agency to decisions about migration proves difficult causing many to apply Giddens' theory of structuration as an attempt to address the impasse between the influence of structure or agency on migration (Goss & Lindquist, 1995; Bakewell, 2010). However, Bakewell (2010) considers this approach to be naïve as it has little regard for criticisms of the theory. One such criticism is voiced by Hays (1994: 61) who argues that Giddens 'tends to conflate these two forms of duality.' Giddens however, considers duality of structuration and agency in terms of the interdependency for existence and the influence each has on the other, suggesting a dependent separateness rather than combination.

b) Transnational migration

The concept of transnationalism emerged as a means to study the nature and influence of the 'sustained connections with people and institutions in places of origin or elsewhere in diaspora.' (Vertovec, 2003: 641). Migrants today, if they choose, are more readily able to live across cultures and locations due to developments in digital communications including telephone and satellite television, relatively more affordable travel and easier international arrangements for banking (Vertovec, 1999). In addition to allowing people to work across two cultures, it provides opportunities for migrants whether employed or no longer in the work force to adopt transnational identities with challenging implications for the assimilationist models of migrant acculturation and the concept of the modern nation-state (de Haas, 2005). In my study, the role of cheaper and more accessible international communications emerged in relation to reconstruction of migrant identity and the development of global social and information networks, aspects I discuss further in section 8.5 of Chapter Eight.

c) Cumulative causation

The concept of cumulative causation argues that changes in social and economic

circumstances caused by migration facilitate further migration. Massey (1990) reintroduced Myrdal's (1957) concept of circular and cumulative causation of migration to argue the benefits of adopting multi-level migration models which explore the various links between individuals, households and communities to better understand how these interconnections influence migration. Further, Myrdal shows how macro-economic factors contribute to the self-perpetuating character of migration. Central to this aspect of migration is the development of endogenous networks, which families use as a cost and risk reduction strategy.

d) Network theory and chain migration

Haug (2008: 588) defines a migration network as 'a composite of interpersonal relations in which migrants interact with their family and friends' that 'provide a foundation for the dissemination of information as well as for patronage or assistance.' Drawing on Granovetter's (1973) theory of embeddedness, Haug argues that the household, along with kinship networks and social networks, links the social structure to the individual decision-maker. Network ties assist migration by reducing the costs and risks associated with decisions to move. Networks affect decisions made at each end of the migration process by providing information to assist in deciding whether to migrate, providing newly-arrived migrants with social and financial support as well help to find employment and housing (Vertovec, 2003). Later, in Chapter Six, I discuss further the roles of these social and information networks in providing social capital to newly arrived migrants in finding work, a place to live and more recently as ongoing important sources of information. Then, in Chapter Eight I discuss the importance of these networks in participants finding and sharing information and their influence on the development and nature of transnational identity. Massey et al. (1993) posits that migration should increase with the closeness of the relationship and the quality of the social capital embodied in the relationship. Network theory as it applies to migration is not without its critics. Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) suggest the reification of social relationships in considering questions of cultural content and individual agency imply a hint of structural determinism.

Having discussed theoretical aspects of migration to provide a context in which to discuss results I present the finding of the research in the next three sections,

beginning with circumstances existent at the time that influenced decisions to stay or leave.

5.4 Reasons to Leave

Migration as a process begins before the emigrant leaves the host country and yet there is little research on how this pre-departure period affects individuals who voluntarily relocate to a new country, an examination of which is essential to understanding the context in which migration took place (Tabor & Milfont, 2011).

Participants in my study are migrants who left Greece and Italy in the 1950s and 1960s with either assistance from the Australian government or sponsored by family members who had previously settled in Australia. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the social, economic and political circumstances in Italy and Greece at the time were dire such that it is arguable those who left did so voluntarily as the alternative, that is to stay, was not a realistic option. Applying the Structuration Theory of Migration to the degree of choice migrants had, suggests existing conditions weighed heavily in favour of leaving, as structural arrangements extended beyond poor social and economic conditions to include government policies introduced to encourage or assist people to leave.

It is challenging to define the relevant contribution of agency and existent circumstances on decisions to leave. Bakewell (2010) argues the application of structuration to be problematic in that the theory fails to describe how the balance between agency and structure affects outcomes and the risk of over stating the degree of agency migrants had in making a decision to migrate. In my study, it appears that decisions to migrate by several participants were often structurally determined as many who migrated felt they had little choice and, had their circumstances been better, would have preferred not to move:

Not only us but whoever comes to Australia of course you don't have money so if you had money you would have stayed where you were. (Greek Male 1209).

I mean we were very poor people, if we were rich we wouldn't be in this country ... migrate to Australia. (Italian Male 2704)

Consistent with a historical-structuralist perspective, migration for these participants represents a ‘flight from misery’ which contributes little to development of the sending country (de Haas, 2008: 26). In such situations, Greece and Italy as the sending countries got no immediate economic benefit from the migration but possibly avoided social unrest from the consequences arising from unemployment and potential food shortages which may have resulted had so many not migrated at this time.

The inevitability of the decision to leave was obvious in the sentiments expressed in the comments made by several participants, which suggests many made decisions in consideration of macro issues affecting the national economy:

When we left there was no work there, we had to, no choice in a way. If all the Italians were in Italy there would, today there would be strife as well.
(Italian Male 0910)

These comments recognise problems that would have subsequently arisen due to over population, unemployment and continuing food shortages. In deciding to leave, the following participant also recognises the decision to do so was in the individual’s best interest:

So everybody went to America, went to Australia, went to Canada wherever they went, they had to leave otherwise they’d probably starve to death at the time. (Italian Male 0910)

If there were not sufficient social and economic reasons to leave, in Greece, civil war that erupted shortly after the end of World War II divided many families along political lines and made an already difficult social and economic situation worse; as two participants confirmed:

After the war it was very messy country [outbreak of civil war] and kill each [other], have different politicals (sic) things, riots ...I can’t understand that time what it was like. Was very dangerous [time] to live. (Greek Male 0911)
[It] was the Second World War and after was [Greek] civil war. That is the worst because brothers and brothers some were left wing some were right wing. That’s a big mess. (Greek Female 0811)

Non-combatant civilians including children were not safe from the activities of rebels, at times requiring parents to take extreme measures to protect them:

Always my Mum and Dad always say “make a hole under the house.”
Actually, the boys mostly, because I have maybe night time somebody come,
rebels come in and pick up somebody, even girls too... (Greek Female 0209)

In other situations not related to political circumstances, families faced dire situations exacerbated by having a large number of children, had to take drastic measures if family members were to survive. Often this resulted in individual siblings leaving the family home at a young age to find work, in one case in France for several years, before migrating permanently to Australia:

Eleven kids in the family... my case was a matter of leaving, and go and find work. Because you know I was 15 years old, I went to France to work. ...My father couldn't afford to send me to school anymore because there was no money. (Italian Male 0910)

Migration is frequently a cyclical process with migrants returning home after a period of time living in a host country (Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Some countries seek guest workers to satisfy demand for labour but this was not the case with Australia, which sought permanent settlers to increase the population and provide labour for both agriculture and manufacturing. Further, return migration is not a focus of the research as my study is of migrants from the post-war period who are still living in Australia, having migrated in the post-second world war period. However, some raised the possibility of having plans to return home. Actions of an older sister by regularly banking some of the weekly wage of a participant suggested she had a dream of returning to Greece or was making contingency plans in the event that their lives in Australia became unliveable:

My sister used to say, “I’m going to keep the money for the bank because you never know maybe we’re going to go back”. (Greek Female 0911)

Neither returned to Greece and the frugal management of money assisted this participant to accumulate capital, as shortly after this she married, then jointly bought a house with her husband and with both working in several jobs, managed to pay off the mortgage in less than three years. Having more clearly defined plans to return did not always materialise, as was the situation for one participant. Initially planning to make money in Australia and leave, once he had fulfilled the residency obligations of having been an assisted migrant, his plans to return to Greece changed due to deterioration in his wellbeing and financial situation:

I come to stay four years because I come only four years. Before four years, I cannot leave Australia. After I can leave. I lost everything. (Greek 0209)

Cumulative effects of hard physical work, poor living conditions, and social isolation lead to his alcohol abuse and a downward spiral of declining social and economic wellbeing. With hard work and improved social support through endogenous marriage, he turned around his situation and today is living comfortably:

That's when I married Mary without money, you know. But I work. After I [work a] couple of years I build it up. (Greek 0209)

This personal experience supports reports that recognise migration as being stressful and disruptive to familiar routines including lifestyle, access to social networks and language. Krupinski (1984) found migrants to Australia from Mediterranean countries vulnerable to the effects of this culture shock which was exacerbated by further changes arising from the transition from rural village life to living in an industrialised economy, resulting in many migrants experiencing difficulties in the first years after settlement. The mental health status of migrants has been the subject of several studies and higher incidence of mental illnesses expected among refugee groups and migrants who had experienced trauma during the pre-migration period. In a study of Vietnamese refugees exposed to traumatic events prior to migration, Steel et al. (2002) report post migration factors including marital status, English language proficiency and employment status as being associated with incidence of mental illnesses.

Variable results arise from studies of voluntary migrants not subjected to pre-migration trauma. Southern Mediterranean migrants to Australia were found to have the second highest incidence of schizophrenia and depressive illnesses with the peak occurring 7-15 years after settlement and particularly in females, thought due to poorer language skills and acculturation (Krupinski, 1984). A more recent study (Ali, 2002) reported new immigrants to Canada having lower incidence of depressive illnesses while the occurrence of illness among long-term immigrants was similar to Canadian-born residents. Fu and VanLandingham (2012) found Vietnamese migrants worse off relative to returnees and those who never left, suggesting the disadvantage is due to the process of migration and not to selection factors. They found that better physical health status and access to social networks of quality

amongst migrants ameliorated the adverse effects on their mental health. In an extensive review of literature of the incidence of mental illnesses among migrants in Canada, Hansson and colleagues (2012) conclude there is insufficient information to predict incidence of mental illness in particular groups and that the incidence of illness seems to vary by age, national origin group and by reason for migration.

Other participants in my study expressed the desire to return their home country in response to the difficulties they faced in settling shortly after arriving in Australia, or more recently reflecting on what life has been like in Australia compared to how it could have been in Italy or Greece. Had one participant possessed the necessary resources to pay for a return trip he would have returned home but with hindsight acknowledged that the inability to return in spite of the desire to do so led to a satisfactory outcome:

We all came here but I knew what to expect but I didn't like it to be honest – if I had done it the 75 pounds, Australian pounds, I would take the ship that I came with and go back but luckily I didn't do it. (Italian Male 0409)

Illustrating what Krupinski (1984: 933) described as the 'broken clock syndrome' in which an individual's perceptions of a home country are frozen in a previous time, another participant expressed regret over his decision to migrate as he perceived life would have been better had he stayed in Greece:

I have to admit I haven't done the right decision to come to Australia. I mean, if I stay in Greece I would be better. Much better. (Greek Male 0209)

Interestingly, he made these comments in an interview conducted about a year before the Global Financial Crisis hit Greece's already fragile economy which had for several years had been in difficulties prior to the most recent crisis (International Monetary Fund, n.d.).

Decisions made by migrants whether to settle or go, to either return home or move to another location, are critical to the subsequent emergence of chain migration and the subsequent accumulation of social capital at the place of destination (Haug, 2008). Each of these issues played an important role in the decision to migrate and where to settle in Australia for participants in my study, both which I discuss further in Chapter Six having considered it in Chapter Two (section 2.2). Having access to

others who had earlier migrated offered later migrants information that many interpreted as being helpful about the process and what to expect of the destination:

Yes, because my brother come first, then he called me, yeah. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

However, others did not find previous migrants to be a useful source of information due to the recency of their own arrival and as a result having had insufficient time to establish their own networks, to share with more recently arrived migrants:

No, they was like us. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

Little wonder some described their situation by drawing the analogy of being in the dark, feeling as if their world was turned upside down:

Everything was dark; I don't mean dark but ... upside down. (Greek Female 0911)

5.5 'Choosing' Australia

The purpose of placing 'choosing' in parenthesis is to draw attention to the degree of choice participants had first in migrating and then selecting a destination. Again, as was the case in deciding to migrate, structuration and agency were evident in deciding location and as previously discussed structural circumstances exerted considerable influence on the decision.

By contemporary standards, it is hard to describe as 'informed' the choice of destination made by many participants as many had no or little prior knowledge of Australia or what to expect. One described metaphorically her lack of awareness of Australia, with the inability to comprehend the future as similar to the consequences of the lack of light illuminating one's surroundings:

For the people we was in the dark. (Italian Female Riverland 0409)

For another, the extent of prior knowledge extended only to the weather:

We knew that it was hot over here and that was it. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

Others were better informed as they knew a little from relatives who had either previously lived in Australia before returning to Greece or Italy or who were living in Australia. In some cases, participants appreciated the value this information

afforded them and the advantages they had over others:

We was lucky for going away, because we had somebody here. See the people who didn't have anybody that was harder for them. (Greek Female 0709)

Children had little say in the decision to migrate and appear not to have been engaged in the process or informed of the likely outcome prior to leaving. When asked what she knew about Australia before leaving Greece one participant, who as a child migrated with her mother and siblings, responded:

Not very much. But we heard about America but we never heard about Australia but we knew that Dad had gone to Australia since 1927 but we didn't know ... where we going. We knew we were going somewhere but we didn't know. Mmm. We thought we were going to America but we were half way to Australia. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

Some based their decision where not to migrate on previous experience of life in a particular country. While having no knowledge of what life would be like in Australia, some migrants chose it in preference to migrating to, or in the case of this participant's father, returning to America where their first-hand experience or that of a family member while there deterred them from returning:

He [participant's father] either stay in America or come back ... to settle in Greece he not like very much there because ... you know America they got a lot there from all the different countries. [He] say we were robbed, this and that not good, lots are sick, they have lot of trouble there you know the fights just after the war had finished. (Greek Female 0911)

For one participant, experience of life in Australia that informed his family's decision to migrate arose from unexpected circumstances – his father had spent time in Australia as a prisoner of war. Some enemy combatants captured by Allied Forces during World War II, spent the remainder of the war in Australia either in prison camps or as indentured labour on farms or government projects. In this case, the participant's father spent time as a prisoner of war working in rural South Australia until the end of the war and his repatriation. Shortly after his return to Italy, the family moved to Australia, sponsored by the farmer suggesting the relationship established during the war had been mutually beneficial:

My father came here as a prisoner of war and he was diverted from Melbourne, from Melbourne from India whatever from Africa, then India then here – he was diverted to [a country town] to, he chose in those days, in ...[19] '43 or '44, he choose to go and work for one shilling a day... He went to work on a farm chopping trees ... and he worked there for three years ... when he came back at the end of '46, he said “Boys (four of us) we're not good here, we go to Australia.” ... and I was about 16 and the youngest one was about 9, “How can we go ...?” He said, “Don't worry – the boss where he work, he paid us the tickets from Naples to whatever, everything paid.” (Italian Male 0409)

5.6 First Impressions

In this section, I discuss participants' recollections of their first impressions on their arrival or shortly after, in relation to housing, food and language. From the time of arriving in a receiving culture, the immigrant begins the process of acculturation and dealing with its associated stresses to varying degrees and in different ways (Lopez-Class et al., 2011). In many cases, these initial responses were consistent with Oberg's (1960) concept of 'culture shock' and represented the disorienting dilemma of the first stages of personal transformation (Mezirow, 1994). In a way, this approach is consistent with CGTM, which aims to identify the issue of importance as identified by participants rather than that selected by the researcher for investigation. Consistent with this approach and in response to an open question about what it was like for them when they first arrived, many participants raised issues of language, difficulties caused by not having the ability to communicate effectively and the need to learn English quickly. Language acquisition is a sub-category I discuss further in Chapter Six as one of the necessities participants identified in settling in Australia and finding information and later in Chapter Eight in the context of participants reconstructing identity as part of their acculturation and information-seeking.

A majority of migrants came unassisted by government and as such avoided processing through the various migration reception centres established in South Australia or Victoria. Relatives, spouses or kinfolk sponsored many but some arrived alone, although they received some social support from other migrants who were in similar situations. Consistent with phase four of Mezirow's TLT,

participants recognised that others at the time of their arrival and those who had settled earlier had experienced similar disruptions. One participant described her situation as being one from which she ‘started from the scratch’ (Greek Female 0709), suggesting her arrival represented a new beginning as if to draw a line between her previous life and the situation she faced in Australia. This was a view expressed by others who similarly saw their arrival in Australia as a start to a new life analogous to a re-birthing:

A new way of life. The beginning of a new life. (Italian Male 0910)

The everyday aspects of a familiar life seemed gone and migrants faced:

A new world, completely new world in fashion, food, language and whatever you looked, whatever you done, was a new world. (Italian Male 0409)

Unquestionably, to the majority, the situation in which they were now located was hard and many admitted it reduced them to tears:

Make us cry at the beginning. Make us cry. Yeah. (Greek Female 0209)

In some cases, they wondered why they had migrated:

Oh well, I feel bad. Many times, I say, why I must leave my country and I come here. (Greek Female 0209)

It was not as traumatic for everyone, as another who arrived as a child recalled an easier time with little recollection of social dislocation or sense of loss:

Well, I don’t know, we came to Australia, it was like we left home, it was no difference. That’s how it felt to us. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

Young immigrants recall the experience of migration as being part of family experience and different to that of their parents (Pennay, 2011) which may explain the response in this case. Further, the participant admitted that she had forgotten some of the detail of these events after so many years, as she was over ninety years of age at the time of interview and had spent the majority of her life in Australia.

Many new arrivals did not have the luxury of time to reflect on the situation in which they found themselves, appearing to spend no time in the self-examination of feelings or assessment of assumptions as proposed by Mezirow in phases two and three of his TLT. Rather, the imperative of finding work loomed large as one

migrant indicated with his actions more consistent with later stages of TLT involving exploration (phase five) and planning a course of action (phase six) leading rapidly to his trying of new roles (phase eight) . Arriving by ship, he spent a weekend in Adelaide before travelling 250 kilometres to the Riverland region to start work:

I came to Outer Harbour [Adelaide's port] Friday night. Monday morning went to [Riverland] picking grapes. It was alright, got a job. (Greek Male 0209)

Another moved from the city to a fruit-growing region near the Riverland soon after arriving:

In 15 days when I come from Greece, I go to Mildura for picking grapes. (Greek Male 0209)

a) Houses

Many migrants had previously lived in rural areas on farms or in villages in Italy and Greece and the design of the typical house in residential areas of Adelaide appeared strange and somehow industrial with its galvanised iron roof rather than the more familiar terra cotta tiles. A sense of 'foreignness' extended to the built environment to involve the type of building materials used in houses. As one participant explained:

I see all the iron roofs and I thought it was a, put a ship in there.... Like we come from [village], from the houses they've got tiles and things and when you see the first time the, you know, the iron roofs and there was all, you know ... that was a shock to the system. (Greek Female 0709)

At that time, houses in the areas referred to were predominately built from brick or local stone, referred to as blue stone due to its generally grey-blue tones, with galvanised iron roofs, timber windows and often verandas, many having been constructed in the late nineteenth century. As such, they would have appeared quite different to houses in Italy and Greece and represent a further example of the culture shock experienced by participants. In a similar fashion, food too challenged the sense of the familiar further contributing to the stress caused by the new and unfamiliar appearance and smell of food.

b) Food

Food represents an expression of culture and individual identification, playing an important role in migration as it is often associated with concepts of self and otherness (Fischler, 1988); inevitably resulting in culture shock. As Postiglione (2010: 09.1) found, food and associated foodways play a central role in identity as ‘the early encounter with food was a fundamental moment in the experience of settlement’. I discuss the measures used by migrants to find and to buy foods generally, and preferably, those with which they were familiar, in more detail later in section 6.6 of Chapter Six. In this section, (5.6) I identify the first impressions migrants recalled from their initial contact with Australian food. In post-war Australia, food was similar to Anglo-Celtic cuisine. Meals often included meat, usually lamb or mutton, accompanied by boiled vegetables; this almost staple diet often referred to by my family and others as ‘meat and three veg’ and more recently by Lupton (2000) in her study of the dietary habits of couples in rural New South Wales. On special occasions such as Sunday lunch, vegetables were roasted and served with roast lamb, the ‘Sunday roast’. Only more recently do diets include foods and flavours associated with migrants that previously seen as foreign to the Australian palate ((Lupton, 2000; Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). In the same way that these new foods confronted the sensitivities of the predominant culture, the Australian cuisine challenged migrants as some found the different food hard to adjust and particular aspects more problematic:

Another thing I couldn’t get used to – the smell of fish and chips. That smell of the fat. I said, “Oh my God, what’s that smell?” and my brother said, “That’s fish and chips.” (Italian Male 0409)

c) Language

Initial exposure to English language in every aspects of everyday life proved similarly confronting as did the built architecture and cuisine. Many participants reported language issues as initially another stress associated with migration and acculturation as they struggled to communicate, find work or simply find their way around. Acquiring an adequate level of proficiency in the dominant language is seen by many as generally beneficial (Ahmed, 2008) and essential to the social and economic wellbeing of migrants (Cervatiuc, 2008). Repeatedly, participants

identified language as an important issue and one that posed an impediment to their successful settlement:

[T]he biggest barrier was the language' (Greek Male 0209)

In response to my question to a participant of her first impressions on seeing street and shop signs written in English, she expressed her shock at her inability to understand directions or descriptions of such everyday objects as signs in public places. Recollections of first impressions related to limited English proficiency created powerful and direct responses even after periods of forty years or more from participants who told of their social isolation arising from their inability to communicate with others using English:

When I came to Australia as a young girl, the language, the language. Not forget. I couldn't speak with no-one. (Greek Female 0911)

A response such as this illustrated the disorienting dilemma that migrants faced and the stimulus it provided to address the problem consistent with Mezirow's TLT (Mezirow, 1994). Comments such as this illustrate how difficult it was for some migrants to establish networks with English-speaking residents and to access useful information, a situation which Zhang et al. (2012) report may limit life chances or eventually lead to anxiety or more serious illnesses. Life was more miserable for some participants who reported that ridicule and an uncaring attitude of some Anglophones exacerbated the problems associated with low English proficiency (LEP):

Too many people they laugh about you because you can't speak English, so they make it real miserable for you. (Italian Male 0409)

Others also found it difficult to learn and use English but appeared to have received social support, which provided a more positive recollection of their experience of life and first impressions of migration:

We found with it hard with language, otherwise was beautiful. People were lovely, but it was very hard for language. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

Participants frequently put language, its acquisition and its use in everyday functions forward as central to finding useful information and achieving a sense of belonging such that it is necessary to discuss the central role it played in migrants acquiring everyday information. I discuss empirical findings related to acquisition of language

after settlement in Chapter Six.

5.7 Conclusions

Migration is an essential first step in this thesis as without it, there would have been no participants for this study. Further, by discussing circumstances existing around the time of migration that influenced the decision to migrate and circumstances existent at the time provided some context in which to locate and inform subsequent development of theory consistent with CGTM.

I introduced Mezirow's Transformative Learning Theory and the concept of cross-cultural adaptation of Taylor to understand the catalyst for change that migration represents and the subsequent need for new, or transformative, learning. Findings support the claim that the act of migration represents both a dilemma and initiation of new circumstances leading to transformative change. Aspects of Oberg's culture shock were evident in responses made by participants about their first contacts with the architecture, cuisine and language soon after arriving in Australia. Suggesting these provided the motivation for transformative learning and cultural adaptation.

The theories of migration discussed briefly in section 5.3 inform a theoretical consideration of the act of migration. In many cases, decisions made were based on both short and long-term benefits as ways to increase human and economic capital as participants described the immediate need to leave in an effort to alleviate privation but many planned a better life in the future. Lee's 'Push-Pull' Theory of migration offers a simple explanation of circumstances existent at the time in sending countries and Australia. Widespread hunger, unemployment and social unrest in Greece and Italy appeared sufficient reasons for people to seek a better life; in addition, the governments had agreements with other countries to facilitate the migration of their nationals. On the 'pull' side, Australia actively sought migrants to meet increasing demand for labour in an expanding economy. Offers of work and financial assistance to migrate provided strong incentives for many to migrate. Historical-Structuralist approaches which I discussed (World System and Dependency Theory), share economic perspectives of migration with those of Neo-classical theories in arguing migration follows expanding global markets and as such, in part inform the

post-war migration that occurred in response to the development of new and expanding markets in Australia. However, being based on one perspective, in this case economic, theories such as these suffer limitations and the varied findings from my study suggest that a more comprehensive understanding of migration requires the engagement of migration research and social theory.

Theories that adopt this integrative approach to migration research afforded a more nuanced consideration of the influence of factors other than economic on whether people migrate, and in some cases subsequent developments and outcomes of those decisions. Structuration theory informed the discussion of the agency that participants expressed in their decision to migrate as compared with the effects of structural influences. I suggest that in terms of Giddens's duality, many of the decisions made were influenced more by structural circumstances represented by poor social and economic conditions and incentives offered by governments to encourage migrants to leave. Participants had a choice to stay. However, their responses suggest they faced a stark future had they chosen to do so. Cumulative Causation, Network Theory and aspects of transnational migration explained the development of chain migration, which frequently involved family and originated from specific villages, towns and regions that lead to migrants settling in specific suburbs or regions in South Australia. In Chapter Two, I discussed the influence of this pattern of migration on settlement and the more recent implications it has had on planning and delivering services in these areas. Network theory is again applied when in the next chapter; I discuss the use by participants of social and information networks to find everyday information and other necessities including work, housing and where to buy familiar foods. Later, in Chapter Eight, elements of transnationalism are used in the consideration of aspects of identity reconstruction to explain the information flow that takes place globally and its influence on the development of a transnational identity

In the next chapter, I discuss in more detail the processes by which participants acquired necessities. Using as a framework firstly Mezirow's Transformative Learning Theory and Taylor's concept of intercultural competency to explain responses to a disorientating dilemma, various catalysts for the need to change and responses made to accommodate and satisfy needs in these changed circumstances.

CHAPTER 6 ACQUIRING NECESSITIES

6.1 Introduction

Acquiring Necessities is a category that conceptualises the processes experienced by participants as a way of learning to live in their host country Australia. Further sub-categories define the nature and properties of the necessities that participants recognised they required and I discuss these in turn. In the following diagram (Figure 7), I locate this category, and its sub-categories, in the development of the substantive theory.

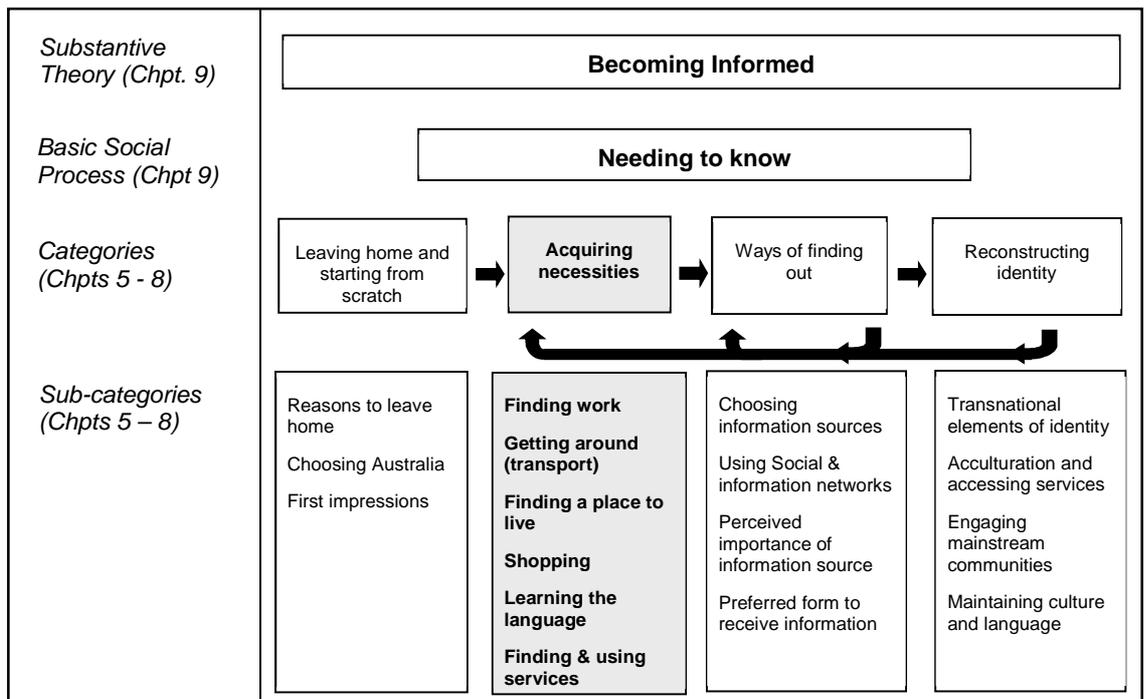


Figure 7: Locating ‘Acquiring Necessities’ in the Substantive Theory

As indicated in section 5.2 of the previous chapter, in Chapter Six I now discuss in more detail the role of TLT in conjunction with Intercultural Competency as I use these theories along with others in discussing my findings. Integral to this process of achieving intercultural competency through a transformative learning process is an understanding of the concept of ‘culture shock’ (Oberg, 1960) so as to appreciate, from the participant’s perspectives, the processes of cultural adaptation, their feelings and how they learned to deal with their new surroundings.

6.2 Transformative Learning and Intercultural Competency

Edward Taylor (1994) was the first to recognise the important role of learning in understanding how sojourners² deal successfully with cross-cultural experiences and that transformative learning offered a model for this process. There is an extensive literature on the competing theories of learning which address the cognitive, behavioural and environmental/social aspects of the processes; see Schunk (2012) for a more detailed discussion of major theories. Some theories afford an explanation of the relationships between the aspects and one which is relevant to the present study is the social cognitive theory of Bandura (1977) who proposes people learn through the ‘triadic reciprocity’ of behaviour, environment and personal factors such as cognition (Bandura, 1986). Learning is considered an ongoing process, affected through networks. In a study of factors influencing the experiences of adults returning to study or the workforce after extended periods of absence, Mezirow (1994) found respondents had undergone a personal transformation. To explain this, he proposed an explanatory process consisting initially of ten stages to which he later added between the original phases eight and nine an additional phase ‘renegotiating relationships and negotiating new relationships’ (shown as 8a in Table 6) (Kitchenham, 2008).

As explained in Chapter Five (section 5.2), Mezirow’s stepped process in perspective transformation begins with a disorientating dilemma and progresses to the final stages of building competence and a reintegration dictated by one’s perspective. Taylor (1994) argues it is by this process that a migrant makes sense of new cultural experiences whilst integrating the new learning into a more considered and discriminating world view. To draw the link between TLT and the process of intercultural competency Taylor (1994: 158) argues an association between three shared dimensions, ‘the *catalyst for change*, the *process*, and the *outcome*’ (italics in original). I suggest that the process of migration is a further example of a disorienting dilemma as described by Mezirow and which Taylor posits as being

² Sojourners spend periods of time in other cultures longer than tourists but not permanently like many migrants and are often represented by aid workers, diplomats or employees of transnational companies

‘similar in nature to culture shock, the catalyst for change in intercultural

Table 6: Mezirow’s Phases of Transformational Learning

Phase 1	A disorienting dilemma
Phase 2	A self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame
Phase 3	A critical assessment epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions
Phase 4	Recognition that one’s discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change
Phase 5	Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions
Phase 6	Planning of a course of action
Phase 7	Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one’s plans
Phase 8	Provisional trying of new roles
Phase 8a	Renegotiating relationships and negotiating new relationships
Phase 9	Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
Phase 10	A reintegration into one’s life on the basis of conditions dictated by one’s perspective

(Source: Kitchenham 2008: 105, 113)

transformation’ (Taylor, 1994: 158). Kim and Ruben (1988) report culture shock as a necessary precondition to change and growth for migrants as individuals re-equilibrate to the demands of intercultural adaptation leading to greater intercultural competency.

Culture shock is a conceptualisation of the multifaceted experience resulting from contact with another culture, used by Oberg (1960) to describe the generally mixed feelings and responses resulting from such contact and the feelings of loss and confusion. He postulates the experience in medically oriented terms describing it as an ‘occupational disease’ with stages (honeymoon-regression-adjustment-recovery) and associated symptoms (including helplessness and homesickness).

Studies of cross-cultural adjustment continue to draw on Lysgaard’s U-curve of adjustment in which sojourners progress through three phases – initial elation, followed by a period of frustration, confusion and depression which slowly

progresses to feelings of confidence (Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Ying, 2005). Subsequent studies applied changes, adopting the Gullahorn W-curve model to explain the period of re-adjustment experienced by sojourners on returning home (Ward et al., 2001). Others challenge the adjustment curve hypotheses for lack of empirical evidence and theoretical shortcomings. Ward and colleagues found the opposite to a U-curve response in that students describe the period immediately after arrival negatively which improves and then again deteriorates over time (Ward and Kennedy, 1996 cited in Ward et al., 2001). Ward et al. (2001) argue these findings are more consistent with the literature on stress and coping as it is during initial stages of transition that migrants or sojourners suffer the most severe period of adjustment to the many life changes associated with relocation often when social support is at its lowest. These findings are consistent with those made by participants in my study of how they felt on or shortly after arriving when they described their world as being turned upside down, feeling as if they were in the dark and at times subsequently reduced to tears.

In the following sections, I present and discuss the empirical findings of my research in relation to the category *Acquiring Necessities*. I present the results in a manner consistent with the concept of journey to explicate the process by which migrants access and process information in their receiving country represented by the substantive theory of *Becoming Informed*. Starting with the period of arriving in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s and shortly after, through to the time of interviews in 2008-12, I present findings in a chronology that acknowledges the changes that have occurred with the passage of time consistent with the concept of a journey. These include affective, social and technological changes, reflecting the participants' responses to migration, those associated with Australia becoming a more multicultural society and developments in ICT. Presenting the findings in a linear fashion does not reflect the complex, inter-related nature of the issues and the processes participants experienced in acquiring necessities to establish a life in Australia. It is important to keep in mind the simultaneity of many of these various processes. For example, the acquisition of English language skills by participants in the work place, while they were shopping or more generally interacting with Anglo-Australians.

6.3 Finding Work

Ward and colleagues (2001) found many migrants relocate for economic reasons including improved financial well-being, yet despite this, migrants often find difficulties in securing suitable jobs commensurate with their qualifications and experience. This arose occasionally for participants in my study who were trained teachers in Greece but who could not find suitable work in Australia due largely to the lack of English-language skills. The majority had few, if any skills and most often worked labouring, in factories or menial jobs as cleaners. In addition to economic benefits, satisfactory participation in employment by migrants is important as inability to do so leads to difficulties in cultural adaptation (Aycan & Berry, 1996). Further, attaining a job and a suitable income stream enables migrants to address the lower level needs such as paying rent and buying food, consistent with Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1970) which requires lower level needs to be addressed before higher level needs.

Having a strong work ethic and the need to secure an income, many migrants wasted little time in finding work in Australia, which some thought was then straightforward, unlike today when employers require job applicants to have a higher level of educational achievement even for menial roles:

You knock the door to the factory, you got a job. Now you have to finish high school to get a job as a cleaner. (Greek Male 0709)

Others required assistance to find employment, initially relying on endogenous networks of family and close friends to provide the necessary information to facilitate the process of finding work or for transport but later their contacts extended more broadly to involve exogenous networks.

a) Endogenous networks

Migrants frequently find work through close cultural ties, often involving family members (Padilla et al., 1988; Ward et al., 2001). Consistent with these earlier findings, participants in my study sought employment with the help of family or fellow migrants as members of their endogenous networks. With less than a weekend to settle in, one participant set off on Monday morning with her brother to find work in the automotive industry:

[M]y brother he's working in Holden here. Saturday morning I arrived in Adelaide, Sunday, Monday off to go to Holden. (Greek Female 0911)

Although some found work readily, the direct approach to employers was not always successful and it proved necessary for some to rely on the knowledge and contacts of family members to facilitate the process of getting employment:

Actually when I started my brother-in-law, as he was working at Australia Glass Factory, and he asked first and I went the [next] day. They didn't get [employ] me because I couldn't speak English and my brother-in-law was furious, angry. So and then the afternoon the foreman, his name is Nick [said]. "Everything bring here with your sister-in-law, the name, when she came to Australia, how old is she". The next morning I went back with my paper, here you are and I get a job there. I last 8 months. That's how I start. (Greek Female 0911)

The support provided through these endogenous networks proved invaluable to people finding work and many appreciated the value of such support in both seeking employment and providing a means of getting to jobs and accessing government services:

I've been very lucky because we used to have somebody they'd take us to the unemployment [centre] or take us to find a job, you know, things like that. (Greek Male 0709)

At times, the reach of networks was extensive, involving few contacts but providing potential access to wide and varied sectors, which in some cases required disparate skill sets. A participant, who was a trained butcher in Greece, found work at an abattoir, located some distance from the suburb where he lived, but soon moved to a more conveniently located manufacturing role:

[H]e went there because he knew it was the Abattoirs and someone took him there and used him as an interpreter, my father used an interpreter and got there. And sometimes by word of mouth like my godfather worked at Coca Colas and said come on [name] you come and work down here and so that's how people went, moved from place to place in those days. (Interpreter Greek Female 0811)

In some cases, migrants had assistance from sponsorship provided by family or members of the host community to settle in Australia with an offer of employment.

b) Exogenous networks

Often with time, migrants develop networks that extend more broadly than their family and community to engage with the host community. In one case, this happened sooner than expected due to unusual circumstances, which I discussed in section 5.5, when a farmer sponsored a prisoner of war and his family to settle in Australia shortly after the end of World War II. Within a short time of returning to Italy, the former prisoner realised the dire state of the economy and in response to the belief that Italy offered no future for him and his family he arranged to return to Australia sponsored by the farmer on whose property he had worked:

[T]hey went to work on the farm in the South-East and they sponsored my mother and father and we came back two and a half years later – it was, we all finished up in a town called [name]. (Italian Male 0409)

In relatively short periods of time after arriving in Australia some participants were taking positive actions to improve their situation suggesting their quite rapid progression through the stages of transformative learning proposed by Mezirow (1994). Consistent with phase 9 of Mezirow's TLT, one participant who relocated from a rural area where he worked in agriculture to a job that suited him in heavy engineering in the city suggested he acquired in a short time sufficient self-confidence to negotiate new roles and relationships in the workplace:

Two months there [Riverland region], then I come to Adelaide. I found one type [of job] that suit me and put me in the railways workshops there a good job there. (Greek Male 0209)

c) Nature of work

The type of work migrants found influenced their opportunities to acculturate through learning English from Anglophone colleagues, or to develop exogenous social and information networks. Having multiple jobs and working at night, restricted opportunities for migrants to socialise and in some cases attend English-language classes. A government objective of the post-war migration boom was to provide labour for factories, mines and major public works, often involving the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs (Iuliano & Baldasar, 2008) that did not attract Australian-born workers. Experiences of many participants in this study confirmed

this as they filled the most basic of roles, what Castles (2002: 1148) calls the '3-D jobs (dirty, demanding and dangerous)'.

It was foreseeable many migrants would find themselves working in agriculture or jobs associated with the sector due to their agrarian origins or living with earlier migrants who had established market gardens in suburbs near Adelaide (Hugo, 1995). Low levels of education further restricted employment opportunities to unskilled positions. In facilities that processed food products it seems that migrants got the dirtiest of jobs:

[T]hey used to take all the bags from the potatoes and everything and they used to clean them, sew them and make the new ones as well, so that was hard, hard, you know, very hard work, so I used to be in the dirty side. (Greek Female 0709)

Many found work in the expanding automotive manufacturing sector employed by carmakers such as General Motors Holden or Chrysler, or various industries that provided automotive components including SA Rubber Mills:

Yeah, I work in the South Australia Rubber Mills, you know, like, we used to work 12 hours a day. (Greek Female 0709)

Many worked in more than one job at a time to boost their total income that separately would have been low, due to the menial nature of the tasks that needed few pre-requisite skills including English-language:

Yeah, cleaning and climbing [stairs between floors] and cleaning. Climbing. I don't know if you remember years ago, Dalgety House [a multi-level office block]. Cos I did the sewing at daytime and cleaning in the night time. (Greek Female 0209)

The forestry industry involves heavy and at times dangerous work more so many years ago involving manual labour for many roles that today are carried out by machinery requiring fewer workers. Just how difficult was the work is illustrated by the experience of one participant who found working in the forest plantations so physically demanding that he attributed the work and his general situation including social isolation to a downward spiral in his life the details of which I discussed previously in section 5.4, Chapter 5:

That was bad for me that work. It was hard. Hard work. You hard work for no money. Hand saw... It was my death. (Greek Male 0209)

d) Language and Work

Aycan and Berry (1996) reported language to be a major barrier to finding employment by newly arrived Turkish migrants in Canada. However Kim et al. (2012) did not find English language proficiency to have an effect on migrants finding a job in Australia due possibly to the low status of the jobs gained. Findings from my study support both these earlier findings. Consistent with those of Aycan and Berry (1996) some participants reported their lack of English-language skills precluded them from any work, even the most menial roles, which others had found did not require the use of English:

[N]o word of English in my mouth so of course, how, how? No work, it was very hard to find a job because of the language. (Greek Female 0911)

For others the lack of English language delayed finding a first job and when they did, they continued to experience further difficulties in carrying out the duties associated with the role as the lack of English inhibited their understanding of what was required:

I start work after three years. Cos I can't find a job because I didn't speak English. Yeah. And then I start work as a nurse and it was very hard for me because I didn't understand everything. (Greek Female 0209)

Whereas others found work through the efforts of family and compatriots, who already had jobs or the menial nature of the work did not require English language skills consistent with Kim and colleagues' findings.

Occasionally, other circumstances exacerbated the difficulties of finding a job associated with a lack of functional English language skills. Location of settlement sometimes prevented migrants who possessed particular skills or training in a trade from finding suitable employment because of a lack of opportunities in the region. Such is the case of a participant who was part of the family sponsored to work on a farm in the southeast of the state. He acknowledges the lack of English language prevented him from finding work that was appropriate to his experience. Although skilled as a shoemaker in Italy, there were no opportunities to find suitable work in

the region:

I worked in a shoe factory back home for 12 years. ... I had to no write, [could not write English] or no sign because I couldn't say "Where is a table or where is a chair?" Nothing, so I went to work on the farm. (Italian Male 0409)

To illustrate the important role of having English language skills in finding a job I refer to the situation in which a migrant who was bi-lingual found well paid work rather than the menial, low paid dirty or dangerous jobs which many others who did not speak English had to accept:

In those days, I used to work as a salesman at the beginning. And then I worked at the [name] Bank. I was a bank liaison officer... and we used to get paid more than the accountants because our [Greek] language we used. (Greek Male 0209)

e) Loss of professional status

Several factors influenced opportunities to find work, as was the case of the migrant Italian shoemaker unable to find suitable work in the geographical location where he lived that was commensurate with his trade qualifications. Other migrants found relevant authorities in Australia did not recognise their professional qualifications thereby restricting opportunities to work in relevant areas. Earlier studies have found that migrants frequently face difficulties obtaining recognition of prior experience or their qualifications which results in their unemployment or underemployment in roles well below the socioeconomic status they experienced prior to migration (Ward et al., 2001; Ryan, 2011). Such was the experience of one participant who reported a major drop in status following her migration:

They worked in Greece and a lot of people came here with different expectations and they found different things here. One, she was a teacher when she came out, she was a teacher in Greece and she came out here and she didn't find anywhere to teach, she ended up picking grapes. (Interpreter Greek Female Riverland 0409)

6.4 Getting Around

The means by which migrants moved around changed with time. Having the means to move around was essential to achieving many tasks associated with everyday life

such as shopping, travelling to and from work and visiting friends. Initially many participants depended on family and friends for transport in their cars and relied on their knowledge of local areas:

[W]e didn't know how to find our way to go here and there, so there always people. (Greek Female 0709)

My brother ... he had a car and I was going with him to work. (Greek Female 0911)

Some recognised the social value of access to transport provided by friends who acknowledge they would be socially isolated if it were not for friends visiting and taking them out:

Yes, yes, yes. Rely on their friends, you depending, you stuck in a home. (Greek Female 0911)

Many did not have cars and relied on other forms of private and public transport that on occasions involved walking or riding a pushbike considerable distances to and from work:

Very hard Very hard. It was Easter coming, I walk five miles there, There was Easter I don't know why but, and too much work. (Greek Female 0911)

I went down there with pushbike I didn't have a car... (Greek Male 0911)

Some wasted little time in getting out and engaging more broadly in doing so unintentionally or unknowingly exhibited a behaviour that addresses the adverse effects of culture shock. Soon after arriving in Adelaide one participant with no knowledge of English language, the public transport system or the layout of the city went shopping alone:

I went [to] town after two weeks for [shopping]. Of course everybody went to work and I said I'm not going to stay home all day, I catch the bus and I went [to city] and come back. (Italian Female 0910)

Such behaviour illustrates Taylor's (1994) learning strategies by which migrants take measures in attempt to restore some balance to their lives through access to the necessary experiences and knowledge.

I will next discuss ways in which participants reported getting around more recently. Changes that are more recent and associated with changed family circumstances, in

which adult children and their partners both work, mean they are less available to drive ageing parents to appointments or social events. As an alternative to services provided by family today, some service providers arrange care packages for clients living in the community that includes access to transport when families are unable to take older relatives to appointments or shopping:

[S]he's got two sons and her daughter in laws will take her to all of these things. If they're working, they're no way that they're able to take them, that's why the package was introduced where she can instruct her on any of her problems to the people who pick her up. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

More recently many participants report driving only occasionally using a motor vehicle for short trips near their homes:

He actually is still able to drive but he can only drive, cos he only lives probably about five minutes from here, he will drive to this program and drive home, but as far as going around, he doesn't really go anywhere, unless there's someone who can transport him. (Interpreter Italian Male 1208)

On occasions one showed considerable independence to the surprise of a day-care program coordinator:

[I]f he needs anything himself, he'll get onto his motorised motor scooter and he'll actually go down to the shops near his home. (Interpreter Italian Male 1208)

[B]ut I thought he wasn't doing that anymore but he's actually still doing it. (Interpreter Italian 1208)

Other participants use public transport and readily navigate the system often relying on route numbers rather than details of the route or destinations written in English:

[S]he'll go to the bus stop and there is a bus time table and she knows, number 224, I know I have to catch that bus to go from here to Elizabeth and she can read that quite well. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

Many participants who are now considered to be in the older-old age category continue to be actively involved in the general community and frequently travel unaccompanied on public transport often the city to shop.

6.5 Finding a Place to Live

Again, endogenous networks played a role in the case of newly arrived migrants finding suitable accommodation. Some lived with family members who had migrated previously while others shared dwellings with other unrelated families or as a group of unaccompanied young single men:

They have some ladies [who migrated] two years before me and I stay with them. They have a house and their husbands and two they working in the Holden and the ladies also have the babies and stay and start talking in English. (Greek Female 0911)

It was before our some Greek people who we lived with for little while in one house, one month we stay there. One house, three families. And after one month we find house in [suburb], was where delicatessen, there was three units together. (Greek Female 0811)

[L]ived on Henley Beach Road for 6, 7, 3 or 4, 5 months in a boarding house, 16 boys all men between the age of 20 and 24, 25, all boys. (Italian Male 0910)

Not all were so fortunate to share suitable accommodation with kin or fellow migrants and one lived in what would have been particularly harsh conditions in the foothills to the south of Adelaide, an area of lower winter temperatures and higher rainfall:

First when I started work when I work here, a little tent. A tent. Yeah. Because I made to live in a tent in [suburb]. About a year there. (Greek Male 0209)

While not reduced to living in a tent another participant reported the living conditions she and her children endured to be very poor even by acceptable standards relevant at that time as they lived in a dwelling with earth floors:

The children live in [on] the ground; for they [mothers] are picking grapes, the children living in ground, dust, very bad. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

Many expressed their intention was to achieve financial security and so give their lives some stability. To achieve this many worked hard, often long hours in two jobs, to accumulate savings to buy their own houses, as they believed renting did not offer any long-term financial advantages:

We had always the intention to buy a house and could never afford to. We rent for a time being but then you had to buy your own house because we thought rent a house waste of money. Why you rent when you can buy your own? That's the sort of thing, the mentality that helped us to be where we are today. (Italian Male 0409)

Through their concerted efforts, many couples were able in a short time after arriving in Australia to purchase their first home:

We bought this house after two years. (Greek Female 0811)

At the time of conducting my interviews, several participants were still living in the same house they purchased soon after arriving and one couple illustrated how through hard work they achieve a debt-free property in an incredibly short period:

We were married for six months; we bought a house we never moved from here again. We never moved from here. So we worked hard, if we tell you how long we take to pay for the house you are going to be surprised – 31 months. (Greek Female 0911)

Many worked hard in the belief that they would achieve financial stability and an acceptable standard of living:

I mean that was hard, you know, that was hard but we work hard and that's why, you know, we buy a house and everything. (Greek Female 0709)

Consistent with the attitude shown to buying a home rather than renting and taking extraordinary efforts to reduce debt quickly, participants demonstrated a similar approach to shopping for essentials, paying cash for goods when they could afford to do so.

6.6 Shopping

Again consistent with Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1970), migrants needed to shop immediately after settlement for the basics such as food and shelter and later for goods and services that met their higher level needs associated more with their social requirements and wellbeing. Becoming a functional consumer, an everyday activity to those who are locally born, represents a challenge to migrants and requires of them further transformative learning and presents another aspect of adjustment described by Viswanathan et al. (2010: 525) as 'consumer acculturation'. In this section, I

present the experiences of participants when shopping for goods, their coping strategies and the role of English-language skills in this activity.

Other than when buying a house, participants saved and paid cash for items including essentials such as furniture, electrical appliances and cars, often making do with older items in the interim:

We bought second-hand furniture and, you know, slowly but I reckon that was happier years in those years. (Greek Male 0709)

Some used 'lay-by' facilities offered by stores to pay for essential items in instalments over a period having to completed payment before taking possession of the goods:

When the cards come in lay-by and things you not have the cash money there. Mothers with the kids and not working you see I had to put the lay-by on. (Greek Female 0911)

On occasions, participants went without items that were generally available and used widely in the broader population to make housework easier and not buying items until they had the money and they faced an imminent need:

I will never forget that I was pregnant with my eldest daughter so we paid off the house and in two weeks I gave notice and the holidays I got I went to Myers and I bought things for my baby. We didn't have washing machine, we didn't have nothing. (Greek Female 0911)

The husband of this participant bought a washing machine while she was in hospital after the birth of their daughter. Many delayed making purchases, buying goods with cash when it was available thereby avoiding debt for all but the largest and most essential items:

We got only the house by payments. The cars, when you have the money you bought the car. (Greek Female 0911)

a) Shopping and Language

There is little research on how individuals without adequate English-language and knowledge of an unfamiliar marketplace function and cope as consumers in English dominant cultures (Viswanathan et al., 2010).

In the absence of functional literacy, many participants in my study relied on visual information in selecting goods, avoiding the need to use English:

Well you have to go and to the shop to ask about things but have to learn to talk [English] otherwise how you're going to ask what you really needed? The shops – Myer, anywhere where you go you couldn't speak English but you were capable to see where you wanted to buy and try on and that's how it works. (Greek Female 0911)

Well that was easy – the things was on the front, you know, like everything you want you can see them so we take them or say, for instance, if you want to buy a dress so you go in the change room, you know, like try on and then take it to the counter, pay the money and leave. (Greek Female 0709)

Using visual dependence to select goods did occasionally fail due to lack of experience of products not previously seen in shops, resulting in inappropriate selection of items mistakenly thought to be human food:

[O]ne lady I remember ... she thought it was tuna and she said very cheap you know, 30c and she brought over a dozen, it was for cats. I mean in Greece they didn't, they don't sell, they didn't sell those days food for dogs or cats in the supermarkets. (Greek Female 0209)

There were occasions when shopping for items required migrants to interact with Anglophones that lead to exchanges that were variously humorous or embarrassing. Actions replaced words and charades proved a popular alternative to language with participants resorting to imitating chickens to explain to butchers that they needed meat or eggs:

You know, and they have a lot of, like eggs, people who wanted eggs. Oh I want you know... [Chicken noises, sound of egg being laid]..., so it wasn't, like I said, it was sad at the beginning but when you know sad at first you know, explain the story or whatever and you laugh. (Greek Female 0209)

As literacy improved, many participants were very aware of the embarrassment that may result from incorrect pronunciations or choice of words that sounded similar to them:

There was a few words that my mother would never use because maybe she was worried about confusion between all of them and it was like 'ship', 'sheep', 'sheets' and 'shit'. And she was very careful how she used those words. (Greek Female 0409)

In some circumstances incorrect choice of words resulted in humorous confusion:

We cook our own chooks [chickens] every week. One day he say, "I can't go there, you can go yourself to buy chook." But I no understand what the lady what I tell her. He say, "Say chicken" Alright? Say about 500 metres to walk there. So I walk there. But not a word, instead of say it's "chicken, chicken, chicken", comes "kitchen, kitchen, kitchen". ...A woman was there. Come, "Yes please?" I say "One kitchen". She understands something funny say, "Come here" takes me inside, "this is my kitchen and it's not for sale." I can fix this I say "Come out side, chooks" I say "this is the kitchen I want to buy." (Greek Male 0209)

While on other occasions using words from two languages, involving pronunciations that sounded familiar but with distinctly different meanings resulted in embarrassment:

There is this lady, she wanted to buy lentils, go to buy lentils and she asked her neighbour, she said, "how you say lentils?" I said, "I don't know, use a Greek word" and the Greek word is Φακέζ [pron. Fuckees.] And her said, "but don't use the whole word just cut it and then we'll understand it." This is true. She said, "look I want fuck". (Greek Female 0209)

b) Shopping and endogenous networks

As a way of coping with the stress associated with shopping, many participants relied on family or fellow migrants for help to shop, or as information sources when buying culturally familiar foods:

My husband he was speak very good English... when we go for shop, he take me there, because he speak English and I tried to learn myself English. (Italian Female 0409)

Well, to me, my experience, we have a fish shop. [Proprietors] they have a fish shop and the next was all the Woolworths, the Coles and everything. So if we want something we went to them, take them from the fish shop and they

would go [for or with us] and buy some things that we want.. (Greek Female 0209)

Oh well the words gets around, you know, I mean, maybe like a word of mouth at the beginning; went to live in [suburb] and there was a friend who said “If you want to buy olive oil, you have to order it. You want to buy pasta”, it was made by San Remo in North Adelaide or somewhere and then of course slowly you widen your track, you know, you go this way, that way, get what you want. (Italian Male 0910)

For many others the concentration of ethnic populations in particular locations in Adelaide (Hugo, 1995) offered migrants availability of familiar foods from shop owners who spoke their language and shared the culture thereby avoiding a need to use English:

Next to us where we were living was Greek people that had delicatessen and we used to shop from there too, many things. (Greek Female 0811)

Clearly, acquiring English-language skills enabled migrants to interact more freely with the host community and to function more effectively in seeking and gaining information required for a range of everyday activities. Many participants identified the need to learn English as central to this process and I discuss their experiences in the next section.

6.7 Learning the Language

As explained in Chapter 4, section 4.3.5, Charmaz (2006a) encourages the use of words used by participants when coding (in vivo codes) as they capture and help preserve the meanings they attribute to their views and actions. The centrality of language acquisition to attaining cultural adaptation is captured in the words of a participant when he described to me how important it was for him to learn and use English language ‘The trap door you open has to be the language’ (Greek Male 0911).

Choosing to use ‘trap door’ rather than ‘door’ suggests opening it offered an escape from a confined space as a trap door is a relatively small opening fitted flush with a floor or ceiling that provides access to a limited space and is often associated with incarceration. The context in which he used the term suggested to me that he was

perceiving language acquisition as providing an essential means to a wider world and a more informed world. The view expressed is consistent with the literature on the importance of acquiring English language proficiency when it is the dominant language and the social and economic consequences when this does not happen.

Inadequate proficiency in English represents a major barrier to migrants finding work (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Spencer et al., 2003; Spencer et al., 2007; Ryan et al., 2008), and social integration (Cervatiuc, 2008; Temple, 2010) and has been associated with incidents of social unrest in England (Ahmed, 2008). Low levels of language proficiency in the dominant language impede migrants' abilities to operate as informed consumers (Viswanathan et al., 2010) or to seek information from health workers (Spencer et al., 2003). Kim et al (2012) found migrants' perceptions of well-being increased with improved language proficiency. Migrants have been shown to use their social networks in the process of language development and sharing information (Janta et al., 2012).

a) Recognised need and determination to learn English

It is reported that migrants to English-speaking countries have a pervasive desire to learn English recognising to do so offers a necessary route to upward social and economic mobility (Bach, 1999). Many participants in my study recognised the need early to acquire English language if they were to improve their lives through interacting positively with the host community, having very quickly experienced the stress of being unable to communicate more broadly:

It didn't take long for me because to start with, I was very upset and very disappointed because we didn't know the language so I say I have to do something, I can't, because not even my brothers knew the language, nobody. So I went straight to the night school and thank God, Mr [Name], he was helping us a lot. (Greek Female 0209)

Using Mezirow's TLT as a theoretical framework explains the participant's response to her situation having experienced the disorienting dilemma of migration (phase 1). In the data she shows a self-examination of feelings (phase 2), assessment of sociocultural assumptions (phase 3) and early recognition that she shares the experience and process with others (phase 4). This awareness led quickly to actions

(phases 5 and 6) with a purpose to acquire necessary skills necessary to implement her plan to learn English (phase7).

Often, participants reported having had only a limited or in some cases, no formal education before migrating but the lack of schooling did not inhibit their efforts to teach themselves English through immersion, for example by adopting a trial and error approach of reading a local English newspaper with help from English-speaking acquaintances. Starting with issues in which he was interested one participant proceeded quickly from reading about sport to being able to read more generally:

When I come here, I was 15, I didn't go to school or anything but every day, I was trying to read, you know I didn't know the ABC [English alphabet]. I was reading the English paper and the football and the cricket, someone tells me [about] umpire, what is that? And after that I went to general reading and yeah, my English is much better. (Greek Male 1208)

Others made use of language classes as a more structured way to learn English.

b) English language classes

As part of the post-war migration program the Australian government offered English-language classes to migrants from non-English speaking countries essentially recognising the economic benefits of language acquisition and consistent with the assimilationist policy at the time (Burnett, 1998; Pennay, 2010). Language classes were offered widely with the intention that migrants were able to access the service and many attended classes often several nights a week; for one participant, classes were such a sentinel event in her life at that time she spontaneously referred to the address of the classes which she attended almost fifty years prior:

Night school twice a week, 140 Currie Street. (Greek Female 1208)

Yeah three times – at the Thebarton High School – three nights. (Italian Male 0409)

The commitment and effort many participants made to learn English are consistent with the mid-phases of Mezirow's TLT in which they explore options (phase 5), plan a course of action (phase 6) to acquire skills needed to implement the plan (phase 7). However, despite efforts by government to make classes freely available, times and

locations did not suit all migrants. Consistent with the findings of Spencer et al. (2007), Temple (2010), and Ahmed (2008) of reasons why migrants did not attend classes in the United Kingdom, some participants reported they were unable to attend classes due to the timing of classes or to competing activities of work or childcare:

No. We should but we didn't because we had to find a job and work and, you know, like we had to survive so you don't have the time to, yeah, but then, you know, the kids. (Greek Female 0709)

No, because we had children. It's very hard, working hard on the blocks [orchards] and you can't go – there was classes yes, the government help us but we didn't have time. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

For some, attending classes proved to be a troubling experience feeling embarrassed by their efforts to learn and being humiliated by the insensitive and unsupportive responses from fellow students when they made mistakes:

Oh, I went about three or four lessons and then I didn't like it. Yeah the people, you say something wrong, the people started laughing there, I say "Rubbish, I'm not going to go there." If you say a wrong word the other people who tried to learn as well, they laugh. If somebody laughing on me, I don't want to go there. (Greek Male 0709)

In this situation, the participant suggests a feeling of shame consistent with phase 2 of Mezirow's TLT, which impaired his progression through later phases of TLT thus impairing his opportunity to acquire skills and build competence.

c) Language and exogenous networks

It is understandable that migrants with few or devalued work-skills and poor command of a host country's language would depend heavily on their own community or ethnic enclaves for economic support (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Hugo (1995) agrees that enclaves offer support to new arrivals during the adjustment period but cautions that the long term effects of residing in and relying on such ethnic concentrations can include delay in acquiring English language skills which may inhibit employment options and well-being in later years (Hugo, 1983). Ryan et al. (2008) examined the role of strong and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) in migrant networks of learning language and found that strong ties in dense networks consisting of co-nationals inhibits amongst other things the opportunity to learn

another language. Similarly, Chiswick and Miller (1996) reported host language acquisition is inhibited by living in areas in which there is a high density of minority language speakers. Consistent with these findings many participants acknowledged the inhibiting effect of mixing only within their own community and making a deliberate decision to mix with the broader dominant community so as learn English:

But you know I find out if you mix up with people, you learn easier how to speak. In the beginning, it's hard but you learn more but if you are always with your own community you never learn to do anything, so we always mix with other people, you know. (Greek Male 0709)

By intentionally taking steps to mix more broadly with the dominant culture many participants accessed a broader range of potential sources from which to learn English. The workplace with English-speaking colleagues was one such opportunity.

d) Language and work

Through regular and unavoidable contact with English speakers in the work place, many participants learned language quickly through their own determination to do so and with support and assistance from associates:

I didn't go to school but in the factories where I was working with Australians. I was trying whenever I could. (Greek Male 1208)

Yeah, so there was some good people, Australian people, all of the people, there was a very good people wherever I used to work, they used to stay and explain to me, they show me things, you know, they was good. (Greek Female 0709)

If you mix with the people that happened very much in the shop all the time you know talking. (Greek Female 0911)

In some situations, learning of English occurred by immersion:

[B]ut because I work with English people I had, I was forced to speak the language and that's probably why helped me to pick it up quickly. (Italian Male 0409)

On occasions, Anglophone colleagues were not helpful and did not represent a reliable source of tuition instead attempting to mislead migrants with deliberate and incorrect translations that would result in their embarrassment:

I couldn't understand a word of English, and I'm picking oranges with three other girls and these girls were telling me words to repeat. One girl sat in the corner, she said "No", so I wouldn't answer [laughter]. But that's how it used to go, yeah. But, they'd say "oh say this" but you don't know what it means, you repeat it, it means something else, not what you think it means. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

In some circumstances, participants who either worked with other non-English speaking people or worked alone recognised this lack of exposure or immersion inhibited their continued learning or retention of English language from lack of opportunities to use English regularly:

In the workplace but it was after I was work for myself. And I never speak much English cos I work from that [location] for 15 years. (Greek Male 0209)

Some employers offered formal classes to employees, often after-hours, as a means to learn English language, as was the case with a government department:

I work for Water Supplies. At night time, they had the picture up there and you go there and learn. (Greek Male 0209)

However, employers did not generally offer language training and within government opportunities varied between departments. Such was the case of a participant employed by a government-operated railway who received no language training including for work-related tasks:

No. No. Up to Broken Hill [New South Wales] down from Woodville [metropolitan Adelaide] down to Naracoorte, [southeast South Australia] nowhere no teacher, no. Nothing (Greek Male 0209)

Several participants reported working as maintenance workers on rail lines at various locations around South Australia and while the work they did was manual and straightforward it was dangerous, yet employers offered work safety messages and job training by demonstration:

In the railways, it was easy, because "this is a sleeper", "this is the dogs", [spike to fix rails to sleepers], you have to get the hammer ... (Greek Male 0209)

In this case, the participant was learning tasks by observing others and understanding the general principles of fixing rails to wooden sleepers. When I asked what he

understood about instructions delivered in English he replied, ‘They explain but I no understand’ [the instructions provided in English], illustrating the inadequacy of means by which supervisors delivered instructions and a lack of responsibility and understanding by the employer of the importance of workplace safety and training. Today, government legislation and compliance programmes aim to ensure higher standards of work place safety and training (SafeWork SA, 2013). However, a recent study by Smith and Mustard (2010) of workplace safety practices in Canada found migrants faced more risks than Canadian-born workers and these risks may be increased by language problems with communicating information about health and safety risks and workplace rights and protections.

e) Other sources

Participants identified and used many other sources from which to learn English. Some learned by immersion and exposure to the language without any formal tuition through watching English–language television programmes:

I learnt lots of English from the TV – television. (Greek Female 0709)

Several participants learned English from their children once they started school, in some cases to a limited degree as one participant used an interpreter during an interview to explain the role of her children in her language acquisition:

[Name] is saying that they learnt more from the children that were starting to go to school ... (Interpreter Italian Female Riverland 0409)

Rather than their children teaching them English, frequently Anglophone neighbours provided opportunities for participants to learn and practise their English-language skills. As their confidence grew some actively interacted with representatives of the host community to improve their language skills through comparison of new terms used for familiar items with the familiar words used in their birth language:

[M]y kids never teach me one word, I learn with a neighbour, and I try and I was no shy, because I remember I ask ‘what do you call it this one in English?’ She said to me “it’s a table”, oh, Italy “*tablo*”, oh that’s alright, I say ‘okay.’ (Italian Female Riverland 0409)

To illustrate aspects of the process of language acquisition through a gradual building of understanding of a new language I refer to the story told by one

participant. Like many others, she learned English from engaging in conversation with her neighbour starting with the most basic phrases dealing with social introductions. However, an unexpected inclusion to the conversation with reference to something as everyday as the weather caused confusion and embarrassment:

Oh I feel shame now, I was two weeks in Australia and the lady lives next to me and she say every morning. “Oh good morning [name], how are you?” and one day she said “Good morning [name], good morning” Oh she said “It’s a lovely day” she said to me but I don’t know what to say “Good morning, good morning” and I thought I was, summertime when I come and on the fence was almond tree and was ready to pick and I thought she told me to pick the almond tree, to shake for her because she was old, because she said “Oh it’s lovely day [name]” and I was looking around to find a stick to help the lady. Oh, it was very hard the language. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

This response suggests the high standards many participants imposed upon themselves to learn as this participant refers to having been in Australia only two weeks, seems to have an expectation of understanding, and reiterates how difficult it was to learn a new language.

6.7.1 Finding and using services

Possessing functional English-language skills in Australia facilitates access to a more extensive range of services and several participants in my study recognised this as being more important now than when they first arrived as they now for example access health services more because of age-related conditions. It was important for migrants to know about and have access to services they needed to settle and function in the host society. Both the needs of participants as they have aged and the nature of these services have changed over the intervening period since arriving in Australia; so too have the means by which services are provided or information is distributed changed. In the next chapter, I discuss how migrants found what they needed to know during the period soon after arriving and more recently. In this section, I discuss those services that participants identified as important for them as being able to access or be aware of as part of their everyday lives soon after settling in Australia. Consistent with the concept of journey engaged to explicate the process of *Becoming Informed*, I initially discuss participants’ experiences of finding and

accessing services soon after arriving in Australia before progressing to discuss their more recent experiences.

In the period shortly after arriving in Australia several participants reported having limited need to access services due in part to being healthy and in some cases having little money or possessions that required using banks or contact with government agencies to register motor vehicles or obtain a driver's licence:

But I was young no go to the doctor not sick. Banks, no money for the Banks.
I no got no car. No sick. (Greek Male 0209)

Myself because I was young I never got sick, honest. (Greek Female 0911)

More recently, participants recognised an increased need to know about services appropriate to their changing needs and for this information to be accurate and comprehensive:

But now, but we're old and we need informations (sic) and we need the information to be as accurate as ever. (Greek Male 0209)

a) Language and access to services

Perceptions amongst participants varied as to the availability and extent of interpreter services being widely available:

We got now, a lot of facilities like this office [service provider] here and like this office, there are quite a few around I think. And even Centrelink there are interpreters, in the bank there are interpreters. (Greek Male 0209)

Today life is easy because if you go to Centrelink, where you go you find Greek interpreters. (Greek Female 1208)

However, situations remain where a lack of interpreters makes it difficult for non-English speaking people to explain their needs or to understand information:

[A] Greek who might explain [to] the Greek people – anyway but they have none. Sometime you are going there and you don't understand much what they saying. (Interpreter Greek Female 0409)

Elder and colleagues (2009) posit the importance of providing health information messages in the language of the audience. Often service providers offer mainly written brochures and other material about services in targeted community languages, in some cases claiming to have addressed issues of language that arise in

dealings with people from non-English speaking communities. Research highlights pitfalls in providing material in a language based on assumed literacy or ethnicity of a target audience. A study by the Pew Hispanic Centre (2008) of literacy of Latinos showed fifty per cent considered themselves bi-lingual whereas seventy five percent read both English and Spanish. In many cases, providing information in a community language is appropriate and appreciated by members of that community, acknowledging the logistical difficulties a service may face in doing so:

Whereas the letter, especially in their own language, even is better in their own language but may be hard for the government but it should be, you know.
(Greek Female 0709)

However, in doing so service providers often assume the recipients of information are functionally literate in that they can read and understand information presented in their birth language illustrating a different aspect of issues highlighted in the PEW report referred to above. This is an unfounded assumption on which to address a need as often older-old migrants who cannot read English are also functionally illiterate in their birth language, having missed an opportunity for an education due to circumstances prevailing at the time of their childhood in their birth country:

I'm guessing, most of them from my understanding, is correspondence [written] but in their own language. We do have a few ladies out in the community that are illiterate, some have only gone to grade one, or grade two or grade three at school – some haven't gone at all because it's about the time when war broke out in their country so they didn't get a chance to be educated.
(Interpreter Greek Female Riverland 0409)

In a similar way to language and ethnicity, level of acculturation of recipients should not infer the language to be used in any communication (Elder et al., 2009). I further discuss acculturation of participants in Chapter Eight with an emphasis on its influence in accessing information and services.

More acculturated participants were able to navigate systems more readily to access information available in English language but expressed sorrow for compatriots who could not use English and confirmed the difficulties they faced from being functionally illiterate:

Well at the moment you can go through the phone book, all the government departments they are all there and you can go through the phone book for any service you want is there. I mean, like [name] said, for the older person, which they don't to read or write, that's a big step. (Italian Male 0409)

A participant perceived inadequate English language skills restricted one's ability to find information about a broad range of issues and to communicate effectively with health professionals:

I think it's a problem, would be a problem for the people trying to find out things on what is immigration, taxation, medical – people with medical knowledge of the English language. I do believe they are the people that really, personally I feel sorry for because has happened two or three times, somehow one person was complaining, couldn't speak English and he couldn't make himself understood to the nurse or to the doctor or whoever. (Italian Male 0409)

b) Role of children in information seeking and accessing services

This study found children play an important role as interpreters and cultural mediators for their parents consistent with Chu's (1999) studies on immigrant child mediators. Children of migrants often learned English sooner than their parents did and as a result provided language translation for the family. In the years soon after settling in Australia several participants found they depended on their children for translations as one illustrated:

That was the days when I couldn't speak English they used to interpret me, they were six, seven years old they used to do that... (Greek Female 0911)

Taking on this role at a young age placed considerable pressure on the child in having to deal with adult concepts, which at times were embarrassing for one participant who as a young child having recently started school interpreted for her parents:

You know it just went over my head but Dad would say "You say this to him" and you know Mum would say "[You say] this to him" and sometimes I'd think, Ma I can't say that. (Italian Female 0910)

At the time of interviews, several participants indicated a continuing dependence on their now adult children as a source of information and for interpretation of letters

received in particular from government sources, despite demonstrating a good command of spoken English during the interview process:

We've got our children who we ask on many occasions to find out things. Sometimes we'll get letters or things like that in the post and we keep them, we hold on to them and at night time when the children come home we get them to read them to us. (Greek Female 0209)

More recently, adult children provided an important service in arranging and getting their aged parents to appointments:

[Name] actually said to me that all of her appointments and things like that are all dealt with by the children. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

Many still act as interpreters for their parents in dealing with various services including health:

Like she is saying, they rang from the Adelaide Hospital and she couldn't understand what they were saying and then she gave them her daughter's number and they rang the daughter and then from there she understood. (Interpreter Greek Riverland 0409)

Adult children continue to interpret information from government departments explaining to their parents the content and what actions, if any they should take. Hearing from an adult child the 'real meaning' of a letter from government reassures an older person even in cases where they appear to have a reasonable understanding of the purpose of correspondence from government:

Yes, when I receive a letter from the Centrelink, we read it first and after give to my son, I say, "Please read the problem" and he explain it to me what is there. If I have to worry or no worry, no, that's alright, you okay, thank you. (Italian Male 0409)

Engaging children as interpreters has associated benefits and risks to both the adult and children involved. To do so is expedient and necessary as it addresses the language barrier faced early in migration. However, long-term reliance on children by parents to avoid dealing directly with language presents a barrier to language acquisition and an ability to deal directly with a host society (Fisher et al., 2004). Children assume an important role as interpreter for their parents but in doing so also assume a large responsibility for dealing with adult issues and deciding the nature

and extent of information they provide their parents (Chu, 1999). Acting as interpreters the children, in this case, become ethno linguistic gatekeepers in linking their parents to information they need (Metoyer-Duran, 1993); in so doing exercising power in their potential to filter information (Barzilai-Nahon, 2009).

c) Finding and using health services

As I discussed earlier in this section, participants' needs for information and access to services changed over time. With increasing age came an awareness of the greater likelihood of needing medical services. Nevertheless, along with this greater need came an increased awareness of the importance of being able to communicate with health professionals realising the need to understand English or to rely on someone to interpret for them:

Especially when you become older then you get more the language than when you were young because you need doctors, you need to go to the hospital and you don't know the what they are going to tell you, have to have someone with you, but when you're young you never get sick. (Greek Female 0911)

While few participants reported having little need for using health services when they were young, Greek migrants used their endogenous networks to access a doctor when necessary:

Through other people, they understand. When you're sick you know in Adelaide a Greek [born and speaking] doctor. In [name] Street. (Greek Female 0209)

The Greek community in Adelaide was fortunate to have Greek-speaking doctors from the beginning of the post-war migration boom, as the interpreter explained by way of background information:

Actually, the first migrants came here to Australia who came here to Australia; they had no problems because already since 1950 we have two main Greek doctors here. But after 1960 there became other Greek doctors so we had no problem with doctors at all. (Greek Interpreter 0209)

Greek-speaking residents in the Riverland region were not as fortunate as those in metropolitan Adelaide and this disadvantage continues today, meaning they must travel to Adelaide if they wish to consult a Greek-speaking doctor:

We don't have a Greek speaking doctor here but I know with [name] she goes to Adelaide she sees doctors in Adelaide. She's got a Greek doctor there. (Interpreter Greek Female 0409)

Sharing a language can confirm cultural identity and the familiarity provides participants of those exchanges with a degree of confidence gained from the shared understandings. Further, the nuanced meanings can be lost in translation and several participants confirmed the importance of sharing a birth language to comprehend fully what doctors were telling them and to feel confident they understood the fine detail, which they did not get from consultations held in English:

Usually we go to our doctor and he's Greek spoken, you know, so he's explained to us exactly what's happening. I do understand the other [English-speaking] doctors as well but to be sure, I always visit my own doctor. (Greek Female 0709)

Placing importance on health related issues and a desire to comply with the advice given by doctors, another participant confirmed how important it was for her to talk to her doctor in her birth language:

Yes, yes because you understand more, you know, something because when your, you know, English is not your, you know, mother language, maybe something it's not right, so that's why we have to make sure we do the right thing. (Greek Female 0709)

In situations where doctors could not communicate with patients in their birth language, they engaged the services of third party interpreters in an effort that addressed the issues of language differences. However, problems arose in situations involving telephone conversations between the three parties involved in the conversation, as the interpreter explained by way of background:

Many times, I might get phone calls or they will get family to translate, daughters or sons or whoever, so this is what happens. They have tried to get over the phone but they reckon that it's very hard over the phone to get interpreters and to have a three-way; it's going to be a three-way conversation. (Interpreter Italian 0409)

For one participant, along with her increasing acculturation from improving language acquisition, came a growing self confidence in new roles and relationships consistent with phase 9 of Mezirow's TLT (Kitchenham, 2008) when she asked a medical

specialist to speak more slowly so she could understand the conversation:

I go to the specialist oh a long time ago and she talking very fast and I said “Look, if you want to understand or I understand, better you talking slowly” and now she talk me slowly and I understand everything. (Greek Female 0409)

Understanding health related issues extended beyond conversations with health professionals to a need to understand how the system worked and what one needed to do to access services. Not realising the need to make an appointment to see a doctor meant for one participant waiting unsuccessfully all day in a consulting room and not seeing the doctor:

[Name] is saying that a lot of funny things used to happen back then, like she was expecting, she was pregnant, and went to the doctor and didn't know that she had to make an appointment so she sat there all day because they weren't calling her. (Interpreter Italian Female 0409)

More recently, service providers now navigate the health system for their clients as a function of care packages provided by government to older clients to support them to live in the community. Such arrangements provide an alternative to family members organising medical appointments as explained by the interpreter:

In [Name's] situation, if any appointments need to be made like will happen today, the coordinator here as part of her package, [name] will say to them I need to go see a doctor. The carer who comes to take care of her will actually pass it on to the coordinator, and the coordinator will make the necessary appointments. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

In hospitals, patients were unable to follow simplest of instructions given in English and staff lacked the sensitivity to their needs to ascertain what patients did understand:

When I was in hospital the first time they say, today you get up and sit on the chair but I understand to get up but I didn't know the chair because I was only 15 months here. Next morning, they tell me yesterday to sit on the chair. They said today get up and sit on the chair, they showed me the chair – ah that's why after 15 months I learn what it means chair ...know but I was okay, I was understand very good. (Italian Female 0409)

Situations such as these raise questions of whether migrants gave informed consent

to medical procedures due to their limited ability to understand English and failure by professionals to take reasonable steps to ensure patients understood instructions or explanations of clinical procedures. For one participant it seems that she had a very limited understanding of her medical treatment:

We used to tell him [the doctor] how we feel and he could have done whatever he wanted because we didn't know. (Italian Female 0409)

It seems that other sectors were more proactive in reaching out to migrants through offering services and providing interpreters. One such service was in the banking sector.

d) Banking services

Opportunities that existed prior to migrating to learn and use English consequently afforded employment opportunities that were not available to migrants who could not speak English. One participant who had learned English while working and travelling with a theatre company, including for a period in the United Kingdom, decided to settle in South Australia after a tour of Australia. His language skills and experience led to his employment as an interpreter in a bank that proactively facilitated the opening of accounts for newly arrived migrants by meeting them at the ship as they arrived and subsequently when they lived in a migrant hostel:

I worked at the bank. We used to go to the ship, to open account from them and then we used to go to the [migrant hostel] at Pennington (Greek Male 0209)

In some cases, bi-lingual staff that provided language interpretation might have lacked training or have sufficient command of languages other than English to satisfy the needs of some customers. Highlighting the importance of migrants having access to professional interpreter services, one participant in referring to his wife's experience reported she needed a higher standard of translation than that provided by bi-lingual staff:

If she's got a confidential letter and she doesn't want her son to help her and she wants to go to the bank, how I mean, she went to it three times but the interpreters that were in there. I mean, not interpreters actually, they were employees working there, Greek people. They couldn't satisfy her with their

Greek, you know, not so high level as she wanted, and she wanted Greek back. (Greek Male 0209)

In the post-war period, during which many participants arrived, there have been major changes to the range and delivery of banking services. The most significant being the introduction of electronic banking initially as electronic processing of transactions using credit cards, followed by services available by telephone (telephone banking) to most recently a comprehensive range of services and transactions available on the Internet (e-banking). Uptake of these more recent options appeared limited amongst participants but while aware of their existence they expressed a preference to continue with established practices when possible. Some continued to use a cheque account first used when in business, and before the wide spread adoption of electronic banking (e-banking) into retirement:

Well, yeah, we used to have the cheque account and we stayed with that, yeah. (Greek Female 0709)

Many expressed a strong desire to use cash for everyday financial transactions:

All the ladies here are saying they use their bank books, they go to the bank and they withdraw their money. (Interpreter Greek Female 0409)

I go every fortnight and take so much money out, forget about – I pay cash [for] everything. (Italian Female 0409)

In addition, some required help from family to withdraw money from a bank:

This lady is saying that she won't go by herself to the bank, she will actually take her daughter and they go together and take money out – she's unable to do that on her own. (Interpreter Greek Female 0409)

A level of understanding existed of how many of the more common electronic banking services operate such that one participant could appreciate the humour in getting money from an Automatic Teller Machine (ATM) when I explained the money came from a 'hole in a wall' in response to putting a plastic card in a slot. Many participants were reluctant to adopting e-banking, preferring instead to deal directly with staff in a bank. One exhibited her confidence in expressing her preference consistent with phases 8a and 9 of Mezirow's TLT (Kitchenham, 2008) making it clear to banking staff the consequences if her wishes for personal services and to use cash rather than e-banking were not respected:

I been to the bank and the girls they serves, they push me to have a card. I said “No I want to see money in the hand” and she said “Oh that’s good for you... you have money there in machine”. I said, “Listen, you don’t want to see me here anymore, so if you don’t want to see my anymore, okay, I go [to] another bank.” So I’m coming here every fortnight, I take so much and I am not coming here anymore. (Italian Female 0409)

Another participant adopted limited aspects of e-banking, using an ATM for convenience when the need arose and it was not possible to use cash, which she preferred to do:

This lady has also got a card but she only uses it in emergencies, so she still goes to the bank and withdraws her money but in case that she is desperate for money and she can’t get, the banks are closed, it’s a weekend or public holiday, that’s the only time she’ll actually use her card. (Interpreter Greek Female Riverland 0409)

Participants of both sex carried out banking and possibly males did so more in earlier times when they were working:

The banking no, my husband did it all. My husband have correspondence he very clever on everything he pick up very easily... (Greek Female 0911)

However, this was not always the case as a participant who arrived as a young child remembers her mother taking responsibility for many financial matters:

My Mum she was very, very intelligent young lady and she done everything. She used to go and pay the bills, she stop at the bank here, everything. (Italian Female 0109)

In recent years, many female participants who are now widowed have had to learn to do their own banking. However, in some cases involving couples the female instigated changes to the way of transacting banking and managed the process. One confidently adopted telephone banking, an example of transformative learning consistent with Mezirow’s TLT – in exploring new options (phase 5), acquiring the required knowledge and skills (phase 7), building competence and self-confidence (phase 9) and finally reintegrating these new skills into her everyday activities (phase10). Having not learned to use a computer or access to the internet, this participant adopted an alternate viable means to conduct her banking in a way that offered benefits including flexibility and improved access:

I even pay bills by the phone, I don't have problem. Even one night I must have got to pay the land tax at 11 o'clock one night. (Greek Female 0911)

Her capabilities in dealing with these issues acknowledged by her husband, when he said, "She's better than me on this." (Greek Male 0911)

e) Government services

Participants reported having varying degrees of contact with several government departments, most frequently for purposes of health care and pension entitlements. In cases where recipients did not receive a pension their need to contact government was less than for participants receiving a pension. Lack of contact did not mean a participant knew less about what services are available but rather reflected a lesser need:

In [Name's] situation, she's actually on a self-funded pension so she doesn't really get a government pension. Yeah she pays tax but she's very good with that. She knows everything that's going on. She doesn't have much contact with the government. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

When needing to address issues relating to health, pensions or overseas travel participants demonstrated knowledge of where to go or what means to use to find the information they needed. This was particularly evident among the more acculturated participants who demonstrated functional English-language skills:

Okay, if it's say Medicare or whatever, my first choice would be go to their office. I wouldn't ring them, I'd go in and I'd pick up whatever, and talk to someone, or pick up just pamphlets for the health thing or that's what we usually do. (Italian Male 0409)

Some responses suggested the 'matter of fact' approach many took to finding what they needed to know illustrating a building of competence and self-confidence consistent with phase 9 of Mezirow's TLT:

Anything I want I have to find it by phone, like to ring up the right place or go myself say in Centrelink, or in the doctors, or in the welfare or whatever I need. (Greek Female 0709)

If we're going overseas, we go and find out about immunisation in government departments or I don't know about other people, but that's what we do. (Italian Male 0409)

If I don't know something, I go to Centrelink and take my time and they explain to me and then, you know. (Greek Female 0709)

Most of the time I make a special trip, when I want to go there, I will go there and then if I am outside, go shopping too. (Greek Female 0709)

In addition to knowing about services provided by the Australian government, some participants were also aware of services provided by local governments and the necessary process to access them:

We've got problem with the trees and with a neighbour as well... And I rang the, I went to the council and because the Council they got no booklets and they had to ring elsewhere and then they told me [I] have to write to him [the neighbour] because he had gum trees on the boundary. (Greek Female 0911)

But also, the local Council should be able to help you. All they have to do is pick up the phone or get someone to do it for them and the local Council will help with any question that you would want or any services that you would require. (Italian Male 0409)

Several Italian participants were in receipt of pensions paid by the Italian government. Some expressed their concerns of the effects on their pensions of the worsening political and economic situation in Italy around the time of interview. This coincided with the onset of the first Global Financial Crisis and issues related to the performance of (the then) Prime Minister Berlusconi:

[Name] still gets an Italian pension from Italy. So sometimes they need information from the consulate here, I think it's what it's called, and they are to give them the answers they need cos there are papers that come from Italy and they look at it and they say "I have no idea what this means" and they're worried that they'll have to pay back money... (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

Shortly after this interview in December 2008, the Italian government announced the closure of the Consulate in Adelaide as a cost saving measure in response to Italy's dire financial situation. Subsequent changes in the Italian Parliament and political leadership along with strong opposition from residents of Italian descent in Adelaide resulted in a delay in its implementation. A further announcement in mid-2013 by

the Italian Government that the Consulate would close in early 2014, again invoked opposition from the Italian community in Adelaide. On this occasion, a spokesperson for a community group referred to the problems this decision would cause the still large community of first generation (Italy-born) residents who do not use computers or technology (Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2013). Loss of an option of direct interpersonal contact with consulate staff in Adelaide would require residents to deal with a Consulate office in Melbourne or the Italian Embassy in Canberra and represent a barrier to accessing information and services for people who do not use ICT.

6.8 Conclusions

In this chapter I discussed the nature of the necessities that participants identified they needed to settle and establish themselves in Australia. Using Mezirow's TLT and the concept of intercultural competency of Taylor offered a theoretical understanding of these everyday activities and located them in the context of migration and subsequent personal responses to adapting to living in a host culture.

Findings suggest that the process of acquiring necessities firstly satisfied economic and social needs, including finding work and a place to live, in a manner consistent with Maslow's theory hierarchical of needs. Having to deal with a new culture and language brought about transformational changes in participants consistent with Mezirow's TLT and subjected individuals to changes associated with acquiring intercultural competency. Consequences of these changes are evident in the way many now access services and gather information, more so in the more acculturated. Learning of new skills needed in the workplace, acquiring another language or navigating new physical, social and information environments improved competencies and exposed participants to aspects of the host culture. Consistent with TLT, this required the development of new relationships, renegotiating existing ones and led to greater competence and self-confidence. The subsequent reintegration of these changes in to personal perspectives influenced relations with the host culture and identity. Acquiring English language was one such competency that I use later in Chapter Eight as a measure of identity reconstruction and its influence on the nature and means of finding information.

The next chapter examines the means by which participants found the necessities they needed including access to services and more broadly, news and information they use in their everyday lives.

CHAPTER 7 WAYS OF FINDING OUT

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the Category ‘Ways of Finding Out’ represents the means used and the sources of information accessed by participants to find everyday information and includes findings from the third stage of the research. Participants reported using a variety of means to find information from a diversity of sources, requiring a more extensive analysis and inevitably a chapter of greater length. To assist the reader to navigate this chapter I have, as previously, diagrammatically located the category in the substantive theory as shown in Figure Eight.

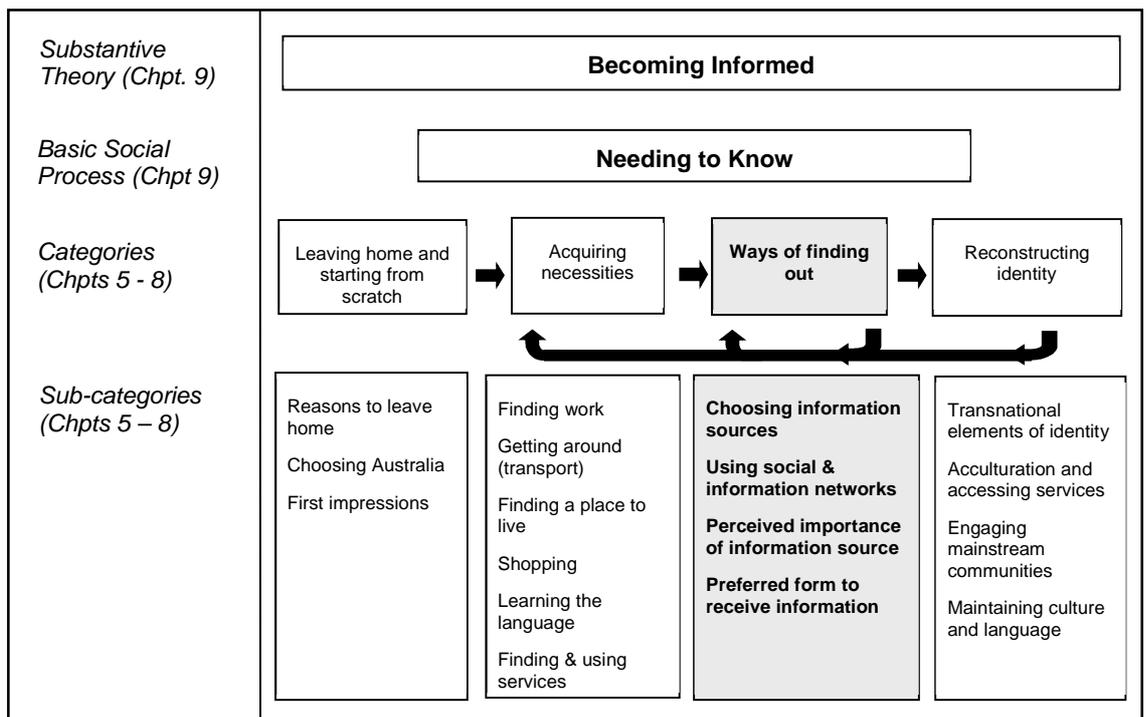


Figure 8: Locating ‘Ways of Finding Out’ in the Substantive Theory

Further, the approach to presenting and discussing theoretical frameworks that are relevant to the findings differs from that adopted previously. In this chapter the discussion of these frameworks and the relevant results are presented sequentially rather than presenting the discussion of relevant theoretical aspects of the findings at the beginning, followed by analysis of findings in the context of these relevant

theoretical frameworks.

Migrants who do not speak the mainstream language in a host country are recognised as being information poor as they face innumerable challenges in finding and using information they need in their everyday activities (Fisher et al., 2004). Moreover, Fisher et al. (2004) assert there is limited research on the information behaviour of non-English speaking migrants because of difficulties of surveying and interviewing due to differences in language and culture. In section 4.3.2 of Chapter Four, I discussed the role of interpreters in addressing these issues to enable me as a monolingual researcher to engage migrants in this research so I could construct an understanding of how they find everyday information.

7.2 Developments in Information Studies

Various aspects of information and its associated activities, continue to be of interest to researchers, including how and why people need information, sources they use and the purpose to which they put this information. Since the late 1970s the focus of research shifted away from the system-centred approach to refocus on a user-centred approach which considers the social and cultural contexts of the user in seeking and using information (Savolainen, 1993). The sense-making theory introduced around that time by Brenda Dervin and colleagues represents a watershed in the study of information seeking and use. Dervin's sense-making approach has its origins in a category of research described as the 'everyday citizen information needs studies' that describe the everyday needs, such as housing and family, of people, the sources they and degree of success in finding information they need (Dervin & Nilan, 1986: 22).

Cross et al. (2001: 439) see information seeking as a 'symbolic act with social significance', and it is this perspective that is of particular relevance to my study and moves away from the traditional systems-approaches. To understand when, why or and how people interact with information requires a holistic, constructivist approach that is human-centric consistent with CGTM. As Dervin and Nilan (1986) suggest, humans construct sense and meaning appropriate to context and available systems and sources, suggesting that people choose sources of information and means of

accessing them depending on their needs and skills, availability of sources and ways to do so.

7.2.1 Defining ‘information’

Despite information being central to many human activities at various levels from the everyday to the intellectual, defining what people mean in using the term is more challenging as meanings implicit in everyday uses may conflict with explicit scientific definitions. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1980: 554) defines ‘information’ as ‘Informing, telling; thing told, knowledge (desired) items of knowledge, news’. Writing at a time when the interest of the emerging discipline of information science was on information retrieval systems and machine–human interaction, Farradane (1979: 13), suggested that ‘information’ should be defined as any physical form of representation, or surrogate, of knowledge, or of a particular thought, used for communication.’ Farradane expressed disinclination for philosophical concepts and mathematical modelling instead seeking experimental data on which to base quantitative research (Bawden, 2008). However, Farradane (1979: 13) did acknowledge that other writers consider information:

as some holistic ‘system’ concept involving people, their attitudes and needs, and the effects of information transfer on decision making, social behaviour, etc., or on even a wider environment.

Acknowledging there are many concepts of information located in various theoretical structures, Capurro and Hjørland (2003: 396) adopt a pragmatic approach in defining information, arguing the most important distinction between the numerous definitions is:

That between information as an object, or a thing (e.g., number of bits) and information as a subjective concept... as depending on the interpretation of a cognitive agent.

Dervin and Nilan (1986) paradigm shift away from the system-oriented to a user-focussed approach in information research is recognised by Talja and Hartel (2007) as a milestone in a process of changed perspective that began prior to 1986 and which I discussed previously. Two aspects of Dervin and Nilan’s (1986) work are relevant to my study: Firstly, in calling for a focus on the subjective life-worlds of information-users rather than the objective approach proposed by Farradane and

others; secondly, by arguing the need for studies of what users think they need (whether real or perceived) rather than on what the system possesses. The variety of approaches taken in information research reflects the extent of differences in perspectives taken by researchers and the subsequent tensions due to the rejection by researchers, including Dervin, of this objectivist perspective of the nature of information and studies of people's needs and uses.

Brookes and Farradane are two such authors whom Dervin and Nilan (1986) describe as having an objectivist approach to the nature of information and subsequent information research. Contrary to their assessment of Brookes' perspective, Bawden (2008) credits Brookes as the originator of the 'cognitive approach' to information science and Brookes' work continues as a topic of academic commentary (Todd, 1999a, 1999b; Bawden, 2011). Brookes (1980) expresses the relationship between information and knowledge in what he calls 'the fundamental equation'

$$K(S) + \Delta I = K(S + \Delta S)$$

in which a knowledge structure, $K(S)$ is changed into an altered knowledge structure $K(S + \Delta S)$ (italics in original) by an input of information, ΔI . ΔS is an indicator of the effect of the modification. Capurro and Hjørland (2003) suggest defining the term in the context it is used, such as 'information seeking', 'information systems' or 'information services', recognising information is an important concept in several fields including sociology and the economics of the information society. However, they concede that defining the concept seems more problematic as it requires accommodation of various issues, including tension that exists between a subjective or objective approach. Further, Capurro and Hjørland (2003: 349) caution against the use of terms designed 'to impress other people' such as the definition of information first proposed by Brookes, which suggest to them serve only 'a persuasive function.' Often couching such definitions in the form of an equation leads (wrongly) to a belief that terms used are quantifiable. However, Capurro and Hjørland's (2003) criticism may be harsh as Brookes (1980: 131) acknowledges the descriptive nature of his equation as he explains his use of a pseudo-mathematical form of his equation as 'the most compact way in which the idea can be expressed.'

Despite these criticisms, Brookes' equation continues as an often-quoted summary of

an issue central to studies of the altered knowledge structure caused by an input of information. Cornelius (2002: 407) acknowledges its importance when he says:

It may have been unoperational in information systems, but it has remained operational as a general consideration, even if not in experimental design, within information retrieval theory and within information science's theorizing of information.

Bawden (2008) argues Brookes' greatest contribution to information science is his adoption of Popper's three worlds ontology as a philosophical basis for his research. Central to Popper's analysis of objective knowledge is the idea of three ontologically distinct sub-worlds, his 'three worlds'. According to Popper (1972: 154) world 1 is the *physical world* of objects; world 2 is the *mental world* of subjective human knowledge; world 3 is that of *objective knowledge* represented as human artefacts such as books or music.

Popper's three worlds model is not without its critics as reviewed for example by Bawden (2002). However, many propose this model as a useful and appropriate framework in which to consider various aspects of 'information.' Yu (2011a) argues the utility of the three worlds concept in relation to her information world notion lies in the fact that entities within all three worlds can inform an individual.

In arguing the importance of subjectivity to studies of information, Abbott (2004) posits the centrality of Popper's three world model in particular the role of world 2 in human perception and understanding of information. A better understanding of why information flows in and out of the private world 2, albeit often in imperfect ways, should, Abbott (2004) argues, be the focus of information science with a view to improving their effectiveness. In similar fashion, Bawden (2002) too argues the three worlds interact with each other and that world 2 is central to these interactions. In his study of health information, Bawden concludes Popper's concept to be a valid way of understanding this domain.

As 'information' is central to the activities of individuals, I argue it has an equally important role in the functioning of groups of people. It is the concept of 'information society' that I discuss in the next section with particular reference to

consequences of the emergence of greater use of digital technologies on older people and their ability to gather information for everyday activities.

7.2.2 Participant definitions of 'information'

Aware of the difficulties experienced by researchers in defining the concept 'information' and wishing to understand how participants defined information, consistent with my constructivist approach, I asked each to describe in their words what the term meant to them. Responses were in general consistent with the dictionary description and were many and varied, including one who saw information and knowledge as comparable or interchangeable:

You seeking information because it's just knowledge, for me (Italian Male 0409).

Several showed a functional egocentric approach in describing information in terms of meeting needs relevant to addressing their current circumstances:

What she needs to do during the day and how she can get help. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

Trying to find out the right information to assist a person in my situation. (Greek Female 1208)

Others considered more broadly the purposes for which they needed information that in turn involved considering more topics ranging from those affecting everyday living to a broader interest in social issues and geography:

When I want some information for work, information for living, information in Australia, you know how, what are the differences from my country to this country that'd be information. (Greek Female 0911)

Many recognised the everyday nature of information, defining it in terms of needs for activities as routine as shopping or finding the most effective way of using public transport:

If I'm going shopping I don't know something, I just ask and they give me the answer, that's good information. (Italian Female 0409)

If you want to know a better service, you ask where the bus goes, the bus route ... you ask for this information. (Italian Male 0409)

Some recognised the reciprocal nature of information; firstly through sharing interpersonal relations and the benefits that accumulate from such sharing:

Or you're helping other people you know, the information you're giving to them. (Greek Female 0209)

Further, others recognised this reciprocity extended to the need by others for information about them for whatever purpose as well as finding what they need for their own purposes:

Information to him means when someone wants to find out things about him or about what he needs to know for his work or for his daily affairs. (Interpreter Italian Male 1208)

Responses to my request for a definition of 'information' show that participants have various understandings of the term consistent with those used in general conversation and more formally. Including as they did a wide selection of topics and intended purposes, it is perhaps not surprising that many participants showed an ability to select sources of information, which they thought would most likely meet their needs for information.

Participants often demonstrated the ability to select a source they perceived as appropriate and most likely to satisfy their information needs. The response from one participant illustrates this ability to contact a doctor for health information, a service provider about receiving services or a priest for spiritual matters as appropriate:

She is saying depending on what information we are looking for, if it's medical information we'll see the doctor, if it's community information we go to our committee members. If it's something to do with the Church we go to the Priest. (Interpreter Greek Female Riverland 0409)

Others confidently use a telephone to contact services and when necessary visit a government department or other services for further discussions:

Like to ring up the right place or go myself say in Centrelink, or in the doctors, or in the Welfare or whatever I need. (Greek Female 0709)

7.2.3 Information society or an 'informatisation of life'

In a similar manner to the difficulties experienced in defining information, many

authors find it problematic when trying to define ‘information society’. Again, the widespread use in everyday contexts contribute to these difficulties such that the use of the term, ‘is now laden with contradictions and vagueness’(Karvalics, 2008: 29). Recent rapid technological developments particularly in ICT saw the concept of ‘information society’ defined more in terms of technology and not sociotheoretical models (Karvalics, 2008: 31). One such definition, which emphasises the technological aspects, is that of Dutton (2003: 407) who describes the ‘information society’ as:

A community in which information and the technological infrastructures used to create, store, and network information – information and communication technologies (ICTs) – are increasingly central to all forms of social and economic activity.

Webster (1995) too finds difficulty in defining what constitutes an ‘information society’ preferring to use the term as a heuristic device rather than as a definitive term. With these difficulties declared, Webster (1995: 6) offers five analytically different definitions of an ‘information society’ suggesting a broader conceptualisation of the term. These are:

- technological
- economic
- occupational
- spatial
- cultural

Of particular relevance to my study are the criteria of *spatial* and *cultural*, which I will discuss before summarising the remaining criteria. The *spatial* concept draws on space with an emphasis on networks along which communication flows, linking entities including people in various geographical locations. Technological advances in communications have seen dramatic increases in volume of information moving along these networks and concomitant increases in speed of transmission lead to a time/space contraction (Harvey, 1989). Advances such as these have led to previously unimaginable increases in volume of messages and reduction in cost of communication, factors relevant to transnational networks (Diminescu, 2008) and which were identified among participants in my study.

In the *cultural* definition, Webster (1995) considers the influence of media in society and the extraordinary increase in socially available information. Again, recent technological developments have seen the availability of more means of communication and ways to gather information than seen previously. Of interest in my study is this proliferation of technological means of communication, whether participants made use of the newer technologies and if so in what way.

Technological innovation is central to a *technological* definition of the information society. Major developments in information technologies (IT) and subsequently ICT, providing greater capabilities while reducing cost, resulted in the widespread adoption of these technologies (Webster, 1995). An *economic* approach focussed on studying the size and growth of economic industries categorised broadly in five industry groups. Often considered jointly with an economic approach, Webster used a definition of *occupational* as a measure of the emergence of an 'information society', using the ratio of 'information' jobs to those in conventional manufacturing and mining as a measure.

Development of an information society has disadvantaged some members of that society. Studies show that migrants suffer marginalisation in terms of access to and use of information generally not only ICT, due to their often being poorer with lower levels of education as well as experiencing the vulnerability and uncertainty associated with the migration experience (Lingel, 2011). Pintér (2008: 14) cautions against the uncritical acceptance of the benefits to accrue from an information society as he argues the 'disadvantage of change' will inevitably lead to winners and losers. In addition, introduction of new technologies frequently occur in a top down manner, initiated by the topmost layer of society in possession of knowledge and skills to make optimal use of the introduced technologies. Pintér argues economic advantage and power relations drive demand for newer technologies and rejects as a myth claims that technological development will address social inequalities.

Webster (1995: 219) argues the flawed nature of technical determinism that separates technological development from the social world, identifying technology as the prime driver of change. Such approaches see the emergence of a novel society distinct from that, which preceded it. Consequently, Webster prefers to describe the

changing role of information in society as ‘an informatisation of life’ flowing from a continuity of social development (Webster, 1995: 218). This concept of a continuum of social development involving a changing (and increasing) role of information in society is more consistent with Giddens’ view that, ‘modern societies have been “information societies” since their beginnings’ (Giddens, 1987: 27). Giddens argues that one of the distinguishing features between pre-modern and modern society is information and the agency to do something with information such as question authority or to be reflexive (Giddens, 1991).

In this thesis, the focus is on the ‘human aspects’ of information seeking to understand how participants became informed in the context of their everyday lives including what role, ancillary or otherwise, ICTs play in this process. It was therefore important to find a model of this behaviour in which to locate these activities and experiences.

7.2.4 Concepts in information behaviour

Until the mid-1970s much of the research about information dealt more with system issues rather than human behaviour (Wilson T.D., 2000) and studies that did consider human aspects dealt with role-based groups more so than demographic groups (Case, 2006a). Information behaviour research was in the context of human-system interaction and assumed an active, problem driven search for information. In relation to information retrieval, Belkin’s (1980: 137) Anomalous State of Knowledge hypothesis proposes that an information need arises from an identified anomaly in a user’s state of knowledge about a topic and the user’s inability to specify what is needed to resolve this anomaly, i.e. the concept of ‘non-specifiability of need’. Non-specifiability of need has two components – cognitive and linguistic, each of which is relevant to my findings of how participants found everyday information they need. The scale of non-specifiability within the cognitive component fits on a spectrum. At one end is the state of knowing where and how to find the necessary knowledge to solve a problem and doing so. The other end of the spectrum arises when a person is unable to specify the nature of the required knowledge necessary to solve a recognised problem. The linguistic component of non-specifiability addresses the expression of need for information in an appropriate linguistic form. Problems arise for people who are not specialists in a particular field from their not understanding or

using terms that are unique to members of a speciality such as health care professionals, legal practitioners and computing experts. For migrants these issues extend more broadly to everyday situations due to a lack of functional knowledge of the dominant language as discussed in Chapter Six. Participants in my study identified their lack of English-language skills as a major barrier to them finding information they needed for their everyday lives in Australia.

In a similar manner, Bates (1989) concludes that traditional information retrieval systems fail and that people search for information using an evolving search technique with each new piece of information the search providing new leads for further searches in new and different directions. Each search refines what a person is looking for and so leads them to further useful information. Bates describes this process as 'Berry picking', comparing the gathering of information with the manner in which people pick a few berries from each bush as they move through a forest.

Subsequently, interest has broadened to studies of how and why humans seek information to include whether it be purposeful or passive, described as incidental (Williamson, 1997) or accidental (Erdelez, 1996), leading to what can be broadly considered as studies of information behaviour. Pettigrew et al. (2001: 44) propose that information behaviour is an appropriate term to describe the research but in doing so acknowledge continuing debate over its suitability. They describe information behaviour as, '[t]he study of how people need, seek, give, and use information in different contexts, including the workplace and everyday living.' (Pettigrew et al., 2001: 44)

Fisher and Julien (2009) include reference to the purposeful and passive approach to seeking, managing and using information. Which in many respects is similar to Wilson (2000: 49) who earlier suggested a broader scope by defining information behaviour to include sources, channels and whether the information seeking is purposive or serendipitous, '[t]he totality of human behaviour in relation to sources and channels of information, including both active and passive information seeking, and information use.' It is within these definitions that I discuss how participants in my study found information in their everyday lives, sources from which they gathered information; the means used (channels) and what they did with that

information. I will now briefly discuss some of the theoretical frameworks in which studies of information behaviour are located.

In ways reminiscent of the atheoretical aspects of early GTM and the problems subsequently caused by lack of a theoretical framework (Bryant, 2009), early works involving information research were without theoretical foundation (Brookes, 1980) although later works sometimes had partial frameworks (Jarvelin & Vakkari, 1993); a situation which Brookes addressed in part through his development of an equation to explain the information-knowledge relationship (Todd, 1999a). Hjørland (1998) posits that information science lacks explicit theories, a position Cornelius (2002) rejects, citing his previous work (Cornelius, 1996b) in which he claims theory is implicit in the practices of information science. Studies that are more recent address this issue as researchers draw upon theories from information science and social sciences more broadly to develop new and to refine existing theories. Bates (2002) suggests it is possible for the co-existence of various epistemologies with greater benefit achieved from better appreciation of alternative perspectives; suggesting perhaps the use of the one most appropriate for the purpose of the research. Hjørland (2004) argues in favour of basing information research on a theoretical perspective, acknowledging various points of view are suitable. This leads Case (2006b: 316) to conclude, ‘the increasing attention paid to theory is a sign of maturity in the investigation of information behavior (sic)’. This is a position with which Fisher and Julien (2009) concur in their more recent review. For a more comprehensive discussion of developments that have taken place in the field of information behaviour research in recent years I refer the reader to reviews by Pettigrew et al., (2001), Fisher, Erdelez and McKechnie (2005a), Case (2006b) and Fisher and Julien (2009).

Fisher et al. (2005a) classify the approaches to research broadly as cognitive, social or multifaceted. *Cognitive approaches* examine the cognitive and emotional motivations of information behaviour. Characteristic of this viewpoint is the assumption that there are conceptual structures, categories or mental models in the mind of an individual and that information is filtered through these models which are in turn altered by the incoming information (Tuominen & Savolainen, 1997).

Social approaches engage meanings and values associated with social, cultural and linguistic aspects of information behaviour. Research seeks to understand the human and social aspects of the sharing and flow of information outside of the cognitive domain. Of particular importance to informing social approaches are the theories of Chatman, (1996, 1999, 2000) which I will discuss shortly, but before doing so will mention the third approach to information behaviour research: *Multifaceted approaches*. These combine aspects of cognitive and social approaches in recognising the necessity to explain complexities of information behaviour and the interaction of social and or cognitive aspects.

Adoption of a social approach to information behaviour research, shifted the emphasis from the cognitive to social contexts and lead to a focus on meanings (Pettigrew et al., 2001). I adopted this approach for my study to understand better the social aspects of how participants gathered and shared information as well as the nature of the information. Consequently, the analysis of the nature and role of social networks of participants offered insight in to the social aspects of their information behaviour. Chatman's work was instrumental in bringing about this shift, through her theory of information poverty (Chatman, 1996), theory of life in the round (Chatman, 1999) and theory of normative behaviour (Chatman, 2000). These theories inform information behaviour research set in its social world. Tuominen and Savolainen (1997: 89) adopt a social constructivist approach in their study of everyday information behaviour in which they consider information as a 'communicative construct which is produced in a social context' rather than an entity 'or as a commodity that is transferred through communication channels.' The constructivist perspective and consideration of the social context of the construction of information are each relevant to the research focus of this thesis.

Dervin challenged the static ways in which needs and uses of information were studied resulting in subsequent approaches considering the dynamic, personal and 'context-laden' nature of information behaviour (Case, 2006a). Dervin's Sense-Making theory informs one approach to understanding information research but there exists other approaches to studying information behaviour. Of particular interest is Savolainen's (1995) investigation of information behaviour in everyday life, so called everyday life information seeking (ELIS) as my study focuses more broadly

on how people seek and use information for everyday purposes rather than specific information needed to undertake work-related tasks. The increased interest in context and social aspects of information behaviour lead perhaps inevitably to using social network analysis to understand how interpersonal relationships influence the flow of information.

7.3 Participant Information Behaviour

At a time of an ever increasing number of sources of information and means of accessing them, there are numerous studies into the process of finding and using information in everyday situations (Johnson, 2007). This situation suggests a potential for 'information overload' (Savolainen, 2007) in which individuals feel overwhelmed by the ready availability of information from numerous sources (Bawden & Robinson, 2009). In the presence of this superfluity of information many people, ironically tend to experience a sense of information inadequacy and anxiety (Prabha et al., 2007).

7.3.1 Satisficing of information needs

Satisficing as defined by Simon (1955) is applied to information behaviour studies to explain why and when people stop searching feeling they have enough information to satisfy the purpose of the search (Prabha et al., 2007). Beck (1992) argues that people stop searching when they feel they have too much information (overload) or it is conflicting and inconsistent as a mechanism to deal with its complexities, exhibiting what he describes as 'eschatological fatalism'. Responses such as this have implications for public health initiatives that aim to inform decisions about food safety and choice in that contradictory messages and multiple sources reduce consumer certainty and trust in the information, leading to potentially harmful behaviours (Henderson et al., 2012; Ward et al., 2012).

An important characteristic of satisficing is the sequential manner in which people seek information by sifting through each piece of information before deciding whether to seek more or stop having decided they have enough (Zach, 2005). In returning to different sources to gather further information, participants demonstrated the sequential nature of the process that leads to a situation of their having enough information to satisfy that need:

She want to find out something we ask someone then we'll go back to more friends or our children or something and we'll ask for more information about it until we're satisfied that we know what we needed to know. (Interpreter Greek Female 1208)

Whereas, in other situations, participants assessed the adequacy and veracity in gathering information from different sources to develop a more balanced perspective:

We've got different ideas, different people's views, you know, especially if they're older, they've got a different way – and the younger ones have got a different way again, whether you agree or not, you still can balance between the older and the young and try and, you know, make a decision, or think “Well have I got enough? Is that right or is that wrong?” (Italian Female 0409)

7.4 Choosing Information Sources

In the following sections, I discuss the sources of information used by participants under three broad headings - interpersonal, media and organisational. However, this linear approach does not reflect the approach taken by many participants who engaged multiple sources to gather, or on occasions, to confirm the information they had gathered.

7.4.1 Interpersonal information sources

Earlier research in information studies report the importance of interpersonal contacts as sources of information (Williamson, 1997, 1998). Consistent with Fisher and colleagues' (2005b: n.p.) finding that ‘people turn to other people when seeking everyday information’, participants in my study often consulted family members and friends when looking for information or seeking confirmation.

Results showed that participants are selective when choosing information sources based on their perception or knowledge of how relevant a source is to a particular need. They also accessed several sources, using at times, various channels for information about the same topic. On occasions, this information seeking was passive in nature received for example as a letter and read about in a newspaper. At other times, multiple sources provided ways to validate information in checking content with a trusted source such as adult children:

[Name] saying she heard about it from the radio but sometimes also from the papers and the children that she speaks to. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

This need to confirm the meaning contained in information occurs more often in situations involving participants with lower levels of English-language acquisition who required assistance with translation, as was the case with this participant.

It was not surprising that participants engage multiple sources in seeking information as some recognised the importance of actively seeking information when they needed it and showed they had an awareness of the numerous sources they could use:

I read the paper every day and they do, and I got television, I got books and whatever I want to know it's all there really. (Italian Male 0409)

The nature of the information needed today is different to that required in the early years after arriving in Australia when participants sought support from family and other migrants to find jobs or a place to live. Today, the social capital of these networks continues to provide information that participants need to deal with current issues, the nature of which have changed since they arrived:

Well we always we help each other in our community because somebody knows more, somebody knows English, somebody works in a good job, you know, we always mix with our, you know, community and we get the informations (sic) we want. (Greek Female 0709)

Many of these networks now engage the broader community as often children of migrants are in positions where they have information that older migrants need or they can access the information required through their own, usually English-language, networks.

Participants frequently perceived their adult children as a reliable and trusted source of information as well as a means to check quality and appropriateness of information received from other sources, as one participant confirmed:

Oh yes. For sure. We always be sure with our children. (Greek Female 0209).

Not being always readily accessible required extra effort by participants to contact children living in other parts of Australia:

You know they help as much as they can with information or what. But then again they are a long way away. It's not easy. (Greek Female 1208).

In the absence of children of their own, some participants referred to members of the extended family in the form of nieces and nephews for trusted advice:

Haven't got children, if I need anything I'd say ring up my nephew most of the time he helps ... (Greek Male 1208)

These interpersonal sources of information extended more broadly to involve friends identified as trusted sources perceived as more knowledgeable about a particular issue:

Well, sometimes with good friends, so people that are in the know and we call them and we ask them what we want to find out. (Greek Female 0209)

Conversations between friends afford opportunities to exchange information such that participants become better informed through the reciprocal sharing of information that previously resided with each individual:

Well sometimes, you know when they know something of course you get from each other. Other people know something else, we know something else, what you have is a conversation like we do now [for] example. (Greek Female 0911)

7.4.2 Information grounds

Arising from Pettigrew's (1999: 811) study of the sharing of everyday information between nurses and older clients in a podiatry clinic was the concept of information grounds, which she describes as:

An environment temporarily created by the behaviour of people who have come together to perform a given task, but from which emerges a social atmosphere that fosters the spontaneous and serendipitous sharing of information.

Information grounds provide various information, some of which is considered important while other information may be interesting but not vital to decision making (Fisher et al., 2007). Consistent with Pettigrew's experience of spontaneity and chance creating opportunities, her later studies (writing as Fisher) reported on the extent of the locations of information grounds to include campuses, restaurants, coffee shops, workplaces and social gatherings (Fisher & Naumer, 2006). Several

older-old participants who regularly attended Day Care Programmes offering social interaction, meals and activities found these events provided opportunities for the sharing of information amongst attendees. A response from one indicated the mutual support and sharing of information that occurred during these sessions:

He'd say that we are all here, one person's got one problem, another person's got another problem and we're all here together and we try and help each other and get information from each other. (Interpreter Italian Male 1208)

In addition to the 'information grounds' associated with a Day Care Programme, participants reported opportunities to gather information associated with volunteering or working in shops. Engaged as a volunteer with a local council, one participant gathered information about council-related activities amongst other issues:

They [volunteers] tell you what's going on in the Council and what's you learn, you learn what ... a lot of this information I wouldn't even know existed before. Italian Male 0910)

Customers of shops frequently provided a rich source of information primarily to shop owners but potentially for other customers on diverse topics, some of which is current, in one case referring to issues relating to national politics:

Lots of information from customers, whatever you know, especially now with the redhead [the then Prime Minister Julia Gillard] and Mr Abbott [the then Opposition Leader]. (Italian Female 0910)

Location of information grounds, in this case a shop, influenced the number as well as variety of customers who visited and shared information, a situation acknowledged by a participant as being important:

We're right in the [Name] Market, couldn't get a better location you know. (Italian Female 0910)

Pettigrew found the presence of different types of individuals contributed to the richness of the setting as an information ground (Fisher & Naumer, 2006). As the shop is located in a busy market and close to Adelaide's Law Courts, customers included a cross section of society representing a potentially broad range of information:

Because we do get a lot of people from the Courts, the Clerks, the solicitors, you know, let alone the people with ankle bracelets [prisoners on home detention] that come in and give us information as well. (Italian Female 0910)

In this study, I sought to understand the nature and extent of information sources used by older migrants and so I asked about the church's role in this matter.

Contrary to expectations in groups that are predominately Greek Orthodox or Roman Catholic in faith, the church did not feature as a source of everyday information, a finding consistent with those of Fisher and Naumer's (2006) study of information grounds of college students. The church is not central in the lives of many participants who now attend services irregularly, previously having been unable to do so for many years when they worked long hours and managed family responsibilities.

In the context of the question, 'church' referred to attending religious services or pastoral care. It was important to delineate between the spiritual aspects of the churches and the community and age-related services provided more broadly by the religious organisations, as several participants who used church-based programmes found them useful information sources in addition to receiving services. Perhaps surprisingly, very few saw the church (as defined) or the fellowship among members of congregations as relevant sources of information. Instead, there was a clear delineation in its role as a place to worship and from which to gain a sense of spiritual well-being:

Well the church is to go there and pray ... for your health and for that. For peace and everything. That's all. It makes you feel comfortable, yeah. (Greek Male 0209)

7.4.3 Media as information sources

Participants used extensively a range of media as sources of information, in particular print and electronic forms. The choice of source did not include using computers or the Internet and as such, I did not find a shift away from the more established media, in particular television, radio and magazines to the Internet; unlike Kaye and Johnson (2003) who found shifts of this nature occurred in groups who used or were adopting the Internet as a source of information and differed in many

other aspects from participants in my study. Their study involved an on-line survey of preferences for political information among participants who identified as predominately male, white, educated and interested in American politics; as such, a dramatically different group to the participants in my study. However, several participants reported a shift to electronic media in particular television, replacing or complimenting print media (newspapers) as a source of information. English-language skills of the more highly acculturated participants allowed them access to a wider range of sources across both ethno-specific and the mainstream media.

a) Print media – newspapers

Several participants read regularly a wide range of English-language newspapers with state or community circulation giving them access to information of matters broadly and more locally:

I have the Messenger [Suburban weekly English-language newspaper] and I have The Advertiser [SA daily English-language newspaper] and I have the Sunday Mail [SA weekend English-language newspaper] and through the week, I have some maybe three to five a week for sure; if not seven. (Greek Female 0911)

I think that people, for local, is your local Messenger Press or local newspaper because it deals with your area, you know, which is a good information achieving thing – they have all the information on services or whatever. (Italian Male 0409)

Lack of English competency restricted sources of print media for other participants to varying degrees:

[Name] does read the local [English-language] newspaper but the others only read the Greek one. (Interpreter Greek Male 0209)

[Name] doesn't tend to understand a lot what's written in the English paper so she doesn't read it. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

In one case, illiteracy in both English and her birth language presented a barrier to a participant reading any printed material:

I'm forgetting, [Name] she actually can't read so she doesn't read anything. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

For others, being bi-lingual afforded choice of printed material and some accessed both but when they did buy a newspaper expressed a preference for a daily English-language newspaper:

Oh we don't get much Greek papers, no. If we are getting paper usually, we are getting The Advertiser. (Greek Female 0709)

Being literate in English language offered access to a wider range of printed material, a benefit which one participant recognised in commenting on the dependency that others who are not literate in English have on papers printed in their birth language:

I mean we capable to understand what the paper...for example South Australian paper..., other Greeks that can't really read not a word, so always of course they have to have the Greek paper [produced in Australia] to know about everything what's going on around. (Greek Female 0911)

b) Print media – books

Several participants read widely from their own collections or books borrowed from local libraries. In one case, a participant recognised the value of reading as a way of improving one's mind and as an essential means of gathering information generally:

I can say probably it's not right in English but I'm saying in Greek that's you read your mind, when you read, you read your mind. Really. That's how it works. If you're not going to read books you can never learn. (Greek Female 0911)

Some are quite avid readers, finding their local libraries do not always offer a range of titles to satisfy their personal interests requiring them to purchase books. In this case, the participant belonged to a book club from where she received information on topics and availability of books that she then purchased from conventional bookshops:

I'm a member of a couple of libraries, I don't use them that much because I feel some of them don't have enough that I like but mainly I will buy the books through like the book shop, Angus & Robertson or whatever, you know Dymocks or whatever. (Italian Female 0910)

Learning a language is a life-long process as illustrated by the use of dictionaries by participants to improve vocabulary or referral to reference books for information of a

more detailed nature. This participant found it was important to her to take steps to find what she needed to know and so used a dictionary regularly to learn meanings of unfamiliar words as she read. In doing improved her understanding and vocabulary:

I love to know more information for myself for me instead to ask, I've got a dictionary anywhere even [spouse] use the dictionary. He[re], my bedroom when I read something I always have my dictionary and all the meanings.
(Greek Female 0911)

Participants were aware that information is readily available from numerous sources including through use of computers and the Internet and that not all available sources suit the needs of all groups of people. For some it was easier to access the more familiar sources of the information they need, often books, as was the case with one participant who acknowledged existent multiple sources and that more passive sources may better suit others:

Depends what you want to know about health... you look it up in the dictionary in the book or if you've got the computer, we've got computers nowadays. I find it easy to look it up in my big, in my medical book. It all depends, you know, what you want to look for... you know, a lot of the older people, older than me, might be finding it even harder to look it in the book, it might be you're better to watch the TV might be better, watch it on TV for that sort of information. (Italian Male 0409)

Radio and television as electronic sources of information featured widely as sources of information due in part to their ubiquitous nature and programmes offered in English and community languages.

c) Electronic media – radio

Several community broadcasters provide radio programmes in a variety of languages other than English to people living in the Adelaide metropolitan region, unlike the Riverland region where a single community radio station broadcasts only English language programmes. Consequently, participants living in the Riverland did not identify community radio as a source of information.

Many participants found community language radio produced in metropolitan South Australia to be a ready source of both information and enjoyment in that they

provided news services and other information along with programmes of a more cultural or social aspect with music and conversation:

[Name] listens to the Italian radio and gets her information that way.
(Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

It was really nice. People, they got two hours programme there and it's nice to both radios [Greek language stations]. They're both nice. Yeah. And you can learn a lot because they have all the news, they got the news from here, they've got the news from Greece. (Greek Female 0209)

As is the case with printed material, English-language skills affords a broader choice of sources, bi-lingual participants readily access mainstream information services as well as locally produced non-English language programmes:

If you can understand English there's the news and TV and things like that and we've got Greek radio programs and they help a lot. (Greek Male 1208)

Having access to a wider range of services enables participants to choose programmes of interest whether it be sport or a cultural event. For information that is more general this participant choose to listen to a current affairs programme on a local non-commercial free to air station operated by Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC):

To be honest, if I know there is a program that is broadcasting a game of soccer or a function that maybe of my interest or our interest,... otherwise most like I listen to Phil Satchell [former announcer on ABC radio]. (Italian Male 0409)

e) Electronic media – television

Participants identified television as a source of information and accessed various free to air channels in English or birth languages along with satellite services.

Community television around Adelaide, unlike community radio services, and in the Riverland region seemed less well developed, and did not feature as a source of information, participants preferring instead to use satellite television services emanating from Greece or Italy. Television services delivered by satellite proved popular for both information and providing entertainment. My study found there is substitution of sources occurring but not involving an increase in use of the Internet. I observed some movement from print to television. Installation of a satellite

television service enabled one couple, who had previously read Italian language newspapers, to get their news in Italian from a satellite television service delivered from Italy:

Now we got, I got access to the Italian channel which great, they, you know they have a, I reckon about six, seven [news] service every 24 hours or if you miss the first one at 9 o'clock you get one 11 and 4 o'clock you know service, telling news. (Italian Male 0910)

Changes to personal circumstances leading to a reassessment of factors such as utility and cost lead one participant to cancel delivery of the local English-language paper to rely instead on free to air local television services for her news:

I used to buy before when my husband was alive because what you see on TV it's in the newspaper the same. Why should you pay? (Greek Female 0811)

Bi-lingual participants seemed well informed when it came to everyday news as many watched multiple channels on both satellite services as well those provided locally on free to air services affording them access to a wide range of information with differing perspectives:

We do watch satellite; earth TV, Greek TV a mixture of programs. (Greek Male 1208)

Amongst those who watched several channels, some expressed a preference for services delivered in their birth language, as was the case for one participant's more frequent use of Greek-language services on Special Broadcasting Service (SBS)³ television:

Yes. SBS, ABC, Ten, Nine, Seven. All of them, usually SBS. (Greek Female 0209)

Others chose commercial free to air channels providing English-language services as sources of information:

³ Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) is an Australian Government funded national television service providing news services and cultural programmes in English and community languages to CALD communities in Australia.

Yeah and most of the time myself I learn from Channel 7, Channel 9 in the morning – always watch the news in the morning. (Greek Female 0709)

Watching multiple news services may seem excessive or redundant but for some doing so initially in their birth language helped in their understanding of the same news item in English on a local free to air channel. Having watched a Greek-language news service one participant reported increased understanding of the same news item she again watched, this time delivered in English:

...Plus we have the Greek TV as well and sometimes we do know – the news from the Greek TV then we know from the English TV. (Greek Female 0709)

f) Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs)

For the purpose of this study, I apply the broad heading of ICTs to my discussion of the use by participants of telephones, computers and Internet to access information as well any roles these technologies may have more broadly in their lives.

g) Telephones – Fixed line

The telephone is an established technology that is readily available and used widely in Australia. Therefore, it is not surprising that participants used fixed-line telephones regularly in a routine manner. They did not see the telephone as a new or threatening technology and used it as a familiar means to communicate and access information:

We are used to talk to the phone, you know what I mean? (Italian Female 0409)

Despite its long history as a means of communication, the telephone still attracts attention for its technological advances leading to greater capability and decreases in call costs experienced in recent years. One participant expressed this when discussing his use of a telephone to keep in touch with family in Canada and Argentina:

Very easy nowadays to call back, doesn't cost nothing when you buy a long-distance call card - \$10 you can talk 300 minutes. Yes, even one in Argentina and ... Canada because she got a sister there but it's very handy to call. I never believed when I was young man that this would happen. (Italian Male 0409)

Technological improvements and lower costs facilitate easier and cheaper calls between migrants who are located in various diaspora around the world and requires a re-thinking of the definition of the identity of migrants that previously associated identity with physical location and nation states (Vertovec, 2004). Many migrant populations can now more easily retain aspects of their birth culture using cheaper and better quality communications, which allows them to share cultural practices and remain informed of contemporary events in their country of birth. In Chapter Eight, I discuss more fully the influence of identity and acculturation of participants on aspects of their information behaviour and access to services.

Unquestionably, the telephone is the preferred means of keeping in touch with family and friends as all participants in one group confirmed:

Yes, yes, they are all in touch, they are all in contact with relatives in Italy by telephone. (Interpreter Italian Females Riverland 0409)

For some the telephone provides access to services as well social support when circumstances prevent direct personal contact. Unable to get out of the home as much as she had previously a participant reported using the phone to talk to friends seeking social support in a difficult and stressful role as a carer:

Well when I'm you know, depressed or, you know, can't go anywhere, I ring up my friend or my sister, you know, and I discuss things by phone because [spouse] has been sick so I can't go very much out because I look after him... (Greek Female 0709)

Technical features on even the simplest of fixed telephones provide support for people who may suffer some functional impairment associated with age.

Programming of a telephone to activate one touch dialling made it easier for a participant with a degree of cognitive impairment to call her doctor if she needed to:

[Name] has numbers in her phone that if she needs to ring the doctors she has to press that number so it's all programmed in because some clients do have a bit of memory loss and they may forget the phone number so it's in there for them. (Interpreter Italian Female 1208)

As people feel that they 'know' someone from having communicated with them face-to face (Urry, 2002) many participants preferred making personal contact when seeking information as the immediacy enabled them to clarify any issues at the time

through asking further questions:

We prefer the one-on-one type of conversation getting information in that sort of situation where we just get information from the person face on.
(Interpreter Greek Male 1208)

In the absence of direct access, many found the fixed-line telephone provided an adequate substitute affording opportunities for explanation as they gathered and processed information:

It's better because something wrong like, I ask everything and they answer.
(Greek Female 0209)

Mobile telephones represent an advance on fixed-line telephones in both their technical capabilities and more features, along with a greater accessibility due to their use of wireless networks.

h) Telephones – Mobiles

Overall, the use of mobile telephones was low amongst study participants, the extent and nature of the experience of participants varied considerably. Many did not use a mobile telephone but for those who had used them they no longer did so for reasons associated with cost or difficulties associated with design such as small keys or screen:

We've got a telephone, a mobile phone and we can't use that. I can't read the numbers. (Greek Male 1208)

Some felt an expectation to use a mobile telephone and their not wishing to do so suggested some deficiency or problem on their part:

You are not interested to learn how to use the mobile, what's the matter with you? (Greek Male 0709)

Adult children may have inadvertently contributed to this, possibly with good intentions of addressing safety and improved contact in mind. However, parents did not always share their children's perceptions of the essential need to possess a mobile telephone or the usefulness:

Everyone they have one. My daughter she has one. She buy me one and I said I talk to everyone. What for? (Greek Female 0911)

Cost is a contributing factor to the overall low uptake of mobile telephones and the

circumstance of their use. Consequently, participants exclude their use to call families overseas due to the prohibitive associated costs:

[Spouse] uses the phone to ring up Greece occasionally, every second day. Now if it were through a mobile phone that wouldn't be the case. You wouldn't do it. (Greek Male 1208)

When participants used a mobile telephone, it was for reasons of safety or convenience:

Well we use the mobile phone for emergencies, the most thing is emergency and the other thing is when you want to find somebody to see them or something and you are outside, you know, you ring them. (Greek Female 0709)

These findings highlight an overall low uptake of mobile telephones due to issues of design, perception of utility and cost. Addressing these and other issues may see a greater use of mobile devices in the future. It is incorrect to conclude older people will not adopt these technologies as some participants enjoyed the benefits arising from the use of mobile telephones, at the same time expressing a desire to learn more about their features to use it more effectively:

Myself yes I use. To be honest with you I a little bit, because I still don't know very well how to use it but I love it. (Greek Female 0911)

The perceptions expressed by participants of mobile telephones and patterns of use are similar to those regarding their use of computers. One participant encapsulated the attitude towards computers in his comparison of difficulties he experienced in using a mobile telephone. Seen as new and unfamiliar technologies his comments suggested he expected more difficulties with computers than he had already experienced with using a mobile telephone:

We've got a telephone, a mobile phone and we can't use that. I can't read the numbers let alone using a computer. (Interpreter Greek Male 1208)

i) Computers/Internet

Studies involving different cultural or demographic groups show that not all people have the skills, means and motivation to participate in this technological-based community (Organisation for Economic Cooperation & Development, 2007).

Previous findings show older people from CALD backgrounds may be particularly disadvantaged from an increased use of ICT to disseminate information as use of ICT by people generally decreases with age (Selwyn, 2004) and a CALD background is an additional barrier to an individual's ability to access information within a mainstream society (Ono & Zavodny, 2007; Greenstock et al., 2012). As a general cautionary note, Johnson (2007) warns policy makers to not neglect the human factor in providing information in preference for the cheaper way of providing information on the Internet only.

Research for this thesis grew out of an interest what effects that findings such as these may have on the ability of older migrants from CALD backgrounds to find information. I found, perhaps surprisingly, there is little research on the combined effects of ethnicity, migration, socio-economic status, education or gender of older people and the use of ICT at a time when many multicultural communities in Australia are ageing and there is an increasing use of ICT to deliver information or services. The initial stage of the research for this thesis was a study which examined the use of ICT by older CALD migrants to find information about health issues and more broadly everyday day issues and whether the increasing use of ICT by service providers and governments to provide information is a barrier or enabler to their information seeking (Goodall et al., 2010). We found that at present this group does not demonstrate or perceive they have functional knowledge deficits affecting everyday information due largely to the variety of information sources and means to access that are presently available. However, this satisfactory situation may change if the shift continues to using ICT to deliver information.

There are several examples to illustrate the move by governments and business to ICT-mediated strategies to disseminate information and engage consumers in social services and commerce. The 'Ask Just Once' strategy introduced by the South Australian Government in 2008 aims to transform the way in which it delivers services by offering clients on-line, self-service options at a lower cost wherever practical (Government of South Australia, 2008). As a measure of cost containment in response to rising costs and increasing demand for health services, the Australian Government has a 'National E-Health Strategy' which aims to change the way in which professionals practice and consumers interact with the health system

(Australian Health Ministers Conference, 2008). The aims of the strategy are to 'empower' consumers by providing electronic access to the information they need to manage their health outcomes and to 'actively encourage' consumers with high needs, including the elderly, to access and use electronic pathways in dealing with the health system.

The increased use of ICT in providing health services and information seems likely to continue as the World Bank (2007) reports m-Government (mobile government) is emerging as a means to make government services and information more accessible through mobile devices. In the likely event that this trend will continue, policy makers will need to address potential consequences for groups in society who do use ICTs now and are unlikely to do so in the future.

An extensive body of literature describes a digital divide between those who do and those who do not use digital technologies for their information and communication needs. Initially, such studies dealt with supply-side issues of inequalities in availability of communications infrastructure (Australian Communications and Media Authority, 2008). More recently this access divide has narrowed as technology has become more affordable and readily available but is being replaced by an increasing divide in digital use and knowledge and intensity and variety of use, all of which reflect differences in economic and social strata, skills, training, knowledge and age (Organisation for Economic Cooperation & Development, 2007). These various initiatives by government promoting ICT to provide a range of information assume that consumers both can and want to use ICTs. Not to create disadvantage among consumers would require an equitable increase in ICT literacy across all strata in society. However, Ward et al. (2010) have argued the ability to access information is not equally available to all people or groups within society with Elliot (2001) being one who notes discrepancies between the 'information rich' and 'information poor'. I have argued that it is more likely that those with economic, cultural and social capital will access and use health information and make better informed decisions (Goodall et al., 2010). This digital divide matters, as Estabrook and colleagues (2007) found among people of all ages who do not use the Internet (low-access population) are less successful in accessing information from government that they need to address health related and other issues. Further,

Estabrook and colleagues found the low access population is poorer, less educated and older than the general population.

Many participants in my study had similar attributes of those described by Estabrook and colleagues and so it is not surprising that very few participants used computers or the Internet. This study did not investigate in detail why this is so but responses suggested possible causes include a general negative attitude towards computers brought about by a lack of understanding of how computers work. Clearly, other factors contribute to this, for example, age-related physical and cognitive impairments and inadequate levels of competency in English language when the Internet is still dominated by English text. As computer/Internet use was low, for reasons discussed previously, English language skill was not a barrier to computer/Internet use among this group, but could be problematic in any efforts to learn to use computers and access the Internet.

Some participants expressed strongly their opposition to computers generally, with one participant stating that she had:

No time for them. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

while another perceived the use of computers to be a high-risk activity:

No, no, too dangerous. (Italian Female Riverland 0409)

Responses such as these possibly illustrate a sense that participants saw themselves as being susceptible and vulnerable to a danger, in this case the unknown aspects of the capabilities or operation of computers. Bauman argues internalising fears that the 'world out there is dangerous and better to be avoided' allows imaginations, in the absence of direct experience of threat, to 'run loose' (Bauman, 2006: 3). Perhaps in discussions of ways of encouraging older people to use computers/Internet for information seeking lies in addressing these concerns of unknown danger and perceptions expressed by some participants that computers are not suitable for this age group; rather their use is for younger generations:

The internet and the computers is for the young people – old people don't understand, they don't have computers, they don't know how to use them.
(Greek Male 0709)

Reasons for the low rate of use of computers/Internet relate to attributes of the individual, such as cognitive and physical abilities, training and access to computers. Communicative functions such as e-mail and Skype require a minimum of a sender and a receiver; without either, the sharing or transmission of information is not possible, a dependent relationship which is overlooked in studies of computer and Internet use. Such a situation existed for a participant, who understood that email was not an option to contact relatives in Italy, as they did not have access to Internet:

[Name] got one but over in Italy, they don't have one so that that type of talk it's not possible in that particular situation. (Interpreter Italian Male 1208)

Consequently, direct use of computers occurs infrequently and those who do use computers have limited experience in playing games or occasional word processing tasks:

I got a computer, I don't know how to use it – I only play games (Greek Male 0709)

Previous experience of using computers in the workplace enabled one participant to continue using computers for word processing when she retired, but her use did not extend to other functions such as emails:

I used to use it for work before. But at home I use them for writing (Greek Female 0209)

However, mediated use of computers was more widespread and it involved family, friends and service providers meaning many more participants were de facto users having identified as 'non-users'.

j) Mediated Use of Computers/Internet

Family members frequently send emails on behalf of 'non-users' who recognised the benefits gained including speed of communication of using emails:

My sister actually does that [email] with my family ... it's the best thing for them because there's more immediate contact'. (Italian Female 1208)

Another, despite expressing no interest in computers and questioning a friend's interest and time spent on computers, used him to e-trade on his behalf:

I'd rather watch TV than be there and look – my friend he tell me all about it. He's probably two or three hours a day, maybe fours a day on the computer – what for? I don't what I know. (Greek Male 0709)

If I want to order something, my friend he does it. (Greek Male 0709)

For many others, mediated use did not extend beyond a demonstration of applications such as Google Earth by younger family members showing them their village where the previously lived:

Yeah. My son show me where I was born. And looks around. Beautiful. (Italian Male 1208)

One couple used Google Earth for a more current need when planning trips but conceded it is their children who do the searching:

Yes, we Google Earth when we want to go away because of the map.

[Laughter]

Well we don't, the children do it. (Italian Male 0409)

On occasions, the involvement of family members may extend across generations as was the situation involving grandchildren, nephews and siblings of a participant in locating various dwellings around the world. Becoming aware of the extent of the detail available on line highlighted privacy issues of such capabilities for this participant:

My grandchildren find her [his wife's] village, my village and my sister's house in America. My sister ... she said, 'me and my son we saw you at home the other day'. I said where, what, how. 'On the internet, you've got all your trees, like a lemon tree and we saw your car' ... and I said there's no privacy any more. It's a worry but then again it's good. (Greek Male 1208)

k) Showing a willingness to adopt ICTs

In this study, participants to a varying degree expressed interest learning about computers as potential future channels of information seeking and while there is no measure of the interest it is sufficient to counter perceptions that older people generally are fearful of, or not interested in learning about new technologies. The willingness by some to learn about computers counters the irrational fear (Bauman, 2006) expressed by other participants and illustrated the heterogeneity of attitudes to

learning present in this group. Often, participants showed a general interest in learning through their use of reference books, seeking relevant sources of information and comments made:

Well it's a good idea, whatever you learn, it's good. Doesn't matter how old are you, you know, to me, but as I said we didn't ever put our mind to it, otherwise is good – the more you know it's better. (Greek Female 0709)

In a manner similar to circumstances, which prevented their attending English language classes, some participants found work and family commitments similarly posed a barrier to their learning about computers:

Like we used to work 15, 16, you know, 17 hours a day myself because I had the kids, I had the shop and the house ... so I never had time to do things like that, you know. Now we are, you know, like we are retired so we have the time but we didn't put our mind to it – this is the thing. (Greek Female 0709)

Extent to which participants took action to attend classes to learn varied. For one she took exploratory action to find who offers courses and expressed interest but had not taken steps to enrol:

Actually I haven't but lately I've had a thought about it because the council to do which is the West Torrens here to do course for example there... to give me a knowledge for when. We went there we see if we can with computers today it's fantastic for everyone. (Greek Female 0911)

While, another participant had recently commenced an introductory course offered by a service provider:

I just started this week. So, I can't give you more information. (Greek Female 0209)

Mediated use of computers and Internet extends more broadly than occasional e trading and demonstrations of Google Earth to more important aspect of information behaviour when one considers the role organisations have in disseminating information to sectors of the community identified as being low direct users of ICTs generally.

7.4.4 Organisations as information sources

A third broad category of information sources is organisations; of particular interest were government departments and ethno-specific service providers identified by

participants as providing an important role in their information behaviour as explained previously. They identified churches as providing spiritual guidance to followers but offering little in the way of general information.

a) Government Departments

One such example of participants having choice of methods of finding information is the direct approach many adopted when the need arose to contact government departments. Matters relating to health and pensions frequently arose as issues of interest due to the age of the participants requiring they contact Medicare (the national health insurer) or Centrelink, which is the government department responsible for managing pensions and other social payments. Many participants prefer a direct approach when dealing with government departments:

Okay, if it's say Medicare or whatever, my first choice would be go to their office. I wouldn't ring them, I'd go in and I'd pick up whatever, and talk to someone or pick up just pamphlets for the health thing or that's what we usually do. (Italian Female 0409)

Much of the information behaviour indicates active searching for targeted information taking steps to understand the issue thoroughly:

Yeah, or you know if I don't know something, I go to Centrelink and take my time and they explain to me and then, you know. (Greek Female 0709)

Whereas more generally, participants identified Centrelink in particular as providing a steady supply of information in the form of letters and regular newsletters providing information of a more general nature:

Centrelink send us letters if they want us to know and they send like seniors paper then we get the information from there. (Greek Male 0209)

At the time of interviews two government initiatives, which affected all Australians offered opportunities to understand how people found out about such matters. The first dealt with the incentive payments made by the Australian Government in October 2008 to all residents as a measure to ameliorate the effects of the Global Financial Crisis on Australia's economy. The second involved changes to restrictions on water use which the state government introduced in 2009 in response to a severe drought affecting the state at that time. In reference to special payments

made by the Australian Government, it appeared printed material from Centrelink along with advertisements in mainstream media proved effective, as the following responses are representative of replies made by several participants:

Centrelink sent us letters. Also, we heard it on the TV and the radio...and we've got the senior's book, once every month. The politicians couldn't keep it a secret. (Greek Male 1208)

Through the television. And send us a letter. (Greek Female 0209)

Participants learned of water restrictions introduced by the state government through television and in English-language newspapers. Exemption was possible from some of the restrictions subject to individuals meeting certain criteria relating to age and infirmity and making application to the department. On learning of the ban, a participant took action responding immediately by contacting the department:

And I rang for approval because I have sore knees and other, can water any day ... with the hose. (Italian Male 0910)

b) Service Providers

Several ethno-specific service providers in Adelaide and the Riverland region provide a comprehensive range of services to their communities or more broadly to people with CALD backgrounds. It is through these service providers that I recruited participants as they represented a likely source of people relevant to my study. From these interviews, findings emerged which identified such organisations as important information sources for members. Consistent with CGTM, these findings indicated the sources of further participants that lead me to recruit people who were not actively involved with these service providers to develop further my understanding of their information sources.

Many of those who were members relied heavily on these organisations for information and perceived them as having a central role in contributing to their quality of life:

I just want to add [that], to us, to the Greek community, they [ethno specific service provider] are lifesavers. (Greek Male 1208)

Often the information sought is routine in nature and available from other sources.

For example, bus timetables, although available from the operator of the transport system and available by telephone, participants chose to call an ethno specific service provider instead:

Anything we want, we come here, [ethno-specific service provider] some people even ring and say ‘What bus do I have to get to go to Glenelg?’ (Greek Male 1208)

Services do on occasions substitute for children when they are not available and interpret and explain letters received or facilitate access to other services:

Some of them will ask us [ethno-specific service provider] for their help if their children aren’t available to read what the letters are. (Interpreter Greek Riverland 0409)

They have actually rung up and asked do we know where we can turn to so then we try and give them the information as well. (Interpreter Italian 1208)

To illustrate the potential of service providers’ role as a ‘lifesaver’ and the centrality of social networks in accessing information and services I refer in section 7.4.5, to Theo, a socially and linguistically isolated migrant whose life changed for the better as a result of intervention, albeit serendipitously, by an ethno-specific service provider. As part of gaining a better understanding of the effects a lack of English-language acquisition had on migrants finding information, I approached several sources seeking to identify potential participants who had not acquired English language. After considerable effort, I gained access to two participants who met the criteria and agreed to take part in my research. One participant was also socially isolated with several concomitant health and social issues. Theo’s experience illustrates the consequences of his linguistic isolation as well the effects of his poor health and social situation on his quality of life and ability to access information needed for everyday activities.

7.4.5 Case Study: Theo - Language, loss and social isolation

Theo came to Australia under circumstances different to those of the other participants in my study as he was older than most at the time of his migration and he came later. His experience illustrates the roles of acquiring English-language skills and accessing social networks in the migratory process; language acquisition seen as a necessary but not sufficient condition to access information (Béji, 2010). Theo’s

story helped me further understand my categories as it shows how English language acquisition and social networks are vital to finding and using information.

Theo reported he was living in Greece with his Greek-Australian wife Mary where he said he had a well-paying job in business and life was good until his wife's diagnosis of a terminal illness. In response to this news, they decided to migrate to Australia where Mary would have the support of her family and better access to health services. Not long after they relocated, Mary's health deteriorated and she died leaving Theo alone with no immediate family other than Mary's Greek-Australian relatives whom he barely knew and one or two Greek-speaking friends. He had not learned English as he thought at fifty years he was too old and he planned to return to Greece after Mary had died. His plans did not eventuate, as he had insufficient money to return to Greece, instead he found himself stuck in Australia with no English-language skills, no job and very little money.

Very quickly following his wife's death, Theo's quality of life deteriorated, exacerbated by an increasing dependence on alcohol, tobacco and gambling. His in-laws soon distanced themselves, he found himself socially isolated and living in public housing with few friends to talk to, as he could not speak English. Figure 9 illustrates Theo's evolving social and information network over time since the period soon after his wife's death (Figure 9a) to more recently. The stages illustrate the changes the chance intervention of one person (Figures 9b and 9c) brought to his life.

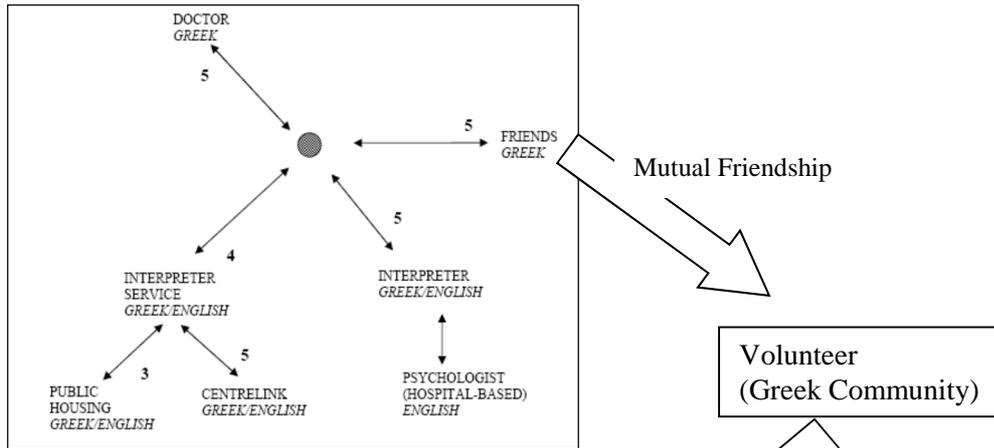
Theo stopped calling his family in Greece as the experience highlighted his homesickness and made him feel sad; the cost of phone calls was another issue that added to the burden. He had no access to radio, television or newspapers. His social contact was limited to one or two friends and a Greek-speaking doctor who had cared for his wife before she died. Figure 9a illustrates the extent of his isolation in the period soon after his wife's death. Shopping for necessities was difficult and limited to supermarkets where he would select items, pay for them, leave, and avoid talking to staff. This limited his options to buying food and other items in supermarkets and large stores as he could not go into shops and talk to assistants, a situation made worse by his developing phobia of crowds. Today, having no functional English language, he still misses the opportunities to shop for items in small shops that

require his interaction with staff and his use of English. He uses public transport and having learned to associate his destination with street signs as symbols with no linguistic meaning. Route numbers rather than route names on buses allow him to select the bus he needs and to use stop numbers to know when to get off. Still, these aids did little to encourage him to get out other than when it was necessary as he could converse with few and his phobia of crowds made the experience threatening and uncomfortable.

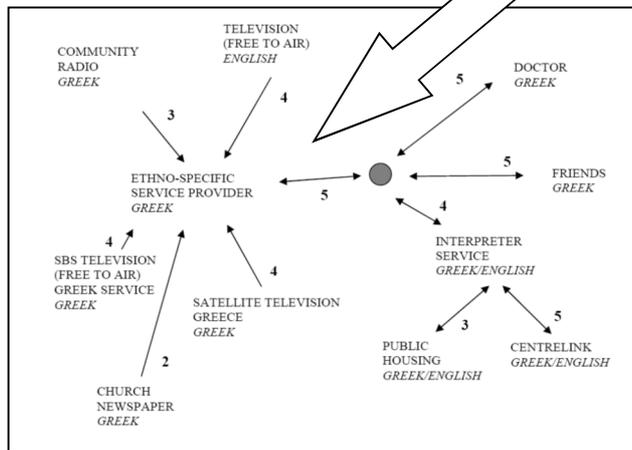
Poor nutrition, social isolation and addictions contributed to Theo's worsening health status including attempted suicide saw him hospitalised where he received treatment and provision of subsequent minimal support services organised by hospital social workers.

Little changed in Theo's life until a chance encounter involving one of his few friends who in turn happened to have a friend who was volunteering in the Greek community at an unrelated service. This chance encounter between two friends who had intersecting social and information networks was to change Theo's life. At the time, the volunteer was considering a career change and his experience as a volunteer in the community sector lead him to apply successfully for a role with a service provider in the Greek community. It was through this conversation between two friends and plans for a career change that connected Theo with a service provider whose role it is to offer services to members of the Greek community. Until then Theo had been invisible to the system other than receiving limited health care often delivered in response to a crisis in his life, provision of public housing and payment of a government pension.

The efforts and persistence of this one person saw Theo connected with aspects of the Greek-speaking community and his receiving services he needed. Steps taken to provide and install a radio enabled Theo to listen to local Greek language programs, television to connect him with local programs in both English and Greek and a satellite service from Greece. A limited meal service provided culturally appropriate food. Figure 9b represents the outcomes of these interventions.

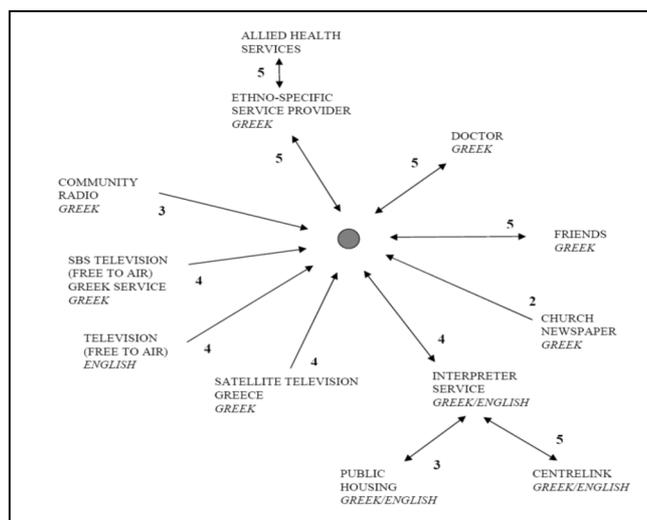


9a: Early years post-migration



9b: Intervention by service

Connects Service Provider who arranges services



9c: Current arrangements

Figure 9: Theo's Evolving Social and Information Network

That Theo now accesses the services and sources of information he does is the result of a chance conversation between two friends one of whom at the time was considering a career change. Had this series of apparently unrelated events not by chance taken place one wonders the consequences for Theo had his needs not been identified and addressed. Theo's social and information network now appears quite extensive and in many ways similar in extent and composition to those of other participants who did not perceive themselves to be isolated or disadvantaged but not as extensive as the more socially engaged participants. Consequently, he has fewer, if any weak ties to other loosely connected networks through which he was more likely to gather information more broadly. His networks differ to those of others in several ways. Using a Likert scale of five (Most important) to one (Least Important) provided a measure of the importance of each source as shown in Table 7). Theo rated most highly a limited range of sources essential to his everyday existence including health, welfare payments and coordination of other services.

Table 7: Importance Rating of Information Sources - Theo

MOST IMPORTANT					LEAST IMPORTANT	
5	4	3	2	1		
DOCTOR	INTERPRETER SERVICE	COMMUNITY RADIO	CHURCH NEWSPAPER			
FRIENDS	SATELLITE TELEVISION	PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY				
GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS	LOCAL TELEVISION GREEK SERVICE					
ETHNO SPECIFIC SERVICE PROVIDER	LOCAL TELEVISION					
SERVICE PROVIDER						

Theo's network is conducted almost entirely in his birth language, and contact with government and many other service providers requires the use of an interpreter service, usually a telephone service or occasionally face to face. Development of his information network is a recent event and again conducted in Greek except for local free to air English language programs. Interestingly, Theo's experience of gaining some understanding from English-language programmes on television is similar to the experiences of other less socially and linguistically isolated participants who

reported gaining an improved understanding of events despite not understanding fully the English dialogue. The social aspect of Theo's network is limited to include one or two friends whom he sees regularly but not often, his doctor and the service coordinator who arranges and monitors services, all of whom speak Greek.

Today, Theo perceives his life as better due to the services he now receives (Figure 9c) but he still lives in relative social isolation due in varying degrees to his lack of English-language skills and problems with his physical and mental health. In many ways, he remains isolated and stuck in a foreign land despite his social and information network having some similarities with those of other participants. Lack of functional English language restricts Theo's world such to share similarities with the small world of Chatman (1991) in that his networks reflect issues of greatest interest to him and responding to more immediate and practical concerns. After 16 years since migrating it is as if Theo remains in the early phases of Maslow's (1970) Hierarchy of Needs in which he requires continuing effort to address needs relating to the lower order issues of food or shelter with little incentive or opportunity to satisfy the higher order needs. His situation is unlike other participants many whom at the same stage post migration many had employment, purchased a house and acquired functional English language skills.

Unlike participants who were involved with or, as in Theo's situation, dependent on ethno-specific service providers, participants who were not members of these organisations did not readily identify these organisations neither as a source of information nor as a resource to assist in finding what they needed to know. They did not perceive this to be a problem that restricted in any way their access to information as they demonstrated numerous other sources that they used regularly when searching for everyday information.

7.5 Role of Social Networks in Information Gathering

The idea of the social network arose from the writings of Tönnies, Weber and Simmel who argued for the study of large social structures through the social relations between individuals (Crossley et al., 2009). Yu (2011b) argues that information is the most significant resource embedded in and exchanged through

social networks and as such is also the most extensively studied. Sonnenwald (1999) proposes the concept of social networks as a suitable framework to inform information behaviour as social networks along with context and situations influence information behaviour. Using SNA techniques to study knowledge flows within formal organisational structures Chan and Liebowitz (2006) argue such applications can contribute to improved understanding of knowledge management. Aspects of social networks have been applied widely in a range of situations involving organisations (Huotari, 1999), (Huotari & Chatman, 2001), older adults (Williamson, 1997), Hispanic migrant farm workers (Fisher et al., 2004), Latino migrants (Courtright, 2005), and in a study of the relationship between socioeconomic status, social networks and choice of information sources among residents of Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia (Johnson, 2004, 2007). Luke and Harris (2007) support the use of social network analysis as a tool to describe, explore and understand structural and relational issues in public health. Networks approaches have been useful in controlling spread of infectious diseases and in providing improved health care (Borgatti et al., 2009). Valente and Fosados (2006) illustrate the use of social networks to design and implement more efficient and effective health promotion programmes. Further, studies of the spread of obesity (Christakis & Fowler, 2007) and happiness (Fowler & Christakis, 2008b) through social ties illustrate the importance of gaining a better understanding of interpersonal communications.

SNA has its origins in a qualitative tradition and as such is a method which offers opportunities to explore in depth the social context in which people live and interact with the world around them (Heath et al., 2009). SNA looks at the relationships or links between people (actors) and the attributes of these links in terms of their strength, content and direction of information flows. Haythornthwaite (1996) posits that relationships indicate connections between two or more people or things, and consistent with this, I have incorporated inanimate sources of information such as print and electronic media along with interpersonal sources in the egocentric networks of participants. As such, these networks represent the information and social networks of participants. Egocentric networks consider the relationships a person (ego) has with his or her sources, the nature and direction of the information exchanged and the number of ties, or links that a person has as part of their network. Egocentric networks show to whom or what people go for different information and

the sources from which they receive it. The intelligence gained from such studies can usefully inform policy initiatives, implemented to guide new clients with their information needs, to adjust existing information services to better meet needs or to make clients more aware of existing services (Haythornthwaite, 1996). Whole networks describe all the ties that all the members of a defined group - such as a workplace, sporting club or school - has with all others in that same group. Logistically, constructing and managing data from such a study present more challenges than occur with an egocentric network and include such issues as gathering responses from all members of a group about all others in the group and managing the data. Techniques and resources are readily available to address these issues but egocentric networks offer the opportunities to consider in more depth the nature of the information sources of fewer individuals and to do so in their social context. In the next section, I present the empirical findings of how participants used social networks to find information and the sources they access to do so.

7.6 Participant Social and Information Networks

In Chapter Six, I discussed the role played by endogenous networks in providing invaluable support to migrants in finding work or a place to live soon after arriving in Australia. The importance of these networks extended more broadly to provide interpersonal sources of information on a wide range of issues:

When you first come here, you don't know but you learn from your nationality people so that's how you do. (Greek Female 0911)

Employing my network of professional contacts and previous participants to identify potentially suitable contacts I recruited participants to subsequent stages of my project. During the second stage of my research, I interviewed a further 10 participants who were not actively involved with ethno specific service providers to understand more fully the role and nature of their social and information networks in providing and sharing information. In response to findings from this stage and consistent with CGTM I recruited a further two participants who were linguistically and/or socially isolated to investigate the influence of English-language acquisition and social networks on information behaviour.

As part of the second stage of the research, I constructed social networks of eight of

the participants. Included in this cohort were two couples who were friends, which offered an opportunity to study in further detail the nature and implications of a more extensive combined network of individuals. During interviews with each participant, I constructed an egocentric diagram of their social and information network from their description of the various sources from which they gather or share information. I subsequently combined each diagram to produce a composite network involving all four participants who knew each other (See Figure 10). AA (female), RA (male) and AC (female), DC (male) respectively, represent the two couples

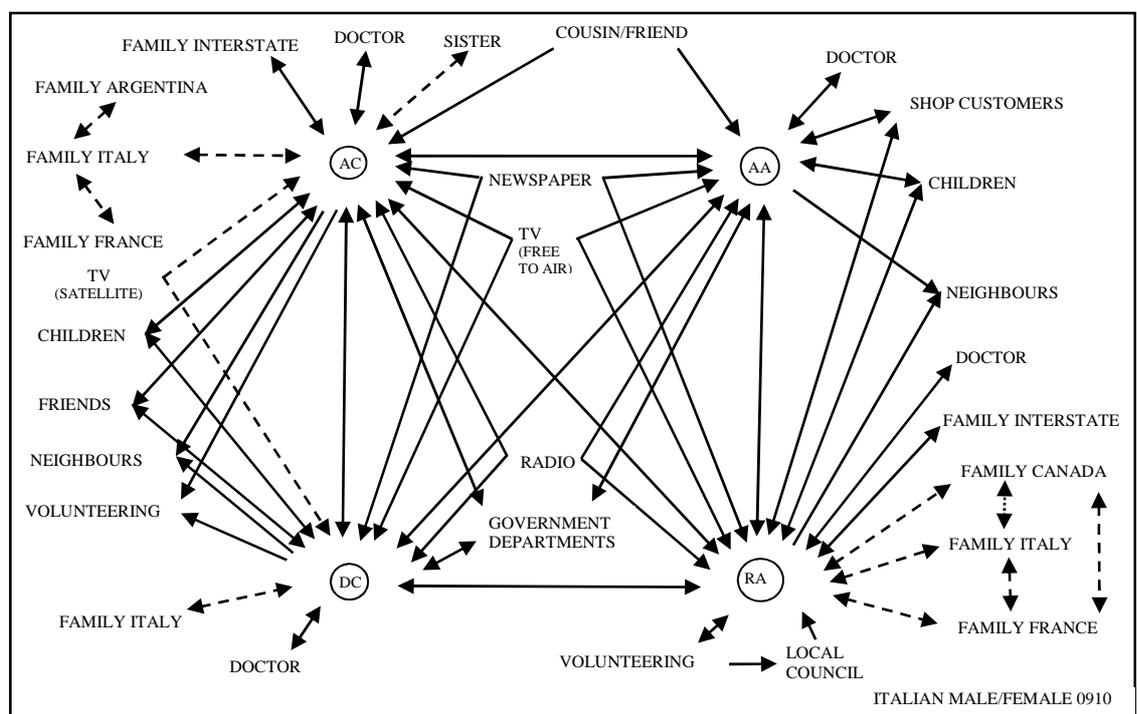


Figure 10: Diagram of Composite Social and Information Networks

Note: All exchanges took place in English other than those shown by dashed lines representing Italian.

This composite network illustrates several aspects of social networks and their role in gathering information. Firstly, it represents a bonding rather than a bridging social network as it primarily brings together egos who share similar aspects such as age and ethnicity (Geys & Murdoch, 2010). Borgatti and Cross (2003) suggest that the probability of a person seeking information from another is a function of certain relational conditions, including knowing what the other person knows, valuing that knowledge and being able to access the information at minimum cost. Such was the situation in this information network in which a cousin (shown as cousin/friend) of a

participant represented an authoritative source of information as he worked in aged care and was readily accessible.

Each participant rated their respective spouse as a highly important source (rating 5) of information. The networks of each couple show a high degree of overlap with the frequent sharing of information sources consistent with Granovetter's (1973) premise that the stronger a tie between individuals the greater is the likelihood of overlap of their networks. Weak ties are also present in the composite network providing links to diverse sources of information located both locally and globally. It is these weak ties, described as bridges, that offer the best potential source of novel information as they link a person or information source not connected with other egos in the network (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). Such links, offered the four participants potential access to information to a global network of sources located in Italy, France, Canada and Argentina.

Closer to home, siblings and members of extended families provide information sources located locally and in other parts of Australia. Customers, including a cross section of the criminal justice community, of a shop managed by one couple provided a novel source of information that proved both useful, and on occasions 'interesting.'

7.6.1 Influence of context on information gathering

Life circumstances appeared to influence the extent and nature of individual social and information networks. Some participants showed a passion for gathering information by any means at every chance, meaning they were at all times alert to opportunities and taking actions to engage actively a variety of sources where necessary. Whereas, changed circumstances that lead to a very different life situation experienced by another participant, influenced her ability or desire to develop or maintain a social and information network.

Consider for example, the cases of two women, Eleni and Sofia who were about the same age (in their 80s), with similar backgrounds but dealing with very different life experiences at the time of interview. They were born in Greece, arrived in Australia in the early to mid-1950s, worked and raised a family after migrating. Both

widowed, they now lived alone in the family home, and both received physical and emotional support of their adult children.

Eleni, experienced good health and exhibited a generally positive outlook on life participating in a variety of social events. She actively engaged numerous sources to gather information and acknowledged the need to do so if she was to keep informed and to learn about issues:

If you stay here with no knowledge from no-one else, how you're going to learn if you're not going to open [watch] the TV, if you are not going to open [listen to] the radio, you not going to listen to people how are you going to learn? (Greek Female 0911)

Representing these and other activities graphically produced a dense social and information diagram (Figure 11) that included 21 sources, many of which were diverse and involved a variety of means of communication that reflected Eleni's enthusiastic approach to life.

Within the diagram, many of the individual sources belie the full extent of her network as they represent multiple contacts. For example, Eleni maintained regular dialogue with three neighbours, friends and acquaintances included casual exchange of information made with fellow passengers on regular trips to the city by public transport. She continued to interact with her many godchildren and more importantly their parents, again contribution to her diverse and extensive network.

Eleni had extended family in Greece, Germany, Holland, United Kingdom, South Africa, United States of America and Venezuela as well as a friend in Canada that reflected the global reach of the Greek diaspora and her desire and ability to keep in contact with family and friends at the various geographical locations. Her individual transnational network was more extensive than that of the two Italian couples whose combined networks included contacts in four countries and her networks again illustrated the role of weak bridging ties to potentially unique sources of information (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011).

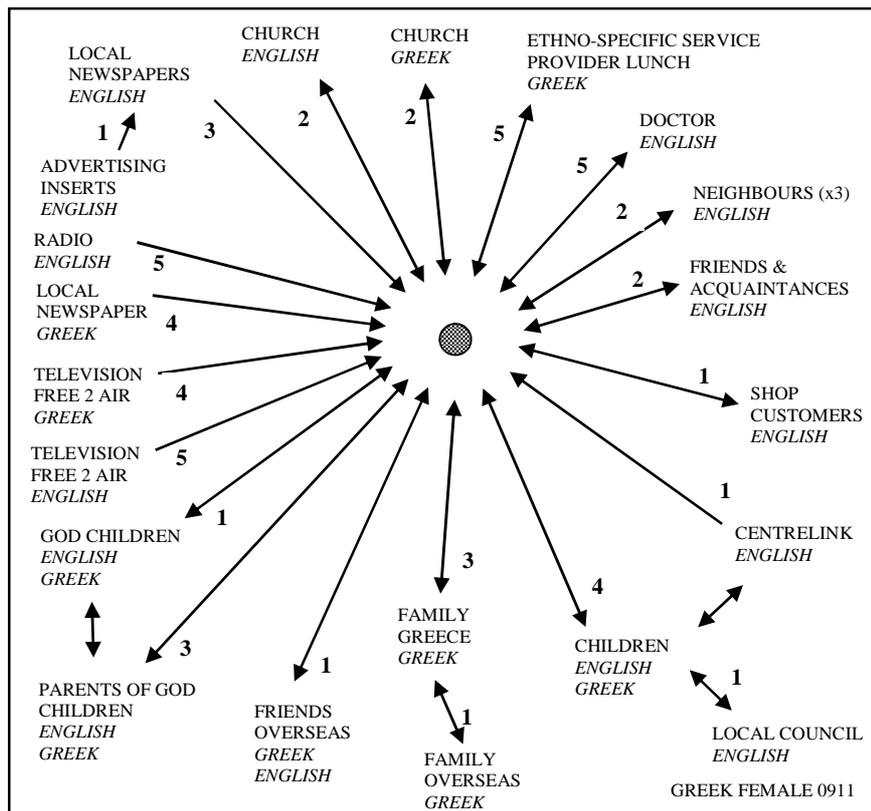


Figure 11: Eleni's Social and Information Network

Sofia was also born in Greece and of a similar age, but at the time of interview had several serious health issues that affected her mobility and overall outlook on life. She spent much of her time visiting numerous health professionals for treatment and ongoing care and her sources of information appeared to relate more to addressing these needs and maintaining contact with her close family having cut the weaker ties more broadly. Consequently, her social and information network shown in Figure 12 appears sparser consisting of nine sources, which Sofia assessed as more important and with fewer less important sources, unlike Eleni's more diverse network with more sources, many of which she assessed as less important.

Following the death of her husband, several years earlier and the onset of serious illness more recently, Sofia's previously active life seemed to have contracted as her failing health required she pay more attention to her immediate needs. Such a limiting of her social network to the stronger bonding connections with family are consistent with findings that ageing Polish migrants typically cut weak ties first, sustaining bonding connections to the Polish community (Bielewska, 2011).

A comparison of the social and information networks of these participants offer theoretical insights to factors that influence the manner in which individuals gather information and the extent of networks and hence sources of information.

Both Eleni and Sofia identified people as being important sources of information consistent with the frequently reported finding that people have a preference for interpersonal sources when seeking information, for example (Williamson, 1997; Fisher et al., 2005b). However, the two networks differ in both the number of sources in each and the diversity in interpersonal and other sources present

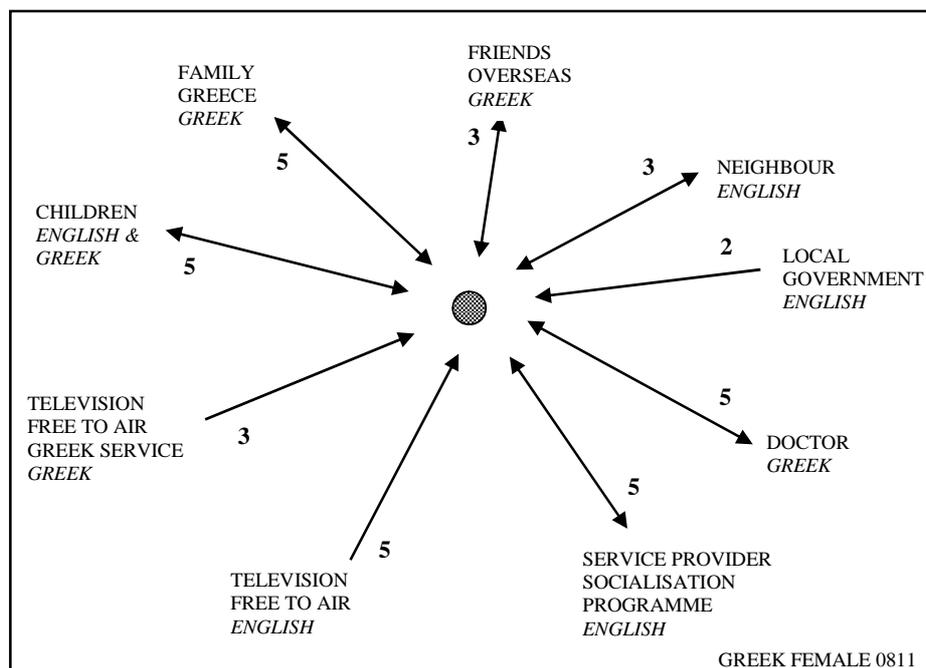


Figure 12: Sofia's Social and Information Network

Eleni identified many different people including shop customers, godchildren and unspecified friends and acquaintances provided more opportunities to seek information from different sources where she may find answers to questions or issues. In a similar approach, Johnson (2007) found people in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia use their social and information networks to gather what they need to know for everyday activities. The ties that Eleni has with many of these interpersonal sources are consistent with Granovetter's (1973) strength of weak ties theory in that these weak ties act as bridges into other loosely connected networks and so facilitate information flow between interpersonal sources. Further, Eleni identified many sources other than interpersonal ones, including television, radio and

printed material represented by daily newspapers and extending to advertising inserts in a local paper, unlike Sofia who no longer received the daily newspaper consequently limiting her non-personal information sources to television services. Non personal sources such as printed material act as bridges into loosely connected networks and as such Genuis (2006) argues behave in a manner consistent with Granovetter's strength of weak ties theories for interpersonal sources in providing access in to other loosely connected networks. Sofia's network is more limited in its number of sources and tended to reflect more her immediate practical needs related to her declining health. Sofia's more restricted or inward looking perspective being consistent with Chatman's (1991) life in a small world approach. In the next section, I report on the importance to participants of the identified sources.

7.7 Perceived Importance of Information Sources

In the following sections, I present and discuss the results from the eight participants not defined as linguistically or socially isolated. Each of the ten participants in the SNA phase (eight described above plus two participants defined as linguistically and/or socially isolated) of my study used a Likert scale to assess the importance to them of each source they identified in their network. I treated separately the results of the two participants, Theo and Giulia, described as linguistically isolated, who also took part in this phase of the study and I discussed their results previously.

Participants identified 57 examples, which represented 31 discrete sources that they used to find everyday information (Table 8). Results show a diversity of sources that extended from the expected, as was the case of doctors or adult children, to those that arose from personal situations where one participant was godmother to several children with whom she maintained contact. Individual assessment of the importance of the various sources differed. For example, there were eight discrete sources that only one participant identified, unlike the situation where all eight participants identified their doctor as an important source. All six participants who were married rated their spouses as an important source of information. Five participants rated local radio as important (four) and one as least important (one). Two participants identified shop customers as a source of information and individually assessed them as being most important (5) and least important (1).

Such diversity in sources and individual perceptions of their importance necessitated a need to discriminate further to identify sources assessed as important by many from those sources identified less frequently. To do so led to sources of equal importance displayed in the same column, (Table 8) in a manner that did not reflect the frequency of the rating of importance of the sources. For example, a source rated as important by one participant (shop customers) appeared with a source rated by all eight participants as important (doctor). Further, sources assessed variously by participants as having different levels of importance appear scattered across the table and as such made difficult any overall assessment of importance of such sources. For example, all eight participants rated Adult Children variously between Five and Three and Government Departments between Three and One.

To account for this variation in importance rating in a manner that acknowledged the frequency that participants identified a particular source I applied what I describe as a weighted index to the responses - the product of importance rating and frequency of response (Table 9). For example, Doctor '5' x eight responses = 40.

.

Table 8: Importance Rating of Information Source

Note: Includes 8 SNA Participants (Excludes Linguistically and/or Socially Isolated)

(n) = Number of participant responses

MOST IMPORTANT		—————→			LEAST IMPORTANT	
5	4	3	2	1		
DOCTOR (8)	LOCAL NEWSPAPER (6)	FRIENDS (3)	GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (4)	SHOP CUSTOMERS		
SPOUSE (6)	LOCAL TELEVISION (6)	GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (2)	LOCAL GOVERNMENT (4)	GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS		
ADULT CHILDREN (3)	LOCAL RADIO (5)	SPORTING CLUB (2)	NEIGHBOURS (4)	LOCAL GOVERNMENT		
FAMILY GREECE (3)	ADULT CHILDREN (4)	ADULT CHILDREN	FAMILY AUSTRALIA (3)	FAMILY OVERSEAS		
BOOKS (2)	SATELLITE TELEVISION (4)	BOOKS	FRIENDS (3)	FRIENDS OVERSEAS		
CHURCH (2)	FAMILY AUSTRALIA (2)	COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER	FAMILY OVERSEAS (2)	GOD CHILDREN		
DICTIONARY (2)	FRIENDS (2)	FAMILY AUSTRALIA	FAMILY ITALY (2)	LOCAL RADIO		
LOCAL TELEVISION (2)	WORKPLACE (2)	FAMILY GREECE	VOLUNTEERING (2)	ADVERTISING INSERTS NEWSPAPERS		
ETHNO SPECIFIC SERVICE PROVIDER	BOOK CLUB	FAMILY ITALY	CHURCH	VOLUNTEERING		
SERVICE PROVIDER	BOOKS	FRIENDS OVERSEAS	LOCAL NEWSPAPER GREEK	GYMNASIUM		
SHOP CUSTOMERS	LOCAL TELEVISION GREEK SERVICE	LOCAL RADIO				
	SHOP CUSTOMERS	LOCAL TELEVISION GREEK SERVICE				
		NEIGHBOUR				
		PARENTS OF GOD CHILDREN				

Table 9: Weighted Importance of Information Source

Note: Includes all 8 SNA Participants (Excludes Linguistically and/or Socially Isolated)

Number = importance rating of source x number of respondents naming source. Number in brackets (n) = Number of respondents

WEIGHTED IMPORTANCE INDEX							
40-36	35-31	30-26	25-21	20-16	15-11	10-6	5-1
DOCTOR 40 (8)	ADULT CHILDREN 34 (8)	SPOUSE 30 (6)	LOCAL NEWSPAPER 24 (6)	FAMILY GREECE 18 (4)	GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS 15 (7)	SHOP CUSTOMERS 10 (3)	VOLUNTEERING 5 (3)
	LOCAL TELEVISION 34 (8)		LOCAL RADIO 24 (6)	FAMILY AUSTRALIA 17 (6)	CHURCH 12 (3)	DICTIONARY 10 (2)	FRIENDS OVERSEAS 4 (2)
				BOOKS 17 (4)	NEIGHBOURS 11 (5)	LOCAL GOVERNMENT 9 (5)	BOOK CLUB 4 (1)
				SATELLITE TELEVISION 16 (4)		WORKPLACE 8 (2)	COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER 3 (1)
						FAMILY ITALY 7 (3)	PARENTS OF GODCHILDREN 3 (1)
						FAMILY OVERSEAS 7 (3)	LOCAL NEWSPAPER GREEK 2 (1)
						LOCAL TELEVISION GREEK SERVICE 7 (2)	ETHNO SPECIFIC SERVICE PROVIDER 1 (1)
						SPORTING CLUB 6 (2)	GODCHILDREN 1 (1)
							GYMNASIUM 1 (1)
							SERVICE PROVIDER 1 (1)

Applying this approach and adopting a narrow interval of five, I was able to separate sources based on rating importance and the frequency with which participants identified a particular source, as shown in Table 9. This approach highlighted a small number of sources that a majority of participants rated as important as distinct from a larger number of sources rated as less important by fewer participants, some of whom rated specific sources most important to them. Included in this group of six, were three sources of an interpersonal nature - doctor, adult children and spouse, a finding consistent with those of Fisher and colleagues (2005b) who found that people prefer other people as sources of everyday information. Also featured were local television and to a lesser degree local newspapers and radio, all delivered in English language. These findings support the benefit of offering information in a variety of ways and confirms the benefits of a adopting a broader approach rather than a more limited range of options.

It is also important to identify those sources used by fewer people, but who rate these sources as important to their needs. Sources of this nature included government departments, members of extended families and neighbours.

I acknowledge the limited quantitative validity of this measure, but its application along with the use of an interval scale of weighting shows more clearly the importance given to a particular source by participants. As a result, this approach highlighted those sources rated as most important more often by participants in this study and so possibly suggests sources more likely to be used in seeking information. Applying this knowledge may, as Wilkin and Rokeach (2006) found, achieve a measure of success in efforts to inform members of this group or benefit the design and implementation of information programmes more broadly.

Further studies are necessary to investigate the application of this measure as a means of identifying sources of information, which persons perceive as important. Through this approach, government agencies and other organisations may be able to effectively better target information campaigns to reach intended participants either directly or through a mediated source that participants consider important.

Participants commented on how effective they felt were the forms in which they presently received information and gave their opinion on their preferred presentation that they considered most effective. I turn next to discuss further the preferences, expressed by participants from stages 2 and 3 of my study, for the way in which they receive information including content and the means, or channels, of delivery.

7.8 Preferred Form to Receive Information

For reasons other than developing a more informed understanding of how older migrants find and process information, they also need to satisfy their everyday information needs. A practical application relates to the development of campaigns by governments and service providers that are more effective in delivering information to inform an identified population about a specific issue, for example, health promotion, news about screening programmes for particular diseases or announcement of a new initiative. Strategies that achieve a measure of success employ media channels that are used most frequently and preferred by the target audience (Wilkin & Ball-Rokeach, 2006).

Lasswell (1948, 2007) proposed a communication model to describe the components and their relationship in affecting an exchange of information (Hill et al., 2007).

Lasswell's model, which he presents in question form, is as follows:

Who
Says **What**
In which **Channel**
To **Whom**
With what **Effect?**

It addresses in a simple yet effective way the elements of communication. The **Who**, **What** and which **Channel**, or means, are the subjects of discussion in this section.

For many participants in my study, a direct and interpersonal contact represented the preferred way in which to get and to share information:

In our situation, in our culture also our age group, we prefer the one on one type of conversation getting information in that sort of situation where we

just disseminate and get information from the person face on. (Greek Female 1208)

In the absence of direct personal contact, some saw a telephone call adequate to satisfy their preference for human interaction:

She said by telephone, she would like someone to actually ring her and tell her what's happening. (Interpreter Greek Female Riverland 0409)

A participant who had acculturated from a younger age than many other migrants had, took a more active approach seeking targeted information involving interpersonal as well as printed material. This combined approach allowed her to confirm what she learned and satisfy her need in one interaction:

Okay, if it's say Medicare or whatever, my first choice would be go to their office. I wouldn't ring them, I'd go in and I'd pick up whatever, and talk to someone or pick up just pamphlets for the health thing or that's what we usually do. (Italian Female 0409)

From non-interpersonal sources, participants expressed a wish to receive information in print form, where possible in their birth language:

In Greek with a letter – she is saying she gets hers in Greek. (Interpreter Greek Female Riverland 0409)

These findings are consistent with results from a national survey in America of how people of all ages use information sources related to government services that found 50 per cent preferred receiving printed material by mail or in person from government offices compared with 40 per cent who would prefer to use the Internet (Estabrook et al., 2007).

Some participants in my study reported the present situation as working satisfactorily for them, as non-users of ICTs, but acknowledged issues would likely arise if more information were delivered by digital means:

They send that paper in Greek as well. So it's a good system, that. So we get it, like whoever, like myself, I haven't got Internet... (Greek Male 0209)

Several of the participants expressed concern at the prospect of increased use of computers and Internet as a means to deliver information as increased use would exclude their generation from getting the information. As discussed previously,

many felt they were too old to use computers that were only suitable for younger people to use:

Not on the computer thing because not many people, they use the computers.

Only the young generation, not the old people. (Greek Female 0209)

Preferences for alternative channels varied, some preferred television amongst other undefined alternatives to the Internet:

We prefer this information should be on TV or something (Greek Male 1208).

Whereas others perceived the permanent nature of a letter offered greater certainty that, they would read it. Having received it in print enabled them to refer letters to their children for interpretation (language or meaning) or advice and to do this later when convenient. It would not be possible to do this with information delivered by electronic media and further, the immediacy and non-permanent nature of television concerned some participants who feared missing important messages:

If they send it to us at home, in writing we'll definitely read it but if they put it on TV or something like or, you know like that, we might not be watching TV that day so we might not hear about it. (Greek Female 0209)

Service providers often publish brochures or fliers and send them to recipients explaining something about a service or as an invitation to an event. Usually limited to a single page the intent of the design is to impart a message quickly and simply.

For some, fliers were effective and well received by recipients:

She would like a lot of fliers at home, something will come to their post office or in the letterbox so they can actually read it. (Interpreter Greek Female Riverland 0409)

However, the design aspects of fliers are important in delivering information as unnecessary style and formatting can inhibit their effectiveness if services do not consider these and other issues including reading and comprehension skills of intended recipients. As an interpreter confirmed from her experience of using printed material as a service provider to inform clients:

We've actually sent out the fliers, ... but then we have to actually tell them and explain the flier, ... otherwise they don't really fully understand what this fliers about – it all looks good, it's all colourful but because it's in another

language, it does not mean very much to them. (Interpreter Greek Females Riverland 0409)

Clearly, on occasions the presentation, form or style supplants content, leading to more emphasis on colour, layout and design. Format and presentation of printed material are important in improving recipients' response to the publication.

However, they are not a substitute for content presented in a comprehensible way to an intended recipient.

Participants expressed a variety of preferences for the form of and means by which they receive information and it is important for service providers and government to understand these issues when designing campaigns or more generally informing people.

7.9 Conclusions

This chapter set out to answer the questions of how older CALD migrants find information they need, the nature of that information and the sources used. The main findings are that migrants use a wide range of means to gather information that generally does not involve using computers or the Internet. Possessing functional English-language afforded a benefit in allowing easier and direct access to a broader range of information and subsequently services. Often participants sought information to address specific or immediate needs such as health or social welfare payments and identified sources most suited for the purpose. However, many seek information used in more everyday activities from a wide range of sources by a variety of means. I have considered the information sources used by participants under the broad headings of interpersonal, media and organisational, finding many preferred other people as a source of information. Consistent with earlier studies, participants identified 'information grounds' including, shops, Day Care Programs and volunteering roles as important locations at which to spontaneously gather and share information. As reported in previous studies, the church did not feature as an information ground in my study.

Applying qualitative SNA in this study illustrated the extent to which participants used their networks to gather and share information. Many networks extend widely

to include members of extended families living in overseas countries and afford access to diverse sources of information as well as influencing individual sense of belonging and identity. SNA highlighted the influence of factors including English-language acquisition, social isolation and life-stage on the nature and extent of social networks and their subsequent influence on information behaviour.

Also presented was a proposed measure of the weighting participants gave to the importance of sources and the potential use of this index by government and service providers to identify sources rated as important to better target efforts to inform recipients. It highlighted sources that participants considered as less important for everyday information and included community newspapers (English language), non-English free to air television services and churches. Participants demonstrated an ability to select a source for specific information based on trust and their assessment of the likelihood of getting the information they needed such as identifying their doctor as their preferred source for medical-related information. Other interpersonal sources including adult children and spouses also represented trusted and available sources of information. Several participants identified English language media including local television, major newspapers and radio as representing important sources of information.

In the next chapter, I discuss the acculturative experiences of participants with a particular focus on the manner in which English-language acquisition influences identity reconstruction and how these changes have influenced the manner in which migrants seek everyday information and what these changes mean.

CHAPTER 8 RECONSTRUCTING IDENTITY

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses aspects of acculturation and subsequent changes to identity that influence the nature of information sought and the ways in which participants access the information they need in their everyday activities. ‘Reconstructing Identity’ presents the fourth category of the substantive theory and while it is the last category that I discuss, it does not represent the end of a process. Rather it captures the more recent contextual experiences of participants, keeping in mind that processes of cultural adaptation and information gathering are each ongoing in their nature.

To assist the reader understand how I developed categories and their relationships with the substantive theory I have, as in previous chapters diagrammatically illustrated the relationships in Figure 13.

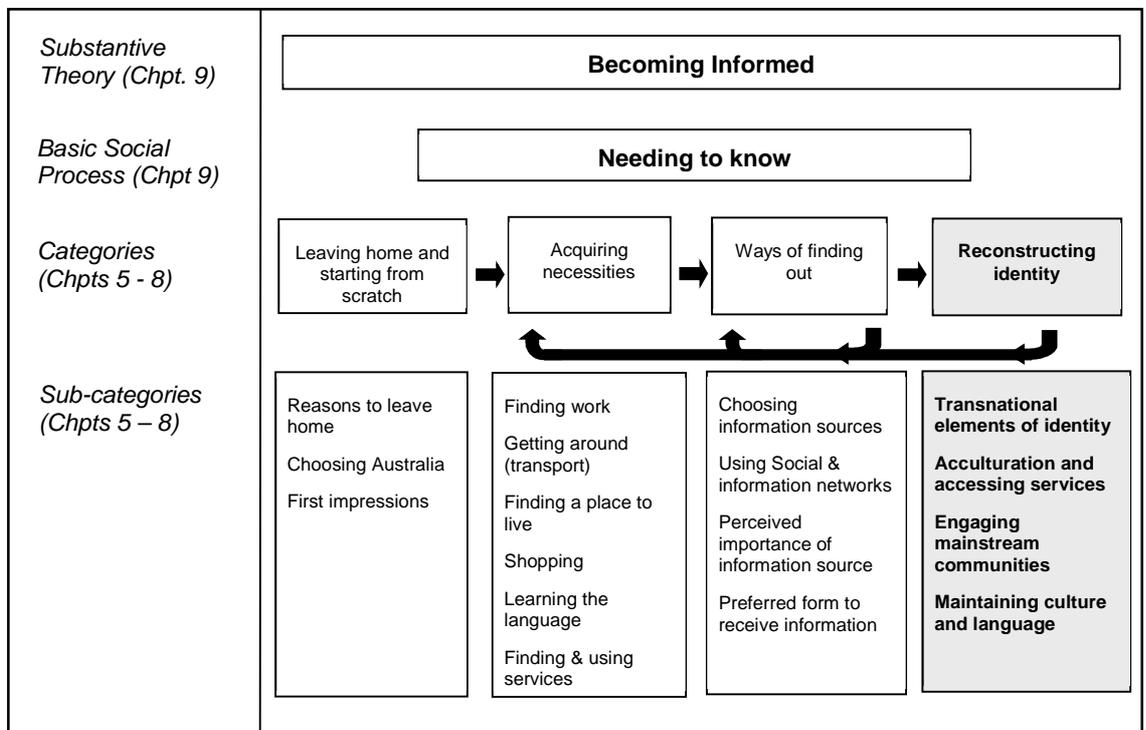


Figure 13: Locating ‘Reconstructing Identity’ in the Substantive Theory

It may appear at first, irregular to discuss aspects of acculturation and identity in a thesis the topic of which is information seeking. However, in this study, aspects associated with identity that also influenced how migrants find everyday information emerged during interviews warranting further investigation consistent with CGTM, in which issues raised by participants as being important to them guides the direction of subsequent research (Charmaz, 2006a). These were firstly, changes to the self-perceptions participants had, and how as migrants they felt others perceived them; secondly, the influence of acquiring English language on the manner and effectiveness of their accessing information, and; finally the role of globalisation and transnational networks on their sense of identity and as important sources of information. Again, consistent with CGTM, when I engaged the literature after I had developed my theory it revealed a body of research on information practices of migrants and aspects of their identity that provided a framework in which to locate my findings

8.2 Conceptualising the Acculturation Process

I return to the concept of acculturation to inform theoretically the subsequent discussions of my findings regarding the influences these adaptive processes had on participants finding information. I will begin by defining acculturation as the long-term adaptation process involving immigrants in adapting to their host culture, one that frequently employs language acquisition as a proxy measure of this adaptation. Ting-Toomey (1999: 235) further describes the process as one that:

[I]nvolves the long-term conditioning process of newcomers in integrating the new values, norms, and symbols of their new culture, and developing new roles and skills to meet its demands.

In doing so I acknowledge the ‘complexity and ambiguities regarding the conceptualisation and measurement of acculturation’ (Lopez-Class et al., 2011: 1555), using as examples of these difficulties studies that identify the role of acculturation or cultural adaptation in migrants accessing health services along with concerns expressed by others. For example, Rudmin (2009) criticises a lack of progress in developing effective measurement of extent of acculturation despite extensive research over the past near-century; others question the validity of

acculturation as a variable (Hunt et al., 2004). Further, in studies of factors affecting immigrant health Viruell-Fuentes and colleagues (2012) argue the need to consider structural issues migrants have to deal with in addition to acculturation. Alkerwi and colleagues (2012) in a study of obesity among first and second generation Portuguese migrants in Luxembourg reported health-related effects of acculturation while not statistically significant, vary by country of origin, health behaviours and outcomes. In addition, an intersection of factors including racial, cultural and class-related identities present barriers to African-American women accessing health information necessary for them to make informed health decisions (Warren et al., 2010).

Information seeking behaviour is not a static event but a dynamic process of adaptation (Leduc & Proulx, 2004) experienced by most migrants in seeking information about or access to health services, a process made more difficult for reasons including limited English language proficiency (Choi, 2013). Several others studies identify (English) language proficiency as a barrier to migrants accessing health and other information. Cordasco and colleagues (2011) report LEP along with geographical proximity as barriers to access safety net health clinics for migrants. Further, the authors report LEP may be associated with difficulties migrants experience in access information about other services including public transport networks. Lack of knowledge about public transport presents a barrier to migrants who do not have private transport accessing health and other services as well as for other everyday activities including shopping or visiting friends. In further studies of the role of language acquisition in migrants' access to health services Flores and colleagues (2005) found that LEP rather than the language reportedly spoken at home as being a more reliable indicator of access. In a later study, Flores and Tomany-Korman (2008) confirm the important role of functional English language acquisition in health status, reporting LEP of parents influences the access of children to health services. I now address more broadly issues that influence migrant acculturation.

In a period of increasing globalisation and transnational networks it is impossible to restrict migration research to nation states (Amelina, 2010). Bhatia and Ram (2009) also argue for a broader approach incorporating transnational migration and global movements in acculturation studies. Kim (1989) argues that adaptation occurs

accumulatively and progressively - that is migrants become increasingly adapted to the host environment as they continue to interact and deal with that environment, each in their own way at differing rates of adaptation. The theoretical explanation for this adaptation Kim argues lays in the inevitability of adaptation in individuals as long as they are functionally dependent on and continue to communicate with the host environment. To accommodate the variation observed in the rate of progression, Kim proposes 'the "stress-adaptation-growth" dynamics as the central "mover" of each individual along the passage of a "draw-back" and "leap-forward-upward" spiral pattern' rather than a continuous linear progression (Kim, 1989: 281). Individuals rates of acculturation differ, affected by factors including; attitude (personal motivation for adaptation and positive attitude towards the host society), skills (learning the host language and using host mass media) and interpersonal activities (engaging in networks embedded in the host society) (Kim, 1989). As is clear from previous chapters, factors such as these, in particular those relating to skills and interpersonal activities influenced the rate and extent of acculturation that in turn influenced how participants in my study found information and accessed services.

An alternate model, pluralistic-typological, allows for a regression in migrants becoming more 'ethnic' which is not possible in cumulative-progressive perspective and Kim (1989) argues for the need to accommodate these two perspectives despite their differences. Recent criticisms also propose ways to improve acculturation research. Chirkov (2009) suggests greater acknowledgment of the role of agency in an individual's response to a different culture. Rather than consider acculturation as a linear, or in Kim's model a spiralling cyclical process that is always moving forward, others suggest it is an emergent process evolving from interactions of different parties embedded in various historical and social contexts (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). Analysis of participant responses in the context of this literature illustrates the nature of their acculturation processes. Firstly, for most, the process was not a linear or progressive process, but rather one disrupted by context as was the case where competing demands of work or childcare interrupted opportunities to attend English language classes; English language acquisition being an important measure of acculturation, consistent with Bhatia and Ram's (2009) argument. Secondly, the structure versus agency argument arises again, as it did in the previous discussion of

the extent to which participants had a choice in deciding to migrate or stay. Several participants had little if any choice whether to attend language classes or not due to circumstances. One participant exercised agency in his decision not to attend further classes after feeling humiliated by responses from fellow students. Further, government policy expected migrants to assimilate and leave behind aspects of their birth cultures, yet government support to do so did not extend beyond offering English language classes. A more considered approach to acculturation requires one that acknowledges the complexity of the process and one, which accommodates the emergent aspects.

The focus of migration research previously tended to be on the way migrants adapt to their circumstances in the receiving culture rather than studies of mutual change to both the migrant and receiving group (Berry, 2001). Possibly in acknowledging an increasingly globalised world, Vertovec (2001) argues that more recent studies address connections and attachments that migrants maintain with institutions, families and traditions outside the nation state in which they reside. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) acknowledge the effect of globalisation on self and identity and the rise of localisation in response to increased uncertainty associated with globalisation. Consequently, the authors argue the need to study self and identity on three levels, - individual, local and global. Aspects of these global or transnational activities that relate to the effects of acculturation on identity, the perceived need of individuals to reconstruct their sense of identity and self in response to these changed circumstances and the way in which these changes influenced their ability to find everyday information emerged during my analysis of data. I discuss these findings in the next section.

8.3 Globalisation and Transnational Elements of Identity

Globalisation has seen dramatic increases in flows of goods, services and people across boundaries of existing nations-states (Landolt, 2001). In this section, I draw upon the concepts of transnationalism and globalisation in the discussion of information behaviour of participants that took place across national borders on a global scale that offered further and more diverse sources of information including those that contributed to maintenance of cultural identity. McGrew (1996: 469)

describes globalisation as a:

complex circumstance, one in which patterns of human interconnectedness, and awareness are reconstituting the world as a single social space.

As Amelina (2010) suggests, migration research should extend beyond nation states to incorporate transnational aspects of migration, which Bhatia and Ram (2009) suggest should involve the influence of acculturation on information behaviours and identity practices. Portes (2001: 183) argues it is more useful to consider transnationalism as one form of cultural, economic and political adaptation that exists with the more conventional forms. Of relevance to my study is the presence of social and information networks involving participants, family, and friends at various locations outside of Australia and the interchange of information occurring within these networks; the social space and interconnectedness that extends beyond national boundaries to which McGrew (1996) refers. The implications of globalisation extend more broadly than information networks beyond national boundaries to influence emerging hybrid identities of migrants replacing the more established national identities (Hall, 1996).

In such a world, the role of ICTs has challenged the concepts of time and space changing the way people define or shape their identities (Tsatsou, 2009). Confusion exists around efforts to describe these movements or activities of the entities involved through use of terms 'international', 'multinational' and 'transnational' (Vertovec, 2003). Portes (2001: 186) addresses the blurred definitions caused by use of various similar sounding terms by differentiating the source and scale of each concept describing transnational activities as:

Those initiated and sustained by non-institutional actors, be they organized groups or networks of individuals across national borders. Many of these activities are informal, that is they take place outside the pale of state regulation and control.

Transnationalism shares features with globalisation and Boccagni (2012) argues using conceptual tools of globalisation theories will better ground studies of migrant transnationalism. Concepts to which Boccagni refers as relevant are; action at a distance (Giddens, 1994), time-space compression (Harvey, 1989) or time-space distancing (Giddens, 1990) and mobilities (Urry, 2002). Monge (1998) attributes

the work of Giddens and Harvey along with other authors as having driven the development of theory of globalisation describing their contributions in different terms – whether there is action at a distance or a global awareness by individuals. Monge (1998: 146) argues communications are central to creating this global consciousness and through use of ICT humans think of issues in global rather than local terms, ‘the global having been localised, the local having been globalised.’

Such is the case involving global spread of information about events taking place in Australia and seen by residents living overseas. Places separated geographically by considerable physical distance yet connected at a distance measured in milliseconds by ICT devices. Calls made illustrated the reciprocity of information sharing and emotional attachment between members of these transnational networks who lived geographically separate lives for many years and yet continue to share an emotional closeness. For example, in response to news reports in Italy of bushfires in Australia, participants reported family members telephoning, inquiring as to their personal safety:

[W]e had one when the fire was in Melbourne and we told them, the fire is 750 kilometres away; yeah and no, they do and when there was some other fire was in Adelaide, about a few years ago. (Italian Male 0409)

Receiving calls from concerned family living in Italy illustrate the need to deconstruct the meaning attributed to the different kinds of distance - physical, social cultural and emotional - involved in transnational migration studies (Boccagni, 2012). Clearly, such calls represent proximity in terms of emotional distance despite considerable geographical distance involved:

Yes, my sister ring me, said, “How far you are from the fire?” I said, “Nine hundred kilometre, I said “we okay” – they was worried. (Italian Female Riverland 0409)

Not all migrants are transnationals and Vertovec (2001) warns of the over-use of the term to describe too wide a range of situations. Instead of a single theory of transnationalism, Vertovec argues for the use of a classification of transnationalisms. However, it is important to consider the contribution transnationalism makes to the process of migration for three reasons. Firstly, it is a growing phenomenon; secondly, it alters the integration to the host society of first generation migrants and

their children; thirdly its effects on development of sending countries through dual citizenship, migrant remittances and expatriates having voting rights in the national parliament (Portes, 2001). Rather than considering transnational as being some pre-existent objective entity, Boccagni (2012: 128) instead argues transnational:

[A]s a matter of situated attributes that may emerge, to different degrees and under distinct circumstances, in migrants' lives and in migration-related social formations.

Such was the case in my study in which elements of transnational identity emerged from interviews with participants manifesting in differing ways. Vertovec (1999) reports much political activity now occurs transnationally; in my study a few participants retained citizenship of their birth country and were eligible to vote in Italian elections. Eligible members of the Italian diaspora in Australia can vote to elect a representative in the Italian Parliament. Engagement by migrants with institutions in their sending country can vary and be selective in nature as shown in responses from some participants who despite being eligible to vote, it seems that not all received electoral material, recall receiving it, or acted on the information as they chose not to vote:

[Name] is an Italian citizen but he doesn't vote in Italy when they come out, he doesn't even receive the card saying who he has to vote for. (Interpreter Italian Male 1208)

For others the negative consequences arising from voting previously led them not to exercise their rights in subsequent elections:

In my parents situation they're both still Italian citizens so they never really wanted to become Australian citizens. They send the paperwork to them, the first time they voted, then relatives from Italy said they weren't in Italy said what'd you do vote for him for now we all in this mess, so they said we're not voting anymore... (Interpreter Italian 1208)

Involvement with Italian institutions illustrates a category of transnational activity which differs from the more obvious interpersonal contacts migrants maintain with family who remained in the sending country, one described by Boccagni (2012) as associated with perceptions of rights or responsibilities associated with the ongoing relevance of an institution.

The concept of transnationalism extends beyond activities taking place across national boundaries to perceptions participants have of themselves as now living comfortably across two cultures while located geographically in one of those cultures:

I am the proud, first of being Italian ...What I come from but that pride, I think has been overtaken, the pride of being an Australian... I personally enjoying two worlds. I can mix with you Ken and you can talk back to me. (Italian Male 0910)

This perception of having dual identities extends beyond that usually associated with dual citizenship as defined by nation states. In conversation, several participants mentioned having dual citizenship and travelling on either their Australian passport or one issued by their country of birth, selection often influenced by ease of entry when visiting Greece or Italy. Buried in conversations with participants was what I interpreted as cues as to how people saw themselves, often identifying with their birth country. In comparing life now in Australia with what it would be like in Greece one participant said:

Yeah anyway but, but but. It's a better system here than in our country, okay. (Greek Male 0209)

His country of birth still providing a strong defining source of identity even after living outside of Greece for more than fifty years and expressing gratitude for what Australia offered and proudly acknowledging its citizenship. This perception of a dual self is similarly evident in comments made by another participant when describing where to find the best food:

If you want a real good meal you got to go Italian restaurant – not because I'm Italian – don't worry about that, I'm Australian. (Italian Male 0409)

Birth culture, as represented by cuisine, continued to maintain a strong influence on identity but in a way as to not diminish his sense of civic assimilation made possible by a wider acceptance of cultural diversity because of the policy of multiculturalism (Costoiu, 2008). Transnational activities are not at odds with successful integration and Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) argue transnational ties may facilitate successful integration. Similarly, Ehrkamp (2005) found transnational ties amongst Turkish migrants in Germany enable local attachment to place rather than preventing it.

Findings that Ng and Northcott (2010) confirmed in their study of identity among older south Asian migrants to Canada in which stronger transnational ties with homeland correlate with greater cultural retention but also greater participation in Canadian society.

More broadly, transnational activities related to exchange of information through social networks with family and friends located in various countries as well those living in Greece and Italy. Participants identified relatives and friends in several countries including Argentina, Bulgaria, Canada and France as well as Greece and Italy with whom they maintain regular contact. As such, this form of transnationalism depends on interpersonal relationships rather than the role, rights and obligations, institutions and the sense of sending country as home plays in maintaining a transnational identity (Boccagni, 2012).

To illustrate the important role of transnational social networks in sharing information I refer again to the two Italian couples who knew each other whose combined egocentric networks I discussed in Chapter Seven (see Figure 10). Through the transnational elements of this combined network, it is possible for unrelated members of the network to access people living in Argentina, Canada, France or three regions of Italy and share everyday information they possess through as few as two or three people (two to three degrees of freedom). To illustrate more clearly this transnational network I have extracted elements from the combined networks and shown them in Figure 14 to represent the geographically dispersed interpersonal contacts each ego has and their links to other egos. Such diversity of contacts within a small network of four egos shows the potential these networks have to provide sources of information located in geographically diverse regions.

The extent the transnational networks varied depending on family relationships including the size of families and extent of migration that lead in some cases to relatives living in various locations around the world. In this example, RA and AC had relatives living in several countries with whom they maintained contact and so had access to geographically diverse sources of information. AC no longer had contact with extended family in Italy, due to her having migrated at a young age with her parents and DC kept in touch with family in Italy. The nature in which

identify cost benefits of using phone cards to call family overseas, as one confirmed:

Yeah, I put \$40 in one company and they said every time I ring they say you've got 4000 minutes and something, right (Greek Male 1208)

Higher costs associated with using mobile telephones contribute to their limited use generally but more so for making international calls. For example, the frequency of calls by one participant to Greece would drop if they involved use of a mobile telephone:

Take my wife uses the phone to ring up Greece occasionally, every second day now if it were through a mobile phone that wouldn't be the case. (Interpreter Greek Male 1208)

The role of ICT in migrants' information behaviour forms an important aspect of my study including how they use the technology and for what purpose including exchanging information through keeping in touch with family and friends overseas.

It seems feasible the advent of the 'digital age' with greater access to a greater range of communication means at lower costs has contributed to the creation of transnational migrant communities. However, this is not so as Vertovec (2001) argues technology has facilitated or enhanced transnational networks rather than created them. Boccagni (2012) warns of risk of technological determinism as benefits of the technologies are contingent on accessibility and usability of ICT, issues relevant to participants in my study. ICTs have made possible simultaneous interaction and a scale of activity and capacity previously thought impossible, all attributes that give definition to the term 'transnationalism' (Portes et al., 1999). While diffusion of these technologies explains how more people are able to develop and maintain transnational relations, it does not explain why they do so (Landolt, 2001). From the findings of my study, it is difficult to disentangle the two issues. However, the closeness of family ties explains why participants chose to call family and friends regularly; advances in ICT capabilities along with lower costs facilitated these contacts.

Previously, I discussed the role of globalisation in identity reconstruction (Hall, 1996) and the sense of hybridity in identity reported to develop in diaspora (Anthias, 2001; Yankova & Andreev, 2012) as migrants adopted and adapted to the receiving

culture. In the next section, I discuss some of the ways in which migrants maintained their birth culture while at the same time they were adopting aspects of Anglo-Australian culture leading to a new hybrid identity.

Escobar and Vega (2000) consider acculturation to be a contested and at times a poorly defined concept and suggest the use of proxy measures of acculturation should be suspended subject to finding a more effective measure of the phenomenon. Hunt and colleagues (2004: 982) found acculturation has 'come to function as an ideologically convenient black box' in studies of factors affecting access to services by migrants, leading to inadequate consideration of more material barriers including language. Yet in their review of previous studies involving acculturation, they found overwhelmingly language acquisition used as a proxy measure of acculturation. In view of the wide acceptance of language as a proxy measure of acculturation, (albeit contested and imperfect) I applied language acquisition as a measure of participant acculturation in my consideration of their ability to access everyday information. Participants who were more acculturated, as assessed by language use, engaged a variety of sources and means to gather information and make direct contact with services or government departments when necessary. Whereas, participants with low or no use of English language require mediated access to information and services through intervention by third parties frequently adult children and where necessary ethno-specific service providers.

8.4 Acculturation and Access to Services

Extent of acculturation is frequently used as a variable in measuring consequences of migration including health status of migrants despite Escobar and Vega (2000) describing as fuzzy the myriad constructs, including language use, that constitute the concept. Hunt and colleagues (2004) in a review of acculturation research found overwhelmingly studies use language as a proxy measure. Frequently, studies focus on health and wellbeing of migrants finding acculturation affects health status in complex ways that are not well understood (Lara et al., 2005). Despite its wide use in studies of health status among ethnic minorities, Hunt and colleagues (2004: 981) caution against its use in health research due to what they claim are its serious and factual errors including definitional issues, role and meaning of terms such as

'culture' and individual treatment of variables rather than consideration of their consequences through their interactions.

Referring again to the use of language acquisition as a measure of acculturation, studies show the extent of acquiring functional skills in the dominant language influences health outcomes and access to services. Length of stay spent in a host culture has a variable influence on migrant acculturation and self-identity. Yankova and Andreev (2012) found length of stay of Bulgarian migrants in Canada did seem a major factor in acculturation and self-identification. However, length of stay and language proficiency influences migrants' health outcomes and their access to health services. Lack of language acquisition affects mental health of Asian migrants in United States of America but not so Latinos (Zhang et al., 2012). Lebrun (2012) found shorter lengths of residency and limited proficiency of dominant language generally result in lower levels of access or use of health services by migrants. Similarly, in a study of health-seeking behaviour of migrants in Tasmania, Terry and colleagues (2011) found lack of information along with other factors, inhibited access to health services. Valencia-Garcia and her colleagues (2012) reported more acculturated women had higher perceived access to services. In a study of older Iranian migrants' use of health services in Sydney, Alizadeh-Khoei and colleagues (2011) found English proficiency the only measure of acculturation to influence use of health services. More broadly, Ahmed (2008) reports use of English allows for better integration but not necessarily reduces segregation of Bangladeshi women in London.

8.4.1 Direct or mediated access to services

Being proficient in English language facilitates a sense of independence allowing older migrants to go freely about daily routines without assistance, as one participant explained:

Oh now it's better you know. I said that you know, we have the family now, the children in you know, we go to the shops ourselves and everything without any people. (Greek Female 0209)

Generally, participants felt their quality of life was better now compared with their experience in the period soon after migrating. Many have children and grandchildren who were born in Australia and established families of their own. These extended

families offer support and a sense of belonging contributing to older migrants feeling more settled and comfortable with their situation.

For those whom low levels of English language proficiency posed a barrier, which they had in part overcome, the more general availability of interpreter services made life much easier. Again, a participant perceived life to have improved compared with what it was like soon after migrating and made better in part because of the ready availability of information and help in language translation if needed:

Life is getting much easier because everywhere you go they've got things to tell you things to show you or someone to explain to you. (Greek Male 1208)

A combination of there being support available in the form of services if needed and participants understanding more generally led to a sense of well-being as one participant explained:

Because we understand and we've got help here. Yes, the government help a lot too, we happy, so we happy, that's good. (Italian Female Riverland 0409)

Unlike those who were more proficient in English language, participants who were less skilled required language assistance to gathering and understand information or when dealing with service providers. A situation that led to a dependency on others and disempowerment of the individual through their inability to fully exercise their choice in seeking information. Frequently, adult children provided this mediated access to information, in so doing acted as ethno linguistic gate keepers (Metoyer-Duran, 1993), and to services acting both as interpreters and as service coordinators arranging appointments or delivery of services such as home care or social support. Roles such as these afforded the adult children opportunities, if they chose, to exercise power over their parents through their potential to filter information (Barzilai-Nahon, 2009).

As Caidi and Allard (2008: 8) suggest,

there is a strong relationship between information practices and identity building, particularly as immigrants strive to build new lives, habits, and networks in an unknown information context.

Several studies identify the importance of information in influencing the outcomes of migration and its availability at differing stages of the process. For example, Shoham and Strauss (2007) reported migrants to Israel sought information during both the pre and post phases of migration and while language was a major barrier to finding information, satisfaction of information needs lead to the achievement of a sense of belonging and a sense of self (Shoham & Strauss, 2008). In considering what contribute to successful migration Walsh and Horenczyk (2001) suggest the need for migrants to feel competent and to feel a sense of belonging. The nature of information necessary to achieve these states described by Caidi and colleagues (2010) as being instrumental (specific task-based) and expressive respectively. Need for information continues after the migration process on issues including health, language learning and identity construction along with other issues (Caidi et al., 2010). I suggest that these improving language skills provide better access to more sources of information in the mainstream language and through weak ties to loosely connected information and social networks similar in nature to those described by Granovetter (1973). Along with this better access to more information sources, came the ability of migrants to communicate with members of the dominant culture and through these contacts, experiences that lead to further acculturative changes. As identity is formed in relation to communicating with others (Brockhall & Liu, 2011), contact with members of the dominant society facilitated by English language acquisition in turn influenced their identity at the same time affording opportunities to access different information.

Consequently, I developed a model, shown in Figure 15, which I describe as an information-acculturation-identity reconstruction cycle to explain the relationships between identity and the information practices of migrants in response to changes brought about by their acculturation. This model brings together the processes of migration and its associated stimuli and pressures to acquire new skills and information and the influence these processes have on subsequent acculturative changes and information behaviours of migrants. Stresses arising from the process of migration and settlement in a different culture are explained by Oberg's (1960) concept of culture shock. Similarly, theoretical frameworks of Mezirow's (1994) Transformative Learning Theory and Taylor's (1994) use of TLT in his explication of the development of intercultural competency bring together the influences the

transformative changes associated with a need for new information have on a migrant's ability to function in a new culture. The ongoing nature of acculturative changes leads to a cyclical process where improving English language acquisition facilitates access to information in exogenous networks and other sources, feeding in to the processes of acculturation, which in turn influence ongoing changes in aspects of migrant identity.

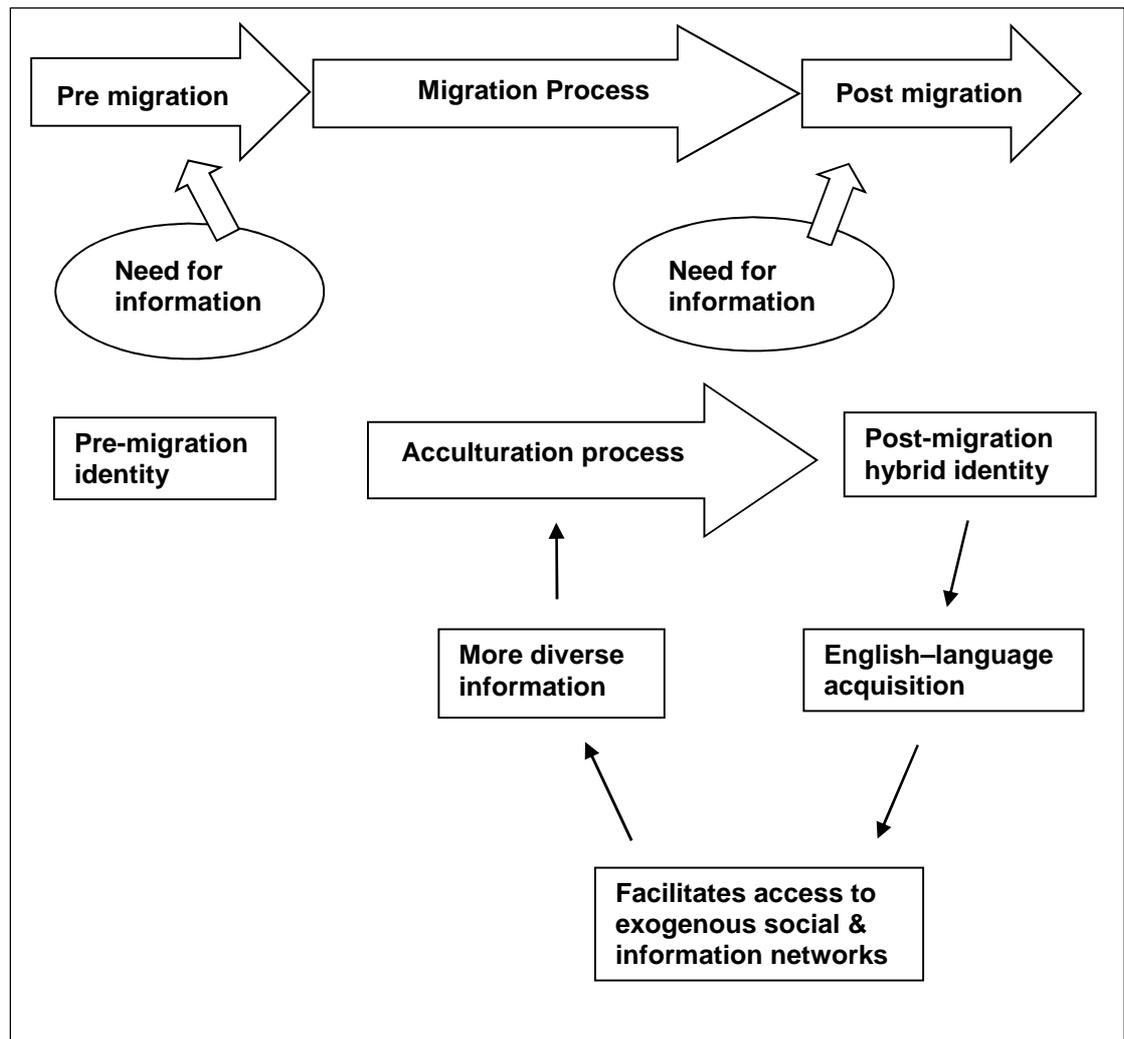


Figure 15: Information-Acculturation-Identity Reconstruction Cycle

Previous studies found a sense of hybridity developed in identity construction among individuals living in diaspora (Anthias, 2001; Yankova & Andreev, 2012).

Consistent with this finding, participants in my study spoke of having developed a sense of identity in which elements of their birth culture sat comfortably alongside aspects of Anglo-Australian culture and their ability to express aspects of either in

response to a prevailing situation. Several studies identify language as an important marker of a person's identity. Yankova and Andreev (2012: 51) suggest, 'language seems to be a key factor in defining one's sense of identity.' Similarly, Anthias (2001) and Sala and colleagues (2010) found language to be a marker in defining identity. Earlier, Phinney (1990) in her review article reported language as the most widely assessed cultural practice associated with cultural identity, noting its importance varies with particular situations.

Most participants in my study reported maintaining contact with family and friends in their sending countries and in several cases various other locations around the world. These transnational interpersonal networks provided useful sources of information as well as maintaining elements from their birth cultures in the hybrid identities developed in response to changes associated with migration and settlement. An increasingly globalised world involving a reordering of time and space in social lives (Giddens, 1990) has fundamentally changed communication networks and how migrants view themselves and brings together aspects of communications, identity and migrants sense of place.

Previous studies report migration results in a physical, cultural and social relocation requiring an ongoing accommodation to these new situations and an adaptation of health seeking behaviour through interaction with aspects of this new environment (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). More recently, Choi (2013) similarly found experiences of migration, settlement and acculturation influence the evolving nature of migrants' health-seeking behaviour, an aspect of information seeking behaviour overlooked by previous researchers. I argue that the influence these changing cultural, social and economic circumstances have on searching for health-related information more broadly affect how migrants seek everyday information. For example, Cordasco and colleagues (2011) found LEP presents a barrier to how migrants find information about transport services in addition to information about health services.

Acculturative changes stemming from intercultural contact affect both migrants and the receiving group (Berry, 2001). Yet as more obvious changes occur in migrants as they move from one culture to another (Kim, 1989) studies tend to focus on the migratory group. In this chapter, I discuss the nature of these changes from the

migrant's perspective with an emphasis on how these changes influenced their information gathering, its subsequent use to build knowledge and whether this new knowledge affects how they access services. In doing so, I also consider structural circumstances, which may influence the course or extent of adaptive changes participants experienced and discuss briefly structural changes that affected Australian society during this period. By considering the contextual influences of the role of identity and migrant adaptation, I take a more integrated approach in gaining an understanding of how older migrants gather and use information they need.

To offer a framework in which to locate my findings and subsequent analysis I present and discuss more broadly aspects and properties of adaptive change with an emphasis on the influence it has on participant information behaviour. I then discuss any changes to ways that participants perceive themselves along with their perceptions of how others perceive them. Next, and of greater interest is to discuss what these changes have meant to migrants in how they find and access information. To illustrate further the central role of English-language acquisition in acquiring information, I present a case of a participant with very limited English-language and discuss what this means for her finding what she needs to know to undertake successfully her everyday activities. The case study that follows presents the experience of a participant, Giulia, who having lived almost fifty years in Australia does not speak or read English and by definition has shown lesser acculturative change than migrants who are now bi-lingual. Consequently, Giulia remains linguistically isolated and this case study illustrates what this isolation means to how she finds information and accesses services.

8.4.2 Case study: Giulia – Linguistic isolation and social support

Consider the situation of Giulia, who at the time of interview is a sprightly independent woman in her late eighties who lives at home, rejecting suggestions from her family that she may benefit from having domestic services, still gardens and regularly cares for an elderly neighbour. She lives, what she describes as an active and satisfying life, attending social events arranged by local council or an ethno-specific service provider, keeping in touch with family and friends locally along with her family in Italy. Settling in Australia with her husband and their children almost fifty years ago, Giulia was considerably older than were many migrants of that

period, aged in her early forties when she migrated. Typically, she settled in to domestic life caring for her children and husband who worked, but she did not join the work force, which reduced her opportunities to learn English and to acculturate more broadly through contact with Anglophones. Her husband's dominant attitude prevented her socialising with English-speaking Australians and others generally further limiting her opportunities to adapt culturally. Consequently, she did not learn to speak or write English and remains unable to do so today.

As other migrants did soon after arriving in Australia, Giulia developed a limited social and information network, which she identified as consisting of four interpersonal sources all of whom she assessed as being most important (Figure 16). As was often the case in the early post-migration period, it was a network dependent on endogenous Italian-speaking sources: spouse, siblings, children and a few Italian-speaking friends for information and arranging access to services as required. With linguistic assistance from her children and Italian-speaking friends (shown by dotted lines), Giulia shopped and attended an English-speaking doctor when necessary.

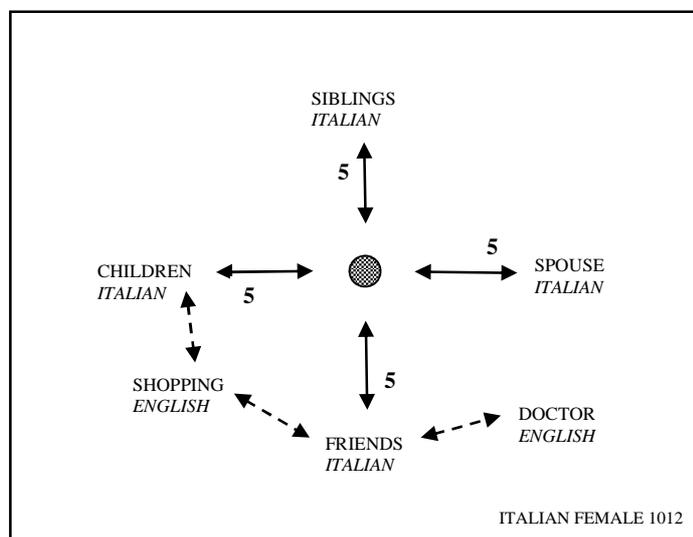


Figure 16: Giulia's Early Social and Information Network

Note: Dashed lines indicate use of English language

All interchanges of information occurred in Italian, either directly or following translation of English into Italian by bilingual members of her network. A network of this nature is typical of those developed by migrants shortly after arriving in Australia in that it is limited in scope or reach and dependent on sources within the

endogenous community.

Giulia's links to the dominant culture today are few and involve mediators to provide language translation for her to access information and services as shown in Figure 16. Immigrant children often quickly exceed the English literacy skills of their parents due to their attending school and subsequently, they quickly and at young age provide language and cultural translations for their parents (Chu, 1999). As is the case with Giulia, her bilingual children and friends allowed contact more broadly with services and information sources. This reliance on children as language mediators presents a barrier to language acquisition that delays and inhibits dealing directly with the dominant culture (Fisher et al., 2004). Not having learned English, Giulia still relies on her now adult children and other bilingual Italian speakers for language mediation when she needs to find information.

Much has changed in Giulia's life since she migrated, as well as more broadly with structural changes in society. Her siblings, on whom she depended for information soon after arriving, now have their own families and Giulia is part of this broader social and information network shown in Figure 17.

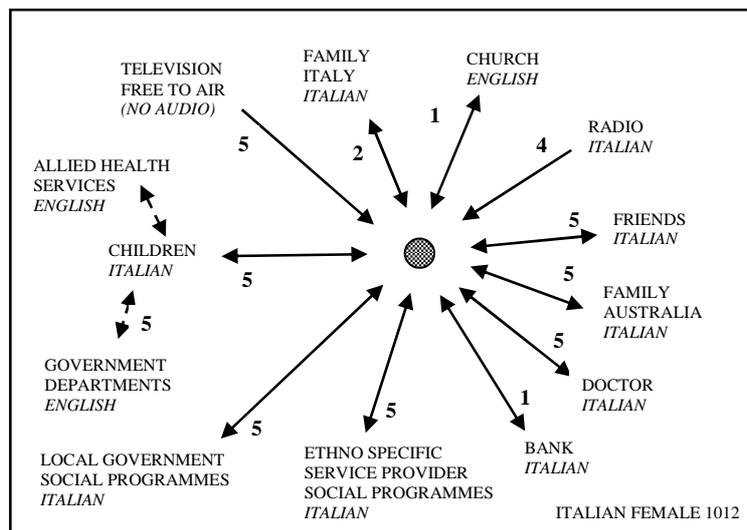


Figure 17: Giulia's Recent Social and Information Network

Note: Dashed lines indicate use of English language

Yet despite its increased size and spread, the language used in this extended family network continues to be Italian. Australia is now more multicultural in its outlook

and embraces cultural diversity; there are programmes in numerous community languages available on free to air media and ethno specific service providers offer culturally appropriate services.

Currently, Giulia accesses Italian-language programmes on community radio occasionally and attends regularly social events arranged by an Italian community service provider. The development and widespread application of digital communications offers greater technical capabilities leading to more readily accessible information and means to contact friends and family. The advent of cheaper overseas telephone calls makes contact with family faster and less expensive allowing Giulia regular contact by telephone with family in Italy.

Giulia's current social and information network (Figure 17) is comprehensive and similar in appearance to those of other more acculturated participants discussed previously in Section 7.6 of Chapter Seven. However, it differs in two aspects. First, all exchanges of information with Giulia occur using Italian either directly with sources or through bi-lingual family or friends. Second, Giulia gains mediated access to mainstream English-language services through family or friends unlike more acculturated participants who make direct contact with information sources without the need for language mediation (compare with Figure 11).

More acculturated participants identified various English language electronic and print media as important sources of information, which they used often. These included local free to air television services, radio programmes, and a local English-language newspaper. Whereas, in Giulia's case these sources feature less frequently or not at all in the case of newspapers as sources of information. When she does use them, it is in a different manner. Local Italian language radio rates highly as a source but one she uses infrequently. Surprisingly, free to air English language television featured as an important source of information for Giulia, which she used in a unique and interesting manner, with the audio off. Giulia's perceptions of images alone provided information about events occurring locally and internationally that she felt enabled her to understand what has happened in the absence of any accompanying English-language commentary.

Similar to her use of visual images to gain information of material presented on television, Giulia understood church services delivered entirely in English through the routine of the liturgy and the meanings associated with religious items used. Familiarity with religious objects used by clergy during rituals enabled her to follow services and to gain spiritually from the experience. As a source of spiritual guidance, Giulia rated the church as most important. However, consistent with responses from other participants and findings from previous studies (Fisher & Naumer, 2006) she rated church as a least important source for everyday information.

All interactions within Giulia's network involved using Italian unlike networks of more acculturated participants in which they used predominately English interspersed with use of their birth language. Her bilingual children mediate her access to many sources of information; services offered initially in English but may subsequently involve bilingual professionals such as her doctor, or culturally appropriate services provided by local council or ethno specific service providers. Giulia reports leading a busy and fulfilling life and appears to, being actively involved in social events, her family and helping an aged friend with her daily activities. She did not perceive having any functional knowledge deficits associated with her daily activities due largely to the role her children played in finding information and arranging her access to services. Unlike the situation in which Theo found himself, without children or other family members to facilitate language translation or arrange services, Giulia has adult children who provide an essential mediating role in overcoming barriers caused by the lack of English language skills. Giulia's children are now mature adults and she has grandchildren. Her husband's death at a relatively young age about thirty years ago led to changes in her life that allowed her opportunities to socialise more freely but generally within the Italian-speaking community. Today, her lack of English language continues to restrict social contacts to members of the Italian-speaking community or events mediated by bilingual friends or family. This mediated access to information and availability of bilingual culturally appropriate services overcomes any potential deficits but leads to her disempowerment through dependency on others and potential gate keeping of information (Barzilai-Nahon, 2009). Giulia's identity remains largely Italian showing little reconstruction despite having lived in Australia for more than forty

years and not speaking or writing English. Her subsequent limited acculturation possibly, due to her being older when she migrated and her personal circumstances in Australia, which restricted her contact with the local culture and not acquiring English language. For other participants, their interactions with the dominant culture lead to acculturative changes involving shifts in their self-perception of identity and the perceptions of others.

8.5 Reconstructing Identity

Changes associated with migration can be long lasting and profound as comments made by participants suggest in their recollections of the first impressions and subsequent experiences after arriving in Australia, which I discussed in Chapter Four. Again the range of their responses suggest that some coped better than others, consistent with findings of previous studies (Ward & Styles, 2005). According to Berry and colleagues (2006) migrants adopt differing strategies to deal with stresses brought about by living in another culture. In a study of UK women who migrated to Australia, Ward and Styles (2003) found that migration affects identity, requiring reworking or establishing aspects of the self. During this acculturative process, migrants in various ways reinvent themselves, shedding aspects of their early life and both adapting and adopting aspects of the new culture in a manner consistent with the 'biographical reinvention' observed by Paul Ward and colleagues (Ward et al., 2011) in response to a critical incidents or a major life change. Part of this process is how the perceptions of others influence self-perceptions and in this regard Mead's work (1934) informs how individuals reconstruct a new sense of self. Concepts including 'looking glass self' (Cooley, 1964) and Winnicott's (1971) 'social mirroring' both inform the understanding of the role of perceptions of others towards self.

In an interesting view of human social interactions, Goffman (1959) draws on the metaphor of theatrical performance to explain how humans (actors) present themselves to others (audience). An individual presents a performance to others that portrays information intended to illicit a desired response or perception. Performers may present an idealised impression to an audience that concurs with social values which requires suppression of attributes which the performer perceives as

inconsistent with this idealised self (Goffman, 1959). Such is the situation with a participant, who seems comfortably located across two cultures and yet can 'perform' in response to expectations of the other when necessary:

But it seem today, to be honest, I can be as English as you want me, or as Australian as you want. (Italian Male 0409)

In his theory of the looking glass self, Cooley (1964: 184) explains the reflexive continual monitoring of self from the perspective of others. He describes the process as having three component parts:

[T]he imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his [sic] judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification.

Cooley did not elaborate further on emotions by defining the terms or proposing other emotions that affect self-perceptions. Pride or self-confidence is evident in responses made to the way in which participants set about establishing themselves in Australia, their self-perception to being hardworking and independent:

The day we put the foot in this land, we never ask the government to help us - we work very hard. (Italian Female 0409)

Despite having no English language skills when they arrived, many quickly found work and learned from observing how to carry out tasks. Self-confidence in their ability to learn helped them through a difficult period of adjustment:

Well for example, you're not stupid. When you see what's going on there...I was young don't forget... (Greek Female 0911)

But in those days we didn't know how to speak English. We didn't know how to find our way to go here and there, so there always people and then there was the lucky thing we was not dumb, so we was smart and we get the words and I put them together, so we used to work without speaking language. (Greek Female 0709)

While having pride in their ability to learn and sufficient self-confidence to ask for further explanation when necessary some demonstrated their acute awareness of the way others perceived their lack of formal education. Some participants felt others saw them differently as being uneducated because of their inability to communicate effectively in English:

We ask for things not clear. “What are you talking about”, you know. And you go to shop. Because I didn’t go to school, I didn’t go to school, that’s the part when the people talk. (Greek Female 0209)

Some participants were perhaps self-effacing in explaining the reason for them finding work. A participant suggested that she and other migrants gained employment simply in response to supervisors or employers feeling sorry for their situation and taking pity on them:

Sometimes I think, yeah the supervisors, they are there and they’d be sorry for us. They give us a job. (Greek Female 0209)

Self-perceptions of migrants on occasions differed greatly to those expressed by members of the mainstream community. Until the arrival of post-war migrants, Australia was predominantly Anglo-centric in appearance and attitudes, those who did not fit the physical or social stereotype were outsiders receiving an unfavourable reception. Government policy at the time encouraged assimilation of migrants and it was 1973 before the introduction of multiculturalism as national policy (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007). Many migrants from Mediterranean countries experienced discrimination and subsequent exclusion from social and information networks evidenced by the derogatory terms used by members of the dominant group to describe them collectively. Post-war arrivals saw themselves as ‘migrants’ not so Anglo-Australians who used pejorative terms to describe collectively southern European migrants:

Today life is easier for migrants, is that what we call ourselves. They used to call us wogs or dagos. But we live in a beautiful country and I’m very proud of it. I love my country but Australia is number one. (Greek Male 1208)

In his response, the participant seems to have separated himself and the group to which he belongs from the views others have of the group, showing a pattern consistent with the theory of ‘negative social mirroring’ (Wiley et al., 2008: 395). The context of reception migrants receive from locally born residents and migrants’ approach to adapting to living in their receiving country influences the outcomes of their acculturation (Rohmann et al., 2008); unfavourable attitudes leading to acculturative stress. Context of reception varies with time and can include support from members of the receiving community (Schwartz et al., 2010). Such is the case of post-war Mediterranean migrants towards whom attitudes changed considerably

over time perhaps illustrated with the introduction and broad acceptance of multiculturalism as government policy during the 1970s in Australia. In the period immediately after migrating, prior to the change in migration policy and more recently, many participants spoke warmly of the support offered by members of the receiving community as neighbours and fellow workers:

People were lovely, but it was very hard for language. (Greek Female Riverland 0409)

A perception of the need to be part of mainstream culture expressed by participants raises the agentic question of the extent of choice individuals had in how they lived their lives after settling in Australia. Possibly, as was the case of structural circumstances influencing the option to migrate or stay, there was little choice in how a migrant would live their life in Australia as a participant described his obligation to assimilate:

I think we had to come here and blend in and be Australia to want to be in this country, do something, you know. (Italian Male 0910)

The perception by this participant of the need to ‘blend in’ as being a condition of migration consistent with government migration policy in place then that promoted assimilation as the acculturative option. Migrants were chosen on their ability or likelihood of blending in to the white Anglo-Celtic or northern Eurocentric image predominant at the time in Australia. Governments of Greece and Italy had signed agreements with Australia to facilitate migration and Australia had a migration policy requiring migrants to assimilate through adopting Anglo-Australian cultural and linguistic practices (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007). Such structural arrangements most likely influenced perceptions of the need to assimilate rather than migrants freely making a decision to do so. Responses suggest participants accepted this reality, making a pragmatic decision to fit in by adopting existing rules rather than bring rules or customs from the sending country:

I don’t bring here the rules of Italy or the rules of France ... I use the rules that are here. (Italian Male 0910)

This decision, perhaps affected by the expectation expressed in migration policy to assimilate, along with the long experience of living in Australia may have influenced attitudes to more recently arrived migrants from countries in Africa and Middle East.

It is difficult from the limited data available to draw conclusions as to the motivation for these responses. Whether the attitudes expressed are a response from more highly acculturated migrants that reflect the values of the Anglo-culture or whether the comments reflect the extent of cultural distance as defined by differences in appearance, language, religion and customs (Ward et al., 2001) associated with more recent arrivals:

Do they feel like us that it, we have integrated? What I think [is that] the Europeans have integrated but now I feel that the ones that are coming now from the Arabic countries and from South African are not integrating with how we wanted to integrate and be Australian. (Italian Female 0910)

8.6 Engaging with Mainstream Communities

Engaging with mainstream organisations and activities exposed migrants to further opportunities to learn English and to gather actively or passively information through various interactions with members of the dominant culture. Initially, engagement with the dominant culture came in the workplace resulting in migrants learning English language and mainstream culture by immersion some recognising this would not happen if they remained in their ethnic communities:

That's why we learn to speak because if we work with our own nationality, we never learn. (Greek Male 0709)

Along with exposure to English language came exposure more broadly to other cultural aspects of life in Australia including the use of discriminatory and disrespectful language:

They swear on you and you say "Yeah, thank you" *Laughter*. (Greek Male 0709)

In addition to the workplace, whether in factories, shops or as domestic help in private houses, participants also interacted with Anglophones in everyday activities providing opportunities for further acculturation and English language acquisition. As children reached school age, many of them provided language assistance to their parents acting as interpreters.

Not all initial contacts with the dominant culture turned out as well for the migrant, as was the case with one who started school soon after arriving in Australia.

Responses from Anglophone students to one who could not communicate using English illustrates what Jasso (2011) describes as the emblematic nature of English fluency in the reactions of Anglo-Australians to migrants:

I'll remember you know first starting school, ... they used to pick on me because I couldn't understand or couldn't talk to them you know couldn't answer them and I'm suffering now with my knees because of all the times I got pushed over. (Italian Female 0910)

In response to my confirmatory questions to participants of the importance of acquiring English language on their feeling of acceptance by mainstream society two responded unequivocally:

Oh God yes. Oh yes. (Italian Male 0409)

There's no difference at all. (Italian Female 0409)

A response from the latter, who arrived as a pre-school child suggests she perceived herself as being an indistinguishable part of the dominant culture consistent with Schwartz and colleagues (2010) finding that young children are more likely to acquire host-culture values and identifications than those who migrate when older.

Generally, participants expressed satisfaction with their lives in Australia acknowledging that initially life had been hard and migration a difficult process. As one participant explained, in doing so placing an indicative value on his acquisition and use of English language:

If you came to me and said "[Name], this is a hundred thousand dollars and I take away your language, English language", I say "You keep the hundred thousand, a million dollars, you can keep it, I will stay as I am". (Italian Male 0409)

Often, participants seeing themselves as integrated into Australian culture engage in activities and pastimes frequently enjoyed by others including those born in Australia. Many of these activities offer participants access to more comprehensive networks and sources of information. Volunteering provides one such opportunity.

a) Volunteering

In 2010, more than a third of the Australian population aged 18 years and over

participated in voluntary work with women participating more than men (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012a). Participation rate varies with age as shown in Table 10. Socio-economic status influences the propensity to volunteer, including higher levels of education, income and belonging to the dominant ethnic group (Bales, 1996) suggesting that older Greek and Italian migrants should have lower levels of volunteering. Indeed, data on language spoken at home and country of birth confirm that ethnicity influences volunteering participation rates, in that 39 per cent of people who speak English at home volunteer whereas 25.2 per cent who speak a language other than English at home volunteer. This suggests the difficulty of volunteering in mainstream organisations without a functional command of English language.

Table 10: Volunteer Participation Rate by Age

Age groups (Years)	Volunteer work last 12 months (%)
55-64	42.5
65-74	36.9
75-84	27.6
> 85	12.4
All Ages	36.2

(Source: ABS 2011 - 41590DO008 2010 General Social Survey: Summary Results Australia)

Similarly, a greater proportion of Australian-born residents (39.7 per cent) volunteer than residents who are born overseas (28.3 per cent) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011b). In a study of migration within Europe, Voicu and Şerban (2012) report a similar finding, that migrant participation increases with length of residency and second generation migrants have participation rates of volunteering similar to that of the host society. Social resources facilitate volunteering (Wilson, 2000) and it is likely these resources increase with the duration of successful settlement. When people are socially integrated, they have more social ties and more likely to learn of volunteering opportunities and meet others who already volunteer (Wilson, 2012).

Handy and Greenspan (2009) argue volunteering offers migrants a way to regain social capital lost during their migration experience through opportunities to access information from sources embedded in the dominant group. Further, volunteering affords opportunities to acculturate through integration into the host society. Results from my study suggest the volunteering activities related more to building social

capital for the local community as a whole, as participants who volunteered were socially embedded and financially established at the time of interview. As one participant saw herself as indistinguishable from Anglo-members of the dominant culture when referring to how she felt about living in Australia. After living in Australia for more than fifty years suggests the behaviour of these participants is more like that of second generation migrants reported to have rates of volunteering similar to those of members of the host society (Voicu & Şerban, 2012).

Aspects of volunteering varied between participants, not all volunteered entirely in mainstream English-speaking environments. For example, one couple volunteered regularly with an Italian residential aged care organisation visiting older Italian-speaking residents regularly talking to residents in Italian and providing bi-lingual services when needed. Whereas another participant volunteered with a local council as a driver of the community bus assisting older people to mix socially:

I drive the community bus, which I take people out...Once or twice a month, depends on the outings yeah. (Italian Male 0910)

While volunteering, situations conducive to gathering and sharing information did arise, as I discussed in Chapter Seven, these opportunities were incidental (Williamson, 1997) to the reason to volunteer. Extent of volunteering offers a qualitative measure of the extent to which migrants engage with the host community and at what stage of settlement this engagement started. In the cases mentioned above participants became more involved with volunteering activities after they retired from the workforce. For others, volunteering was something they adopted sooner after migrating, illustrating the variability in the rate at which migrants engage in activities associated with mainstream society suggesting also differences when reconstruction of identity begins. For some parents, their Australia-born children attending school lead to them helping on school canteens and in other capacities so providing further opportunities to engage more broadly:

But you see when I had the kids young I used to involve the schools as well, so I used to help in the canteens, make hotdogs for the kids. (Greek Female 0709)

Another participant, until recently, had volunteered for several years at a major public hospital, following her husband's illness and subsequent death. Previously,

she and her husband actively raised money for a local community fire service:

Give all for the CFS [Country Fire Service] \$45,000.00 buy three vehicles, make a new shed and have everything. I like to help. Australia bring us here I must leave something for them too. (Greek Female 0911)

Reasons for doing so were to her straightforward, altruistic wishing to repay Australia for the benefits, she perceived to have accrued from the opportunities flowing from receiving government assistance to migrate. In volunteering as she did, contributing to the social capital of society as a whole and not just to the individual or the ethnic community with which she identified. Volunteering, especially during the earlier years post-migration afforded further contact with the host society and opportunities to develop exogenous social and information networks through bridging ties in to loosely connected networks. Further, by volunteering migrants are more likely to find themselves in information grounds that facilitate the exchange or access to information about a variety of issues. As several participants increased their contact with the host society more broadly, many maintained communications with family and friends overseas through which they exchanged information and retained contact with their cultural heritage.

8.7 Maintaining Culture and Language

At the time when many of the participants migrated, Australia's policy of assimilation required them to assimilate quickly and generally with little formal assistance to adopt the behaviours, language and practices of the predominant culture. During the 1970s, attitudes towards migrants showed signs of change with the introduction of a policy of multiculturalism accepting and promoting cultural diversity. Previous negative views of southern European migrants moderated, resulting in Anglo-Australians more readily accepting the contributions migrants had made to society and admiring their values and work ethic and willingness to engage the dominant culture (Cosmini-Rose & O'Connor, 2008). Throughout this period, many migrants maintained their customs associated with their regional origins and religion, more now finding time to practise them since they retired:

We kept; most of us kept our customs ...more customs now that you're older than when they were working because they never had time to. (Italian Male 0910)

Celebration of various annual feast-days commemorating saints often of regional significance continue as important events on community calendars for migrants from these regions in Italy or Greece. The Society of St Hilarion, which I discussed earlier in sub-section 2.4.2, initially established to promote the feast-day of the patron saint has adapted to the changing needs of the ageing Italian diaspora. Consequently, it has become a major provider of aged care services to older members of the Italian community while continuing to maintain aspects of regional Italian culture (The Society of St Hilarion Inc, 2007).

More generally, the availability of affordable ICT has meant migrants can easily keep in touch with events, news and people living overseas, which many do regularly. Satellite television services, particularly those from Greece, proved popular with many participants who regularly watched programmes for both information and entertainment. As one participant explained, he is a regular viewer of one such service:

Every day. Every day. Five days a week it come. Yep. Half past eleven [11.30 a.m.] so Greek, ... from Greece. (Greek Male 0209)

Locally, in a similar manner, several participants watch Greek or Italian language programmes on local free to air television including SBS and community channels providing information and entertainment. Importantly, for many, programmes of a social or cultural nature provide means of maintaining or nurturing their birth cultures. For some who had not acquired English language these services provide a vital source of news and general information involving events happening locally and more broadly. Theo's story of *Language, Loss and Social Isolation* discussed previously in sub-section 7.4.5 illustrates the important role these media play in connecting profoundly isolated people with information they understand and can use in their everyday activities. Language-specific sources such as radio or television services offer ethno-specific service providers appropriate means by which to provide information to linguistically isolated people who otherwise would likely not access information as well address, in part at least, the social and cultural isolation experienced by some. Recall also Giulia, (sub-section 8.4.2), who is linguistically isolated, but unlike Theo, she can rely on her family to assist her with language mediation. However, she remains isolated linguistically from direct access to

English language sources of news and general information.

The role of birth language as a measure of acculturation is unclear and relates to whether assimilation and the cessation of use of birth language indicates an endpoint of acculturation or whether integration and bilingualism represents a sustainable alternative (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Extent of bilingualism varied among participants with some fluent in both English and their birth language whereas others required assistance to understand and respond to my questions in English; remembering I too required language assistance being monolingual. Bilingualism affords participants access to a greater range of information offered in English as well as that provided in their birth language from sources in Australia or overseas. Several participants actively sought or created opportunities for their children to learn their birth language leading to some second generation migrants (first generation Australian born) now being bi-lingual. These now adult children when necessary assist their parents in facilitating access to mainstream information provided in English. Approaches taken by parents to their children learning their birth language differed. One participant spoke only Italian to her children at home despite her and her children having learned English:

I never let them to speak English in the house, I want to speak to them Italian. If I learn English, I speak to them English they forget the tongue so I continue to speak Italian with them and now they have English and Italian. (Italian Female Riverland 0409)

Another couple spoke more broadly of the importance to them of their children's enculturation:

Our kids we try to give them our culture when they are young. (Greek Female 0709)

Taking steps to ensure they learned the language and more broadly the Greek culture through additional schooling and attending Greek Orthodox Churches:

Yeah, that's why we went to the Church and the Greek schools and they used to go every afternoon after school a couple of hours to learn the Greek language and then [Name] High School at the time they've got it in their school. (Greek Female 0709)

In this latter example, the two children would have simultaneously been enculturated

through activities arranged by their parents who at the same time were themselves experiencing acculturative changes.

Bi-lingual capabilities of children of participants seems variable and perhaps more so to the grandchildren. In the case of a participant who arrived as a pre-school child and acculturated from a young age expressed regret that her children had not learned Italian:

I wish my kids would have learned Italian. (Italian Female 0910)

This participant also identified strongly with the dominant culture, perceiving there to be no differences between it and her lifestyle 'There's no difference at all' (Italian Female 0409). Findings that are consistent with those of Clément and Noels (1992) who found knowledge of the language and identification with the dominant group leads to a loss of birth culture and a weaker ethnic identity.

Others illustrated the further loss of bi-lingual capabilities in subsequent generations by the variability reported in grandchildren speaking Greek with one having some, albeit limited understanding of her grandmother's birth language:

One of them [grandchild], [Son's name] daughter, she understand because I look after her from a young age. She understand a little bit ... (Greek Female 0811)

Whereas the grandchildren of another participant did not speak any Greek:

And yeah the grandchildren they don't speak Greek at all. (Greek Female 0911)

This progressive loss of language observed across generations is consistent with the findings of earlier studies of language retention and use. Elder and colleagues (2009) found that use of Spanish amongst Latino migrants to America is effectively extinct by the third generation consistent with Waters and Jiménez's (2005: 110) three-generation model of language assimilation, which they describe as:

The immigrant generation makes some progress but remains dominant in their native tongue, the second generation is bilingual, and the third generation speaks English only.

It is possible that to achieve a satisfactory state of intercultural competency required

reaching a balance between extent of the need or desire of the migrant to acculturate and their desires to retain aspects of birth culture that they consider important in defining identity.

8.8 Conclusions

In this chapter, I presented and discussed the category ‘Reconstructing Identity’ that represents the acculturation experience of migrants settling in Australia, aspects of this process that affect identity and the influence these changes have on their information behaviour. I illustrate the centrality of language acquisition in its influence on how a person finds information and the mediating role played by others in this process as a case study of the experiences of a participant who had not acquired English language and her subsequent need for mediated access to information sources. Acculturation is a complex process, its effects measured by various proxy variables of which acquisition and use of the dominant language is one. The acquisition and use of English language by migrants emerged as an aspect of these acculturative changes that influenced information behaviour of participants including the ways and extent to which they access information. Further, participants identified transnational social and information networks with family and friends as important sources of information and these networks influenced the development of their sense of identity.

The proposed Information-Acculturation-Identity Reconstruction Cycle draws on the empirical findings of this study to conceptualise the relationships between the acculturation processes, as indicated by the acquisition and use of the dominant language, migrant information behaviour and subsequent identity reconstruction associated with the process of migration and a need for information during migration and later.

The next chapter presents a theoretical rendering of the findings as a substantive theory of how older migrants find the information they need for use in their everyday lives and to access services which previously I presented and discussed separately in Chapters Five to Eight.

CHAPTER 9 BECOMING INFORMED: A GROUNDED THEORY

9.1 Introduction

This chapter represents the theoretical considerations of the results presented in the four previous chapters. Consistent with CGTM, these conceptual renderings are my constructions from data gathered during interviews with first generation CALD migrants of their experiences of migration and finding what they needed to know to assist them in their everyday activities; in a manner to reach up to construct abstractions and simultaneously tying these abstractions to data (Charmaz, 2006a: 181). Through a consideration of my findings in the context of earlier theoretical works, I have located the theory of *Becoming Informed* and the associated basic social process *Needing to Know* relative to these works and associated discourses to gain a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon and potentially extend the theoretical knowledge in this area. Figure 18 locates the subject of this chapter, the substantive theory, in relation to the basic social process and associated categories.

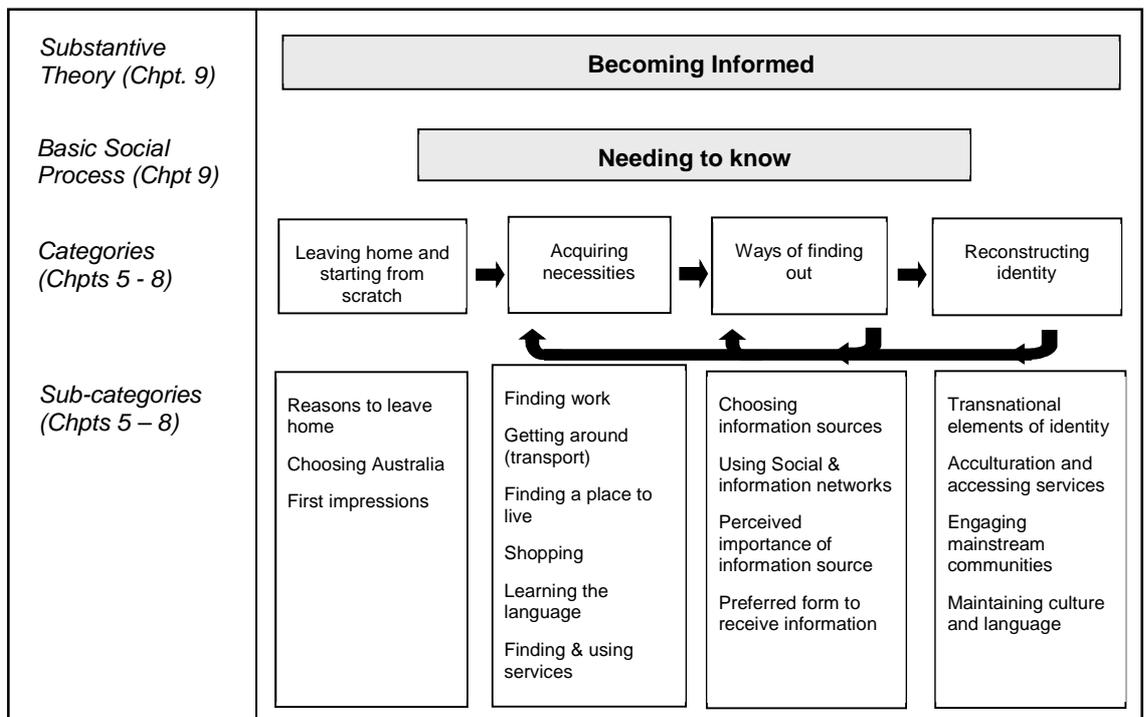


Figure 18: A Grounded Theory - Becoming Informed

In their original explication of GTM, Glaser and Strauss (1967) did not emphasise the context of the studied phenomenon. However, later versions do address this aspect of the method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Clarke, 2005) and Charmaz (2006a: 180) argues, that situating grounded theories in their social, historical, local, and interactional contexts strengthen them. Consistent with this advice, in the following sections I discuss the information behaviour of older CALD migrants in the contexts existent at different periods from around the time of their migration to times more recent.

The post-World War II period was one of profound social, economic, political and technological changes affecting the way in which people lived, travelled and communicated. Australia experienced a period of migration of unprecedented scale and composition.

Subsequent life changes have affected the participants who, having left their places of birth as young adults, have aged to now being old (65+) or older-old (75-85) residents in another place. During this time, the advent of the 'digital age' brought about dramatic changes to the forms and widespread availability of communications. These developments facilitate the transfer of information and allow contact with family members that is faster and cheaper; affecting both the range and nature of information sources, influencing the development of a transnational identity.

From my conceptual analysis of the data, I developed a basic social process *Needing to Know* that describes the social behaviour over time as participants addressed their need to find everyday information necessary to function satisfactorily. I did so in the context of the milieu of these various social, political and technological influences experienced during their migration and subsequent acculturation and ageing in Australia.

While changing circumstances lead to changes to the content of the information and means of accessing the appropriate information to deal with changing circumstances, the *need* for information remained. Participants experienced many personal as well as structural changes since migrating and I have drawn upon theoretical frameworks

of Bourdieu (1977a) and Giddens (1984) in considering the relevant contributions of agency and structural arrangements to the decisions they made. Personal actions culminating in migration, where to live, the types of jobs they did and responses to acculturative processes contributed to the nature of information they needed and their information behaviour. Structural influences include political and technological changes in the social and economic conditions as Australia moved towards a post-industrial economy, the advent of the digital age that makes information now more readily available and newer ICT, which facilitate better contact with family. Many changes of a personal nature include those affecting personal circumstances and the physical and cognitive changes associated with ageing. The ongoing need for information/knowledge represents a common element that links the categories and combines to inform the substantive theory *Becoming Informed*.

9.2 Context of the grounded theory *Becoming Informed*

I develop the metaphorical concept of journey, associated with migration, to explicate the process by which migrants access and process information in their receiving country, represented by the substantive theory of *Becoming Informed*. Migration is a courageous and complex act of relocation, one that fractures personal and information networks on which people rely, along with structures that afford social and economic support. Consequently, these changes threaten a migrant's sense of identity, bringing about profound changes to identity (Wiese, 2010). As discussed in Chapter Eight, several studies have identified the importance of information at differing stages of the migration process and the influence it has on the outcomes for migrants (Walsh & Horenczyk, 2001; Shoham & Strauss, 2007; Shoham & Strauss, 2008). As Caidi and colleagues (2010) found, the need for information on issues including English language acquisition and identity construction continues after the migration process. I argued that improving language skills provide better access to more sources of information provided in the mainstream language and weak ties to loosely connected information and social networks, similar in nature to those described by Granovetter (1973).

The shift in emphasis of migration studies from an emphasis on physical movement and economic aspects, to include social and psychological perspectives, has led to

more nuanced studies engaging concepts of place and self while acknowledging that differences exist within and between migrants (Silvey & Lawson, 1999). In acknowledging the existence of these complexities, Timotijevic and Breakwell (2000) argue that it is not migration per se that threatens identity of migrants but the magnitude of difference in social context between locations. The nature of the relationship between extent of difference between sending and receiving cultures and threat experienced is unclear and possibly further influenced by the nature of the reception migrants experience in their receiving country (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). Berry (1997) argues that it is the attitudes of the receiving culture, combined with attitudes migrants express towards participating in the new culture, that influences the nature and outcome of acculturative changes associated with migration. It is this interaction between support to maintain ethnic identity and pressure to assimilate that influences outcomes of the nature of a migrant's identity and well-being (LaFramboise et al., 1993). Phinney and colleagues (2001) found that being bicultural or having an integrated identity is generally associated with higher levels of well-being. Responses made by several participants support this finding in that they express a sense of well-being and satisfaction with their present circumstances, including having their information needs satisfied, while proudly acknowledging their ethnic origins.

Drawing on the symbolic interaction roots of constructivist grounded theory method this thesis focusses on *processes* associated with the information behaviour of CALD migrants in Australia. Adopting the concept of journey to represent the stages of migration and subsequent transformative changes associated with acculturation locates the processes and experiences of migration in their historical and political contexts, exposes their information behaviour and experiences to the complex and changing circumstances that migrants deal with as part of the acculturative process. Figure 19 summarises this process.

This journey begins with the decision by people to leave their country of birth to settle in a different country, many with few possessions and limited social capital. I described this first stage of their journey in the category *Leaving Home and Starting From Scratch*. Reasons for this life-changing decision were many and varied including poor social, economic, and political conditions prevailing in the sending

country. Complementing these reasons to leave were equally strong incentives to settle in Australia represented by offers of government assistance to migrate and opportunities to join family already living in Australia. While consistent with Lee's (1966) 'Push- Pull' Theory of migration, applying theories with a more integrative perspective offer a more nuanced understanding of the influence of the numerous incentives and barriers to migration.

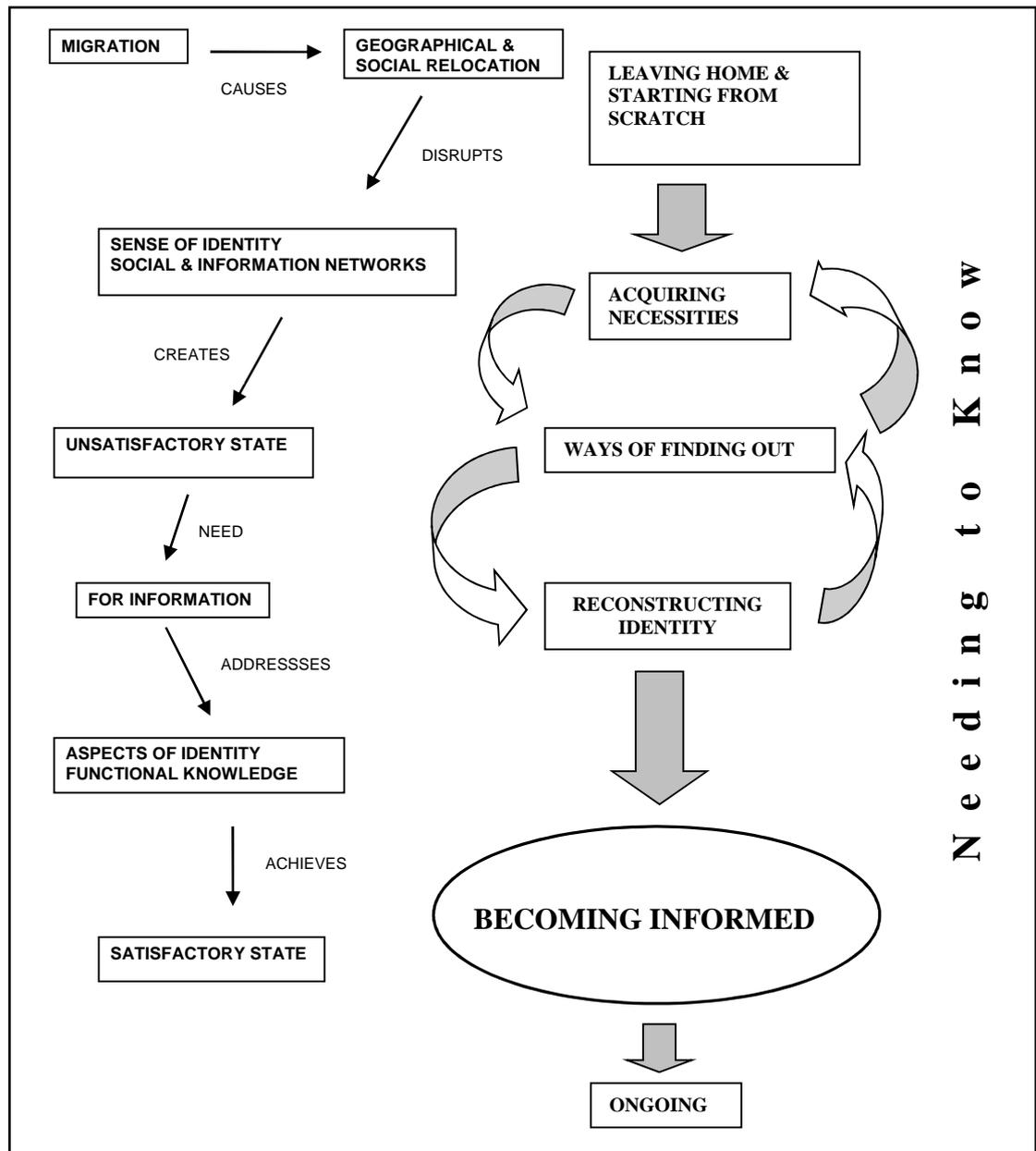


Figure 19: Processes in Becoming Informed

Structuration theory informed the discussion on what degree of agency migrants had in deciding to migrate or to stay. Consistent with Cumulative Causation and

Network theory are the patterns of chain migration from particular villages and regions and the geographical locations of settlement in Australia. Network theory and transnational migration subsequently offered theoretical frameworks in which to consider information behaviour and development of transnational identities.

Many participants in this study arrived with little in way of possessions, what they did own fitting in a suitcase with ease. Often with no, or occasionally only rudimentary, skills in English language, the new arrivals set about *Starting from Scratch* to make a new life in a foreign and strange country. The extent of the 'foreignness' extended to the smell and changed nature of food, the different built environment and incomprehensible language induced in many a state of despair and a sense of disruption consistent with Oberg's (1960) concept of culture shock. All began a process of acculturation as they adjusted and adapted to the host culture, albeit at different rates and in various ways but which inevitably led to transformative changes in their lives and identities.

With limited resources, participants acquired what they needed, initially to survive and with time to provide a better and generally comfortable standard of living for them and in time their Australian-born children. They faced numerous challenges of finding a job, a place to live, where to shop, buying unfamiliar goods and food, tasks made more difficult for those who did not have functional English language skills. Acquiring language skills became a necessity identified by many as an essential condition to their successful settlement. The category *Acquiring Necessities* described this stage in the process for which Mezirow's TLT (1991) and Taylor's intercultural competency (1994) were engaged as a dual lens through which to view the stimuli and consequences of this acquisition process. Often consistent with Maslow's (1970) Hierarchy of Needs, participants addressed needs they considered necessary to provide shelter and food before fulfilling those of a more social nature or associated with self-actualisation.

The category, *Ways of Finding Out* describes the means by which participants found the information they needed to develop functional knowledge required in their everyday activities. Initially, many depended on fellow migrants who had arrived previously in order to find a job, a place to live and where to buy food. In the early

stages, the means of communication and sources of information were limited to members of their own community and a few newspapers published in community languages. Although these endogenous networks provided invaluable access to necessities, with time the extent of sources increased as did the access to and use of means by which many gathered information. Social Network Analysis provided a theoretical framework to understand the nature and extent of these networks. Granovetter's (1973) concept of strength of weak ties offered an understanding of the importance of the more distant contacts or sources within a network for accessing information that was likely to be more diverse. Often consisting of sources in the broader Anglo-Australian community, these weak ties potentially exposed participants to information and experiences that offered increasing opportunities for their acculturation, which subsequently lead to changes in identity.

The more recent advent of the 'digital age' has not seen large numbers of participants use computers and the Internet as ways to access information due largely to the same reasons for low participation rates among non-migrant cohorts of a similar age. Use of ICT (referring particularly to computers and Internet) decreases with age (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013c), the cost of buying and maintenance of hardware and software, fear of the new, need to learn new skills and in some cases limitations caused by infirmity associated with ageing each contribute to a decline in use. Older migrants from non-English speaking countries face an additional barrier associated with language literacy, as many are not literate in English and further some were illiterate in both their birth language and English. Findings from the early phase of my study showed however, this low uptake of ICT as a means to find information has so far not resulted in migrants having functional knowledge deficits in areas affecting their everyday lives (Goodall et al., 2010). Many use a variety of sources, including digital - fixed line telephones, radio and television, print media, and interpersonal sources - family and friends who live locally or overseas.

In the period since arriving in Australia almost fifty years ago, many migrants were *Reconstructing Identity*, adjusting to the new social and economic circumstances along with life changes associated with ageing and changing family arrangements. Most participants have adult children and many are now grandparents and this parenting and subsequent grand-parenting role represented an important step in their

own migratory process (Wiese, 2010). In the intervening period since migrating, many actively engaged with their ethno-specific community. For some, working, running businesses or more recently volunteering also offered opportunities for direct engagement with the Anglo-Australian community and contact with more diverse sources of potential information. Initially, government policy of assimilation required migrants to immerse in the mainstream community and become 'like us', the predominant Anglo-Australian culture. To varying degrees, many have achieved this while retaining their heritage and cultural practices thereby adopting an integrationist rather than assimilationist position regarding acculturation. More recent changes in national policy, which values cultural diversity has produced a richer and more diverse society in what is now a multicultural Australia. At the time of the interviews, many migrants felt that they are now located across two cultures, actively participating in mainstream society while maintaining links with their heritage. These links provide access to more diverse information sources, which, in some cases when located overseas, offer information different to that accessible to monolingual members of the mainstream community as well as assisting migrants maintain their birth culture.

Through each stage of this migration journey, which I represent using the categories discussed above runs a need for information by participants. The basic social process *Needing to Know* encapsulates the processes that participants identified as important to them, which I discuss in the next section.

9.3 Needing to Know – a basic social process

9.3.1 The concept of *Needing to Know*

Needing to Know conceptualises the ongoing need for information by migrants on matters including the mundane and the more social aspects of their everyday lives. It represents the acquisition of information about issues of interest or importance to facilitate development of sufficient knowledge necessary to address the topic of interest. The nature of this information, when it is gathered, and the purpose all vary depending on existent need at a given time; all contribute to the generation of functional knowledge. Acquiring functional English-language skills allowed migrants to communicate with others outside of their birth language group. Doing so

allowed them to broaden their information networks providing them with greater access to sources offering a wider and more diverse range of information sources not available to those who did not speak English.

The changing needs associated with different stages of settlement and life-course, described by participants, fits with existing theories that describe the processes and stages used to acquire necessities beginning with those to address essential needs and progressing to higher levels of satisfying self-actualisation. Initially, needing to know where to find work, a place to live and shops from which to buy essential and familiar items was critical to an individual's success if not survival. Using Maslow's (1970) theory of self-actualisation, to understand the needs faced by migrants, Adler (1977) showed these needs changed as people became more established having addressed their basic physiological needs and put some order in to their lives. The changes in needs described by Maslow's theory are generally congruent with needs that arise at each of three stages described by Mwarigha (2002) of her information settlement model. A more comprehensive model is possible by understanding the information needs of migrants prior to making a decision to migrate as it provides a more complete understanding of the role of information in the decision to migrate and the success of the outcome (George & Mwarigha, 1999; George et al., 2004). Table 11 summarises the information needs at stages during the migration process. In the latter study of economic migrants to Toronto Canada, George and colleagues (2004) illustrate how pre-migration information behaviour positively affects outcomes of settlement.

Table 11: Migration-Information Needs Models

	Information needs at stage of migration			
	Pre migration	Immediate	Intermediate	Integrative
George et al. (2004)	Migration policy Settlement issues Social systems Cultural issues			
Mwarigha (2002)		Food Clothing Shelter	Employment Language Health services Housing	Equal access Economic Social Political
Maslow (1970)	Physiological: Safety: Social-Affiliative: Esteem: Self-Actualisation			

Source: Compiled by author

Further, George and colleagues (2004) show how education levels of migrants and the use of ICT facilitate their information gathering and subsequently the exercise of agency in their decision-making. Similarly, Shoham and Strauss (2007) report migrants to Israel often used electronic means to gather information during the pre-migration phase of the process. In my study, the pre-migration phase was during a period when ICT was limited in capabilities and not widely available, pre-dating the widespread availability of telephones and the advent of computers and the Internet. As many of the migrants had only limited primary education it is, therefore not surprising that many of the participants knew little about Australia before migrating. I argued previously the lack of, or at best limited, agency possessed by many post-war migrants in deciding to migrate and their choice of destination. Instead, circumstances and structural arrangements encouraged them to leave, knowing little about the country of destination. Recall the participant who thought she was migrating to United States of America until well in to her journey to Australia.

Findings from my study of the nature of information needed at differing stages of the migration process and settlement are similar to those of Mwarigha (2002) in that during the immediate phase post-migration, the important needs were buying food and finding a place to live progressively addressing issues of higher order including social, economic or political aspects. Among participants who appeared more

acculturated, in terms of their use of English language, several read widely, accessed a variety of information sources and appeared informed about local social and political matters. Consider for example the Italian couple's comments about the (then) redheaded Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition.

Social and information networks of participants broadened, initially through employment but more so following increased social engagement within ethno-specific communities and more broadly. As English language skills improved, people accessed more sources of information available to Anglo-Australians including free to air television and local newspapers, and so became increasingly informed about every day matters. The advent of ethnic broadcasting (SBS and community television and radio) and satellite television services emanating from Greece and Italy enabled migrants to see and hear about world and local issues in their birth language and to receive news and other programs from their country of birth.

9.3.2 Properties of Needing to Know

The process of *Needing to Know* is a dynamic and selective one that responds to changes in situation; as such, it may not achieve completion but be ongoing. The process involves changes experienced by participants arising from migration and associated with their life course over the period in which this study is situated. It represents changes that take place in the needs, skills and capabilities of participants, along with technological changes and developments in ICT introduced during this period. Hence, its contextual/situational nature varies according to need, skills of participants and means used to gather information over time and as such makes attributing individual contribution from any variable difficult.

As their settlement progressed, the needs of participants changed in line with those described by Maslow (1970) and Mwarigha (2002). In the period shortly after arriving participants sought information to meet immediate needs including accommodation and food. Quickly, in some cases a matter of a few days, these needs progressed to finding employment. Subsequently, these needs changed in response to circumstances or priorities relevant at a given time. Within a few years, many bought a house rather than rent accommodation or live with family or friends.

Initially, needing to know about health services and banking many perceived as being less pressing issues. Recall the participants who reported not needing a doctor, as they were young and healthy and the lack of money eliminating the need to use banks. However, many now consider information about health issues and access to services important as their needs have changed and they manage many aged-related health conditions. Progressively over time, participants sought information more broadly to include that associated with a wider engagement with the mainstream community and accessed generally through electronic or print media. More fully acculturated participants demonstrated a greater degree of engagement and perhaps better access to services and community generally, similar to the non-migrant population, through volunteering and being able to accessing services without language assistance.

Changing capabilities of participants also influenced the means of access and the nature of information they sought. Initially, a lack of English language skills prevented unassisted access to sources of information offered in English, which extended more broadly to social interactions between migrants and locals. Many assiduously learned English recognising early on the importance of addressing this barrier to finding what they needed to know and to their successful settlement more generally. For some participants, low levels of English language proficiency continue as a barrier to communication having earlier not learned English: Now aged, they depend on bilingual family members and ethno-specific service providers for information. General decline in cognitive and physical function associated with ageing makes processing information and acquiring new skills increasingly difficult making less likely older migrants will adopt new digital technologies as a means to gather information.

The post-war period was one of unprecedented social and technological change, which saw the introduction and widespread acceptance of means of communication previously thought not possible. For example television, now a ubiquitous form of mass media and entertainment, was introduced to South Australia in 1959, at which time a set cost the equivalent of several weeks' wages. Today, more technically capable flat panel receivers cost a fraction of the original price, are present in most houses, and often receive satellite television services from Greece and Italy as well

as an extensive range of local services. By the time of the interviews, international telephone calls were now cheaper, as one participant observed when he commented on the benefits of using pre-paid cards to make calls, with greatly improved quality and ease of use through direct dialling. Such changes facilitate the transnational aspects of migration not possible in the earlier phases of the post-migration boom. More recently, developments in ICT, particularly the Internet, have offered greatly expanded options for the way in which people can communicate and gather information. While participants in my study have generally not adopted these latest technologies they do to some degree benefit from their introduction through their use by third parties such as family or service providers to access and disseminate information to them, to contact family on their behalf and to share information gathered during these contacts.

9.3.3 Strategies of Needing to Know

The ways in which participants sought information appeared at times deliberate and purposive, at others accidental or passive in discovering information as a coincidental consequence of an everyday activity. Earlier studies of information seeking took a cognitive perspective discussing the need to address a gap in knowledge (Dervin & Nilan, 1986) or irregularities as described in Belkin's (1980) Anomalous State of Knowledge (ASK) model. While instrumental in progressing the understanding of information behaviour, studies such as these did not accommodate the accidental or passive information gathering that took place as part of everyday activities not associated with work or specific purpose. One such study that did is that of Savolainen (1995) who saw everyday life information seeking (ELIS) as a monitoring of life world acknowledging the influence of social and cultural circumstance on determining information choices. Consistent with this finding, and that of Fisher and colleagues (2005b), interaction with people is a commonly employed and preferred strategy used by participants in my study when seeking everyday information.

Strategies engaging people as sources of information offer considerable benefits to the person seeking information and more broadly through the social experiences associated with the interaction. Social networks affect how people find and assimilate information (Cross et al., 2001), an association to which Savolainen

(1995) alluded in his earlier work in applying Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* to ELIS. Social networks having emerging as an important means of gathering information, lead to further investigation of the manner and extent to which participants used these interpersonal contacts and other sources to search for information. The results discussed previously in Chapter Seven illustrated the extensive nature of the social and information networks of participants and highlight the diversity of sources they contain along with the spatial reach, many having transnational components.

Frequently, circumstances around information gathering by participants are situational or contextual in nature. The application of the principle of least effort saw participants consult most readily available sources first, before extending their search further if the first source proved inadequate. In many cases, the initial contacts included trusted close family members thus further illustrating the influence of homophily and the preference expressed by many to use interpersonal sources when available as Fisher and colleagues (2005b) found. Frequently, participants sought confirmatory information from adult children waiting until when they next contacted them before acting on information they had received from government departments or other sources. Findings from the interviews involving married couples showed how interdependent each spouse was when it came to gathering information or seeking confirmation before taking action. The six participants each independently identified their respective spouse as the most important source of information for a variety of topics. These findings suggest that the loss of a spouse as a valued and trusted source of information alone may adversely affect the surviving partner's options to find information in addition to issues of social isolation that may develop during widowhood. As Table 12 shows, the proportion of widowed older migrants from Greece or Italy increases with age as it does in the general population. In both populations, the proportion of women who are widowed increases more rapidly than that for men, as women generally survive their spouses because of males having a shorter life expectancy. Consequently, by the age of 75-79 years, around forty per cent of women are widowed and this proportion increases dramatically as women age. These figures represent a five-fold increase in the incidence of widowhood amongst women than for men in the same age bracket.

Table 12: Proportion of Widowed Greek and Italian Migrants by Sex and Age

	Age Range (Years)								TOTAL
	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84	85-89	90-94	95-99	100+	
GREEK									
Female (%)	16.2	26.7	39.2	58.45	75.8	82.61	93.3	n.a	36.1
Male (%)	2.6	5.9	7.1	14.2	25.5	33.3	100	0.0	8.5
ITALIAN									
Female (%)	15.4	24.7	40.6	57.2	72.9	81.7	89.8	100	38.7
Male (%)	4.0	4.5	8.3	14.2	28.5	44.4	66.7	0.0	9.7

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011 Census of Population and Housing

Serendipitous opportunities for information exchange arose from situations and relationships located in broader social networks of participants suggesting these situations represented examples of fertile information grounds described by Pettigrew (1999). As several interviews coincided with social gatherings organised by ethno specific service providers I had the opportunity to observe the social interaction between attendees in these social surroundings. While having been welcomed warmly by attendees, as an English-speaking researcher, I felt much the outsider being unable to participate in or comprehend the subjects of the numerous, simultaneous and often animated conversations taking place between attendees. In later interviews, involving some of the attendees at these groups, participants confirmed events such as these provide opportunities for the exchange of information illustrating the varied nature and important role of information grounds (Pettigrew, 1999) in information behaviour.

Seeking information on a specific topic often predicates the preferred source. Within personal contacts, participants acknowledged the variability in knowledge and expertise existent between individuals and their selection as an appropriate source based on the knowledge they possessed on the topic of inquiry. This selective choice of source based on perceived knowledge available extended more broadly to professionals and organisations.

Health-related issues featured as topics on which participants often sought information due to their on-going management of existing age-related illnesses. Without exception, those participants whom I asked readily identified their doctor as the source of all information about health issues. Participants readily identified the

level of government (local, state or Australian) or the relevant department as the most appropriate source of information on a variety of everyday issues and indicated they contacted them as and when required. Medicare is one department participants frequently contact as it manages health care payments and pensions. For information on local issues associated with services including rubbish collection, libraries or community bus services participants identified their local government as the appropriate source. Accessing information on many of the topics discussed so far involve a deliberative approach to seeking information and selection of a source based on prior knowledge or perception that the source may prove appropriate in satisfying the need for information. Means that are more passive also provided opportunities for the gathering of information including social contacts, reading newspapers on a regular basis, watching television and listening to the radio.

Regular scanning of electronic and print mass media in English and/or their birth language provided opportunities to gather information and keep informed about everyday events taking place in the broader community. Many participants expressed a desire to stay informed about everyday events and demonstrated they did this successfully through their informed comments regarding current affairs. Findings from the present study show the socio-cultural backgrounds, physical situations and personal attributes influence how people scan their world and the degree to which they do as such, consistent with the findings of Williamson (1997). As my study engaged older non-English speaking participants, it is perhaps not surprising that English language acquisition emerged as an important personal attribute to influence the ways and extent to which participants scan their environment for information. More acculturated participants, as defined by their degree of English language acquisition, accessed an extensive range of information generally available to the broader English-speaking community. Sources included, reading the daily English language newspaper, listening to English language radio and watching free to air television, along with language-specific programmes. Not having English language limited participants to language specific sources including programmes on SBS television and community radio programmes. Most limited in their ability to scan their information environment, but not totally prevented from doing so, are participants illiterate in both their birth language and English. In such cases, they use language specific television and radio for information in addition to

interpersonal sources, all provided visually or orally in their birth language.

Changes in physical circumstances, functional capabilities or health status influence the nature and extent to which participant passively acquire information. Recall the older Greek woman fluent in English who ceased buying the local daily paper after the death of her husband and now watches Greek-language programmes on satellite television or listened to radio for everyday information . Dealing with serious health issues her information horizons appear to have contracted now accessing only infrequently local television or radio as she focussed more on her medical treatment and day-to-day living.

Perhaps not surprisingly, participants expressed a preference for continued use of existing strategies learned over a life-time rather than adopting new strategies, an approach that Curzon and colleagues (2005) describe as one to encourage pride in past learning and being entirely rational. This may in part, along with the irrational fears expressed about computers offer an explanation for the low levels of interest in learning to use computers and the Internet. Participants in this present study often expressed quiet self-confidence when explaining how they found the information they needed. Recall the older Italian woman who consulted the timetable at the bus stop when organising transport to the shops or the Greek man who consulted medical textbooks in English in his library at home when he needed to know about a medical condition. Each case illustrating their familiarity with a practice developed over time lived in Australia and their ability to gather information for a specific purpose without having acquired the new skills they would need to access information more recently available from electronic sources.

9.4 Conclusions

The substantive theory presented in this chapter represents the processes of how older CALD migrants in the study find the information they need in their everyday lives. I have developed this theory from my interpretative renderings, theoretical considerations and interaction with study data. To the extent possible, discussion of the phenomena is from the perspectives of the participants and reflects aspects of the process that they identified as important to them in finding information.

Consequently, the conceptualisation of these issues leads to the locating of how migrants find information in the migration process and the broader concept of their acculturation and reconstruction of identity.

Adopting a contextual approach embeds the chosen methodology and the information behaviour of participants in the broader systems and processes associated first with migration then in acculturative changes and more recently the complexities and uncertainties of everyday life. As such, it brings to the fore discussions of the contributions to information seeking of various relationships between structural issues and personal attributes consistent with that proposed by Giddens (1984).

The basic social process of *Needing to Know*, initially stimulated by the disruptive elements of migration, the ‘catalyst for change’ of Taylor’s (1994: 148) theory of intercultural competency seeks to address needs while resulting in acculturative changes in response to the need to function in the host society. I represent this complex interaction of the processes associated with migration, subsequent acculturative change, including acquisition of the host language, and reconstruction of identity in a cyclical model of Information-Acculturation-Identity Reconstruction, which I discussed previously and presented as Figure 15.

Participants often identified their spouses as trusted information sources who were readily accessible with minimal effort as intimate sources in their social and information networks. In view of the increasing incidence of widowhood with age, (see Table 12) it is important to acknowledge the value of spouses as sources of information and to consider options to address issues of access to information in addition to social isolation to arise from widowhood.

The next chapter, which concludes this thesis, contains a summary of the main findings framed by the research questions that guide this research; an evaluation of the methodological aspects of the research against established assessment criteria, suggested areas worthy of further research and implications for policy.

CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

10.1 Introduction

This thesis presents a substantive grounded theory of *Becoming Informed* on how older Greek and Italian migrants in South Australia find information they need in their everyday lives and represents a (re)construction of the phenomenon from their perspectives. The use of the term (re)construction refers to the reconstruction by participants of events associated with their life before migrating, the experiences of settling in Australia and more recently along with my construction of these experiences and subsequent data analysis. This chapter concludes the thesis in presenting a summary of the main findings followed by a discussion of the contribution made to understanding the topic. It continues with an evaluation of the research and concludes with recommendations for future research and implications for policy development and implementation. Grounded Theory Method (GTM) allowed me to enter the field with as few preconceptions as possible to understand how migrants find the information they need in light of the barriers they face associated with language, education levels and the increasing use by government to provide information by digital means. Adopting Constructivist Grounded Theory Method (CGTM) addressed some of the methodological shortcomings associated with the original method and the constructivist perspective accommodated issues associated with my need to use interpreters to overcome language differences, (re)construction of experiences of previous events by participants and my interpretation of the data. The application of qualitative social network analysis enabled me to describe and better understand the nature of individual networks and their role in participants' accessing of information, by illustrating the diversity of sources, their variability and extent of some networks.

10.2 Summary of Main Findings

The aims of this research are presented in Chapter One. The focus of this study is on answering the question:

How do older Greek and Italian migrants living in South Australia find information they need for their everyday lives?

This study addressed the aims set out in the research question and presented a theoretical model of the phenomenon as well as empirical findings.

10.2.1 Main theoretical findings

The substantive grounded theory *Becoming Informed* offers a theoretical model of older CALD migrants finding information in which I engage a basic social process *Needing to Know*, which ties together the categories in an explanation of the processes and consequences of migration and acculturative changes on their information behaviour.

Categories that I developed from interpretation of the empirical data have located the processes by which migrants found what they needed to know in their migration experience and subsequent acculturation. The Category *Leaving Home and Starting from Scratch* described the initial stage of the journey of migration and becoming informed. Once through the initial stage of physical relocation, the process is better thought of as a spiralling one involving feedback loops to earlier categories rather than simple linear progression as suggested by the physical presentation of the categories. *Acquiring Necessities* explains the nature of essentials needed to live in a new land and demonstrates the changing nature of these requirements in response to developments that arose as circumstances changed. *Ways of Finding Out* described the means used to find information and discussed the variety of sources and ways used, along with barriers migrants had to overcome to find the information they needed. Finally, the Category *Reconstructing Self* addressed aspects of acculturation and development of a hybrid identity representing elements of pre and post-migration experiences. English language acquisition represented an important aspect of this reconstructed identity that influenced the way and extent to which migrants accessed information.

10.2.2 Main empirical findings

Using as headings the topics that elaborate the research question, the following sections present the key empirical findings to emerge from this study.

What constitutes 'information' to migrants?

Participants demonstrated a comprehensive interpretation of what constitutes 'information' consistent with dictionary definitions and everyday use of the term that include the specific and the more routine. Broadly, many applied a functional perspective of the concept describing information with examples relating to a specific need such as shopping or about a bus route. Not surprisingly, because of the ages of participants, many referred to information about health and social support as these issues along with pensions were of importance to them at their stage of life. In defining information, others referred to its social and interpersonal nature and the benefits of sharing information that accrue through their social networks.

By what means do migrants gather or access the information they need?

Social and cultural backgrounds, level of education, functional language skills, health and physical environment and extent of acculturation mediated how participants find information they need. This study found that participants chose a variety of means to access information from a wide range of sources predicated on these attributes. Predominately, interpersonal contact represents the preferred means to gather information for several compelling reasons. First, family and friends are readily contactable due to close personal relationships or geographical proximity. Second, personal interaction allows for an immediate and reciprocal confirmation of information received or to request more information if needed. In-person contact also provides for the interchange of non-verbal cues that can assist both parties to establish and evaluate the effectiveness of the communication process. Finally, engaging other people represents an act of social significance that offers psychological and social benefits (Cross et al., 2001). Participants who were married all identified their spouse as a trusted source of information and one they could access readily, a finding that illustrates the preceding benefits and one that has implications for information seeking in widowhood.

Inadequate skills in reading, speaking or comprehending English and/or reading in their birth language has limited, and for a good proportion still limits, the means by which participants have been able to access information since they arrived in Australia. Lack of English language skills inhibited direct access to more generally

available sources of information requiring mediated access through professional interpreter services or those provided by family or community members. In addition, some participants who cannot read or write English and/or their birth language faced a more restricted range of sources. In such cases, Greek or Italian language television and radio proved popular as sources of information on issues affecting the communities, cultural activities and general entertainment. More recently, satellite television provided news and other services of a cultural nature from respective countries of birth and as such offered little information directly related to events in Australia that participants were not already aware from local sources.

Illiteracy in participants' birth languages further restricts the means of access to translated information because of their inability to read any printed material irrespective of the language used. This finding raises questions about the suitability and effectiveness of the widespread practice by governments and service providers to offer printed material translated into community languages. For more acculturated participants, having adequate English language skills provided them access to a more extensive range of sources offered in English by various means, including reading daily newspapers, watching free to air television and listening to radio programmes. In addition, they make direct contact with government services when they need to do so either by visits to offices or by fixed line telephone.

Do migrants use Information Communications Technology (ICT) and if so in what form?

Use of ICT varies depending on what constitutes ICT. In the case of computers and the Internet use is low to non-existent among older migrants from CALD backgrounds as data from early stages of this study showed (Goodall et al., 2010); this is unlikely to change in view of comments made during interviews in this study. Whereas this group regularly uses fixed line telephones with ease consistent with their preferred use of familiar strategies. Some participants who expressed an interest in learning about computers were making efforts to do so through attending introductory classes held by service providers. In defining ICTs more broadly to include the telephone, many participants frequently use ICT to access information they need purposively in their everyday lives as well as for social contact and information of an incidental nature. Fixed-line telephones are preferred to mobile

phones due to their lower costs and greater ease of use because of their being larger and having fewer features than most mobile phones. Many participants maintain social contact with friends and family living locally and overseas through regular telephone calls that afford opportunities to maintain family ties and exchange information. It was common amongst participants who had functional English-language skills to contact by telephone government departments and local councils on specific matters or to access information more generally. While not a common practice, one participant regularly conducted telephone banking having recognised the convenience it offered by allowing her to pay accounts at any time of the day and evening avoiding writing cheques or making a trip to a local post office to pay accounts. While telephone banking is now outdated as online options have replaced it, this participant showed a willingness and ability to adopt newer and more convenient ways of conducting banking. Others reported on occasions getting cash from an ATM or using credit cards to purchase goods when they could not access personal services provided by banks.

What role does the acquisition of English-language skills play in finding information?

Participants reported learning English as critical to the success of their efforts to find information and more broadly to settle successfully in Australia. Recall the comments in section 6.7 of the Greek man that suggested language acquisition was the means to escape his sense of incarceration, *'The trap door you open has to be the language'*. Without the ability to use English language he would remain trapped, isolated from the life he now experienced. Many participants made extraordinary efforts to learn English as quickly as they could, some attending multiple night classes in an effort to do so. Immersion in using English language in workplaces, shopping and daily interaction with neighbours led many others to acquire language skills by these less formal means. It was not possible for some to attend language classes as they were usually held at night and clashed with child raising roles, while others were too tired after working all day in physically demanding jobs, had higher priorities of making a living or were embarrassed by the ridicule from other students as was the case with one participant.

Circumstances that lead to participants not acquiring English language varied but

were often associated with family arrangements, employment and pre-migration education levels. Women were further disadvantaged having received little formal education as children in their birth countries due to prevailing poor economic conditions and an attitude that female children needed only a rudimentary education or none at all. On occasions, arrangements in Australia compounded this disadvantage, further limiting their opportunities to learn English. Those who worked for compatriots, often on market gardens, or in workplaces where predominately co-workers did not speak English further limited their opportunities to develop social and information networks and to learn English by immersion. For those who did not work outside the household, home duties provided few opportunities to mix more broadly and to learn English, as was Giulia's experience. Instead, many remained dependent on their husbands, school age children and contacts in their extended family and ethnic community for language translation and information. Now older, many women are widowed and rely on their adult children, close friends or ethno-specific service providers for a mediated access to information or services.

Do migrants perceive or demonstrate deficits in functional knowledge needed for everyday activities?

The concept of functional knowledge represents the idea that different people require different levels of knowledge (and hence information) to function within their social milieu (Ungar, 2008). An important question for this study was what information do older Greek and Italian migrants need to know? Do they have access to this information to meet their everyday needs in contemporary life? Are there deficits in this functional knowledge? At the time of the interviews, participants of this study did not perceive or display any functional knowledge deficits, rather demonstrating the information that they gathered by various means from a variety of sources was adequate for the purpose. However, governments and organisations should consider carefully the consequences of further moves to make information available via ICT (computers and Internet) at the expense of currently available sources, the 'digital by default' option, as to do so might lead to an increase in information exclusion and the formation of functional deficits in this group. To avoid issues of loss of access to information and services arising from further adoption of a 'digital by exclusion' Estabrook and colleagues (2007: iii) suggest, 'Government documents should be

created and delivered in all shapes and sizes', recognising that people have different preferences for dealing with government depending on the issue and the fact the participants like personal/verbal information.

Has the experience of migration influenced the nature of information needed for everyday activities or the ways in which it is gathered?

The process of migration necessitated acquiring information to cope with a different world. Moreover, the nature of the information needed at the time of migration and soon after arriving in Australia differed to that required had participants remained in Greece or Italy. The new and different circumstances participants faced necessitated their finding information new to them from unfamiliar sources in order to address their changed needs. In chapter Six, I drew upon Mezirow's (1994) Theory of Transformative Learning, and Taylor's (1994) link between TLT and the process of intercultural competency, to provide a theoretical framework to discuss the responses to migration and the ways in which these changes influenced migrant information behaviour.

Broadly, the nature of the information participants needed is consistent with that described by Maslow (1970) and Mwarigha (2002); initially, soon after arriving in Australia being to address physiological needs and safety such as food and finding a place to live and progressively changing over time to meet the social and economic needs associated with working and living in society. Activities of some, involving their reading of books they own or borrow from a local library, and selectively choosing programmes of an informative nature on television, suggest they are achieving a degree of self-actualisation. This situation occurred more often in participants possessing functional English language skills that enabled them access to a broader and more comprehensive range of information.

The strategies used to gather this information have changed over time and been influenced by the extent of acculturation experienced by participants along with technological changes including those to ICT. Initially, participants depended on their endogenous networks for all information, as well as for other forms of support, as they had little or no functional English language and their social networks were limited to their endogenous community. For most, this dependency decreased as

they acquired functional English language skills through formal classes or increasing contact with the Anglophone population. However, some continued to rely on their Australian-born or educated children having learned English at school, for mediated access to information. A small proportion of participants remain dependent on now adult children, service providers or bi-lingual friends for language translation and access to information provided more generally in English. The introduction of locally based community language radio and television services along with satellite television programmes from Greece or Italy provide an important means by which many gather information, particularly for those with limited or no functional English language. Such sources also support migrants' sense of cultural identity and provide enjoyment and general entertainment. Acculturative change and ongoing identity reconstruction involving English language acquisition and increased immersion in aspects the dominant culture have led to changes in how migrants find information for most by expanding the range and type of information sources to include mainstream English-language sources.

What information do migrants identify as necessary for everyday activities and in what form or medium do they find information most effective?

The nature of information that participants considered as necessary for everyday life was broad and varied but generally considered as being purposeful or more general in content. Savolainen's (1995) ELIS model describes this incidental gathering of general information from reading newspapers, talking to people as part of monitoring daily life and providing orienting information. Health-related information including access to services featured as important for many participants as they managed aged-related illnesses and there was an increasing need for social and support services to maintain their independence and a desired quality of life. Similarly, information about government pensions and other support payments was important as many participants had retired and were receiving various payments from government.

Direct, in-person contact was the preferred way in which participants gathered information because of the benefits this approach provides. The exchanges of information are immediate and often easily contacted family or friends represent a frequently used source of information. More broadly, direct contact provides opportunities for recipients to ask further questions to clarify information provided

and to explore aspects of the initial inquiry to have emerged during the earlier discussion. Many participants used spoken word via the telephone to seek information in situations when unable to attend in person as this provided for direct and immediate interchange of information.

Some participants preferred receiving information in printed form to allow them the opportunity to read it again later or to discuss it with their adult children and seek from them confirmation of their understanding of the material. Two important points arose from discussions about the merits of providing printed material that government and service providers should note. Firstly, as a service provider while acting as an interpreter confirmed, participants reported that glossy, coloured brochures add no value to the information content they contain regardless of the language used. This finding is consistent with my experience in providing information services to older people. Secondly, many older migrants are illiterate in their birth language as well as English meaning any information provided in print form to this group is ineffective.

10.3 What this Research Adds

Consistent with the selected CGTM approach, this research locates the study of the information needs of this group in the social and historical context of their migration and the influence of acculturation on their information seeking. Of particular interest is the use of egocentric social networks in gathering information. Informed by the works of Chatman (1991) and Savolainen (1995), this study illustrates the benefits of applying a qualitative approach to social networks highlighting the rich and diverse range of contacts many participants use to gather a wide range of information.

The study showed how language restricts the reach and diversity of social networks of participants who had not acquired functional English-language skills. We can recall the social networks of the two case studies presented earlier to illustrate this point and consider how social isolation due to health issues further restricted Theo's social and information network. Further, we can compare this network with that of Giulia who likewise did not speak English. However, her circumstances differed in that she is actively engaged in the predominately Italian-speaking community and

more broadly with the help of a supportive family and demonstrated an extensive social and information network. While her network is extensive, in reach and the number of contacts, all transactions take place in Italian and those not in Italian still require involvement of bilingual family members.

The context in which this research is located is broader than just the social contacts of participants described by social network theory to consider more broadly the changing, social, economic and technological environment in which participants live, work and are ageing. To accommodate the effects of the changes associated with this broad and complex environment my study adopted elements of ecological theory first described by Bronfenbrenner (1977) and applied by Williamson (1997, 1998) in her studies of the information needs and information behaviour of older people. An ecological approach locates the research in the social and political milieu offering a more informed understanding of the influences these numerous factors have on the information needs and means of gathering information of this under-researched group.

In addition to the theoretical understanding gained, this study provides opportunities to explore methodological aspects of research involving a group who needs deserve further investigation but previously avoided due to difficulties associated with access arising from language and cultural differences.

This study demonstrates approaches that offer effective ways to engage non-English speaking participants in research conducted by a monolingual Anglophone. It demonstrates that engagement is possible through the researcher adopting a reflexive response to the needs of the research participants and working cooperatively with individuals and organisations respected by members of the community of interest. Experience from conducting this study suggest benefits gained from engaging community service providers and key figures to facilitate access to participants. Such contacts also provide an invaluable source of advice on social and cultural issues as well as language skills in acting as interpreters. Endorsement by a respected authority, whether it is an organisation or individual in a community, affords an outsider a sense of credibility and worth, thus facilitating acceptance by participants.

The methodological and epistemological difficulties associated with the earlier forms of GTM question its choice as a research method. I discussed these issues in Chapter Three, including the development of the constructivist form to address these shortcomings, while retaining the merits of using GTM in qualitative research. I adopted CGTM consistent with Bryant's (2002) support of GTM as providing a well-developed programme to undertake qualitative research, one that focused on people's actions and interpretations in social contexts, thus engaging participants and their contexts. GTM enables an approach to the field in a manner conducive to understanding whether the topic of investigation is of importance to the participants and if so what are the parameters of the problem. Finding to arise from the research guided directions for further investigation; prior knowledge around the topic provided a point from which to begin.

In Chapter One I discussed the reasons for adopting CGTM as to do so addresses the methodological weaknesses identified in the classical form of GTM while retaining the identified benefits and building on its pragmatist roots (Charmaz, 2006a) in the emphasis placed on language meaning and process in how migrants find everyday information. Further, the influence of acculturation, as assessed by the extent of English language acquisition, and interaction with the dominant culture on migrants' information behaviour are consistent with Mead's pragmatism. Mead (1934) argued the presence of a mutual determinism between the individual and environment and further, pointed out that the ways in which individuals act in response to a particular situation were learned through social interaction. In addition to providing a more contemporary interpretation, a constructivist approach applied in this study accommodates in a transparent manner several issues associated with aspects of the research. Historical recall by participants, in some cases of events experienced many years ago, along with issues of language translation and managing cultural differences between participants and researcher, all require an approach capable of representing these issues.

Applying a constructivist approach brings in to the open the many processes involved in ascertaining and developing the findings. Firstly, it recognises the reconstructed nature of events central to this study that participants recalled from

before and around the time they migrated and subsequently during the fifty-odd years they have lived in Australia. Secondly, acknowledging the use of interpreters makes transparent their roles in the construction of data. Engaging them proved essential to my accessing participants who would otherwise been excluded from the study because of my inability to understand and speak languages other than English. Bringing the interpreter out of the shadows makes transparent their role in this study. Engaging interpreters allowed me, a monolingual researcher to communicate with participants and understand their responses. Comments made by interpreters of their experiences as service providers or now adult children of older migrants are included as data and the source acknowledged. An alternative approach could have been to engage only those participants with adequate English-language skills whom I could have interviewed directly thus avoiding issues associated with use of interpreters. Such an approach could compound the isolation of members of a group already at risk of social and information exclusion due to their limited use of the dominant language. Finally, adopting a constructive perspective acknowledges the participant-interpreter-researcher relationship and my role, as researcher, in developing an understanding of the meaning of responses in the context of my own cultural background and life experiences.

10.4 Evaluation of this Study

Earlier, in Chapter Three, I discussed the contested nature of debate surrounding the definition and measurement of the quality of qualitative research and indicated my intention to evaluate quality of my research using criteria proposed by Charmaz (2006a) for use in constructivist grounded theory method - credibility, originality, resonance and usefulness.

10.4.1 Meeting criteria for constructivist grounded theory studies

Credibility This thesis presents a study of aspects of the information behaviour of older migrants from CALD backgrounds in a predominately English-speaking environment. I concur with Cutcliffe and McKenna (1999) that ultimately, readers and practitioners decide the credibility of a study. However, there are measures an author of a work can take to assist the reader in assessing a work as having credibility. With the assistance of interpreters, interviews with non-English speaking participants allowed me as an Anglophone to get closer to participants and to hear

their stories. Interviews were for many the first opportunity to tell of their experiences in finding information they need and of their migration experience more broadly. The constructivist grounded theory method used in this study accommodated the (re)constructed nature of these experiences, the role of interpreters and my constructions of theory from data while ensuring that the links which the theoretical interpretations have to the data remain strong and apparent to the reader. Throughout the study, the use of in vivo codes and extensive quotes demonstrate the well-grounded nature of the theory in the data. Audio recording of interviews, their transcription by professional transcriptionists and my subsequent re-listening and checking of transcripts were measures used to ensure the quality of data. Extensive use of quotations from these transcripts supports the theoretical development of categories and provides thick description of processes as part of the studied phenomenon sufficient for a reader to form an independent assessment and agree with the findings, consistent with Charmaz (2006a).

Originality This study adds to the body of knowledge that exists on the information behaviour of older migrants. It demonstrates originality in two important aspects, the cohort selected for the study and the approach taken to understanding the experience of the participants. Further, the innovative application of qualitative social network analysis illustrates the nature of social/information networks used by participants. Networks used by more highly acculturated participants, as determined by extent of English language acquisition, were extensive and included a varied range of sources including many delivered in English intended for the general (English-speaking) population. On the other hand, the social/information networks of socially and linguistically isolated participants were more limited in both extent and range of sources, being limited to birth-language specific sources. A lack of English language skills by these participants excludes their meaningful use of information sources provided in English to the general community.

Much of the extant research investigates information behaviour of younger migrants who are more recent settlers whereas this study is of old, in some cases older-old (75-84) and very-old (85+ years), migrants who migrated to Australia around fifty years prior to the time of interview and have aged in Australia. Consequently, the individual responses to the influence of acculturation from this long period of

residency in the host country provide an important contribution to the knowledge of how older migrants find everyday information they need both from time of arrival to today. Further, I have located these findings in the historical, social and economic circumstances that existed at the time participants migrated up until more recently and the influences these changes have had on their information behaviour during that period. Considerable technological changes during this period have also influenced the manner in which older migrants find information. It is difficult to attribute the relative contribution of these various factors to present information behaviour. However, the approach acknowledges the complexity of this social and economic milieu and possibly represents the first interpretative study of the information behaviour of older CALD migrants in the context of their migration and acculturation experience.

Resonance Adopting a constructivist grounded method allowed me to go in to the field to collect data on a phenomenon from the perspective of the participants. Having chosen the subject of investigation, I sought to ascertain what aspects of this phenomenon were important to participants rather than investigate and test a preconceived hypothesis. Seeking to understand what is meaningful to participants places them centrally to the research and brings the assumed meanings of their information-seeking experiences to the fore. Again, locating these individual experiences in their social and historical contexts offers links to a broader structural framework that relates individual information behaviour to aspects of acculturation and migration.

Usefulness The findings of this study provide insight into the information behaviour of older CALD migrants with implications for practice and policy development. Often the extent to which research findings can be used in everyday circumstances measures their usefulness. However, measures of usefulness of research extend more broadly to include what Tracy (2010: 846) describes as theoretical, heuristic and methodological significance, similar attributes that Charmaz (2006a) ascribes to usefulness. The theoretical framework of this study builds on existing works and extends the theorizing by conceptualising information behaviour more broadly in theories explaining transformative learning and individual response to acculturation.

Methodologically useful contributions of this study relate to the efforts taken in successfully engaging older migrants, many of whom did not speak English. Frequently monolingual researchers investigating transcultural issues avoid participants who cannot adequately speak the dominant language due to costs associated with translation of interviews and subsequent transcripts. Consequently, the views of these participants may be missing from research (Tsianikas et al., 2012). Engaging bilingual, multicultural researchers in studies involving CALD participants addresses issues of language and cultural differences thereby avoiding the need to employ translators (Newman et al., 2012). However, research situations where it is not feasible to engage bilingual, multicultural research team members require other approaches to address language and cultural differences. This current study, having established procedures to manage cultural issues and language differences, purposively recruited non-English speaking participants, and so illustrated ways in which to conduct further research involving this under-represented group. Further, adopting a qualitative approach to the study of information behaviour provided a useful insight into reasons why older migrants generally do not use ICT in seeking information, elaborating on the findings of quantitative studies that show low use of these technologies amongst older people generally. I discuss in section 10.6 areas of interest warranting further research.

10.4.2 Strengths and limitations of this study

Critical evaluation is an essential requirement of any research study including this one. Subjecting the underlying methodology, processes and outcomes of a study to scrutiny provides a transparency that enables further constructive critique.

This study engaged non-English speaking participants and so addressed criticisms made of other studies that avoid such situations because of the associated costs and difficulties of engaging interpreters (Larkin et al., 2007). Support by ethno specific services in providing interpreters without cost enabled me to overcome these issues and give a voice to participants frequently overlooked in transcultural studies. This enabled me to get closer to understanding the phenomenon from the perspective of the participants, albeit a reconstruction of that understanding. Adopting a constructivist approach to this study accommodates the multiple realities that arise and acknowledges the role of interpreters in the process of retelling experiences first

told by participants. Consequently, to improve transparency and address the risk translation processes pose to rigour of qualitative research (Larkin et al., 2007) I brought the interpreters out of the shadows by acknowledging their role in the (re)construction of participants' experiences as suggested by Temple (2002). When appropriate, data were included about their experiences as service providers or as family members.

The subject of this thesis is the information seeking experience of Greek and Italian migrants who arrived in Australia during the period of post-World War II migration. It does not extend to other non-English speaking migrants or English-speaking migrants from United Kingdom who also arrived in large numbers during this period. The findings relate to the experiences of participants and are not representative of experiences of Greek and Italian migrants generally. As this study is in the interpretative tradition, findings are not generalisable to a broader non-English speaking migrant population. Instead, adopting a qualitative (interpretivist) approach provided a rich understanding of the lived experience of participants.

Further, this study did not ascertain the views of service providers or government departments, or investigate the role of adult children in helping their parents find information and access services and how providing these roles affected the children. Nor did the study extend to the investigation of social and information networks beyond the ego network of participants. These aspects may represent shortcomings of the study deserving of further in-depth investigation. However, the purpose of this study was to explore and gain understanding, which it did, of the experiences from the perspective of the members of a group not previously consulted on their information behaviour.

10.5 Policy Implications of this Research

The findings of this study suggest that migration and social theory should be applied to future studies of information for CALD migrants. In this context, policy discussions should consider more broadly issues including socio-economic status, ethnicity, literacy, personal preferences, and measures to provide information online, perceptions older people have of using a computer and/or the Internet. Consideration

of these and possibly other issues illustrate the need for governments and others to provide information in different formats and by a variety of means as suggested by Estabrook and colleagues (2007). Factors such as these have implications for policy development associated with access to information generally and more specifically with issues of access and equity of specific groups illustrated in part by the continued push by government and businesses to deliver information and services online.

A frequently applied approach used to address language in informing non-English speaking groups is to translate information into a respective birth language. This assumes that the recipients are literate in their birth language and, even if this is so, have sufficient education to comprehend the information and convert it to functional knowledge. This study has highlighted that there exists a degree of variation in literacy in English and/or birth-language amongst older CALD migrants with some having low levels due to their having had little or no education as children in their countries of birth and limited opportunities for further learning after settling in Australia. Consequently, low levels of reading ability and/or comprehension will restrict access to text-based information whether provided online or as printed material in English or translated into the birth language of a migrant. Putting aside these issues, the availability of translated material online may be less than expected as a recent survey of council websites in United Kingdom found less than one in four sites (23 per cent) translated content in to languages other than English (Choudrie et al., 2013: 17). Such findings suggest a continuing and important role for interpersonal sources of information as a means to address limited literacy and comprehension levels present among populations of older CALD migrants. As such, bi-lingual personal contact offered by ethno-specific organisations, General Practitioners and other service providers offer pathways for older CALD migrants in general as well as for those who are socially and linguistically isolated.

The move to e-government, facilitated by increased use of the Internet has for some time been a priority, with government investing heavily in initiatives to bring about shifts in consumer preferences (Australian Health Ministers Conference, 2008). Despite measures such as these, increased use of the Internet has not been proportionate to the supply-side efforts more broadly (Choudrie et al., 2013). While recent reports show increased use of the Internet across all age groups

(Commonwealth of Australia, 2007), interpretation of results requires caution in relation to older people for several reasons. 'Older' people are not a homogenous group; the young aged having different needs and abilities to older-old and the very-old (over 85 years). Reports show a continuing reluctance by older people and other groups to adopt the Internet and a subsequent continuing low incidence of use to access information. In 2012–13, 83 per cent of persons in Australia used the internet. People aged 65+ showed the lowest proportion of internet users (46 per cent) compared to 97 per cent of people in the 15 to 17 age who use the internet (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013c). Williamson (1999) in her study of information behaviour of people over 50 years found 77 per cent of participants adamant about their non-use of computers at the time of the study and in to the future. Wicks (2004) reported older people prefer in-person and print resources over electronic delivery of information and participants in my study has confirmed this. Data from an early phase of this study show older CALD migrants show low use of computers and the Internet, and generally no inclination to change (Goodall et al., 2010); a recent report by the United Kingdom Communication Regulator (Ofcom, 2010) found Internet use by older people remains low. This history over many years of slow uptake or reluctance on the part of older people to engage the Internet as a means to gather information perhaps informs Choudrie and colleagues' comment about the inevitability that some older people may never use electronic services, suggesting more funding for 'non-electronic' options such as telephone (Choudrie et al., 2013). I do not agree that the telephone represents a non-electronic form of communication, having in Chapter Seven adopted a broader definition of ICT which includes telephones, computer and the Internet. However, I do concur with Choudrie and colleagues' position that some people, especially those classified as older but not excluding other groups, will never adopt computers and the Internet as a means to access information and prefer personal/verbal sources of information. It is important to note that a few participants in my study expressed interest in learning how to use computers and some were taking steps to do.

Recent reports by the Australian Government recognise the need for any communication strategy to acknowledge that not all groups currently participate on-line equally, noting age and socio-economic status as contributory factors (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007, 2009). Results from the present study highlight

age and ethnicity/CALD status as additional factors in the adoption of online technologies. Recognising the influence factors such as these have on computer and Internet use represents a positive move by government but still fails to acknowledge the 'one-option-fits-all' of the Internet does not suit all sections of the community who for any number of reasons will not change or are unable to do so. For example, there is technological determinism evident in the approach suggested by the Australian Government Information Management Office (AGIMO) (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) when it proposes, '[f]uture growth of use of e-government services will require improved website content and design, and expanded access to and awareness of online services.'

Presenting a technical solution of web-page design in conjunction with awareness-raising campaigns without considering more broadly factors affecting the low use of e-government services by specific groups suggests a failure to understand a fundamental issue affecting the adoption of electronic or other means of access to printed information, namely literacy levels of intended recipients. Suggesting such solution assumes intended recipients have adequate technical skills to navigate web pages and sufficient functional English language to find and comprehend the information provided online and avoids offering information in community languages other than English. It also assumes people are willing and have a need to change from successful information-seeking strategies they have accumulated over a lifetime.

Many participants in the current study perceive using a computer as a task suitable for younger people and any initiatives must address this negative perception if this group is to adopt computer use and the Internet. Discussions should not conflate access to e-government services solely with Internet use as to do so fails to consider other suitable forms of ICT some of which are used by groups who are presently denied access to e-government by adopting a 'digital by default' approach that requires computer use. In this current study, many participants contacted government departments in person or by fixed line telephone. There was an occasional use of telephone banking. Participants did not use a computer for either of these tasks and many expressed a reluctance to do so in the future.

Older migrants should not simply be dismissed as a group that is unwilling or incapable of learning how to use a computer and the Internet as several expressed interest in doing so and some had taken steps in that regard. Measures should continue to offer courses to older migrants as to do so encourages the learning of new skills and offers opportunities for social interaction during courses and subsequently. Preparation and distribution of information about upcoming courses should consider findings of this study regarding literacy and language preference, the form and means older CALD migrants prefer to receive information and engage ethno specific services in these matters. Development of hardware and software with touch screen capabilities that no longer require use of input devices such as a mouse overcomes, for some, age-related problems associated with decline of motor skills (Social and Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands, 2007). Studies that engage older people in the earlier stages of product design show this approach is more likely to develop applications on devices that older people find more suitable to their needs and capabilities (Rosales et al., 2012).

Development of initiatives to improve access to online information should also consider mediated use of ICT by family members and occasionally friends who facilitate access to information and social contact by sending emails. This concept of ‘information broker’ (Goodall et al., 2010) extends to ethno-specific service providers, as well as adult children, friends and acquaintances and represents an important means by which older migrants access information they need to function in society with a desired quality of life. Presently, brokers access information from online sources and provide it to recipients in an appropriate form, often printed and supported by face-to-face explanations of the content. Changes to this role may see in future, brokers empowering older migrants to access information online by acting as facilitators or mentors in their learning to use devices more suited to their needs and capabilities.

10.6 Implications for Further Research

As this study is about the information behaviour of older Greek and Italian migrants who came to Australia as part of the post-World War II migration boom it did not include other migrant groups who arrived around the same time. Further, it did not

extend to the study of information experiences and needs of older CALD migrants and refugees more recently arrived from countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. As these groups sometimes include older family members, it would therefore be interesting to investigate their information needs to better understand their needs and inform policy responses to addressing their requirements. Such an approach recognises more broadly long term implications of access to necessary information for achieving social inclusion for migrants (Caidi & Allard, 2005).

This research identified an important role of people or organisations that facilitated access to information that would not be available to participants without their intervention. Need for such mediated access arose in two situations. Firstly, when participants, who were isolated linguistically by their lack of adequate functional English language skills or illiterate in their birth language, needed to access and understand information. Secondly, when participants did not have access to computers and or lacked necessary technical skills to use a computer and the Internet to access directly information provided on line. Further research is needed to identify individuals and organisations that fulfil these functions and to elucidate the roles of these 'information brokers' in facilitating access to information. This study identified several such entities including ethno-specific service providers and interpersonal sources such as health and other professionals along with family members. However, other sources of information or means to gather it may exist and a better understanding of the nature such facilitators; their roles and locations offer opportunities for improved access to information. In addition, a better understanding of the nature of the role of information broker may offer an appreciation of the consequences for family members in fulfilling this role and nature and extent of any resultant gate keeping of information that may occur.

Future studies on information behaviour could benefit from a shift of emphasis from the means of delivery to what measures will assist the intended recipients to receive information they can access and understand. Such approaches to future studies will require a re-ordering of priorities to locate the needs of the recipient centrally in the research and to involve recipients in the research, such that the means of delivery facilitates this outcome rather than driving it. Further, studies involving migrants will require an understanding of the roles of place and migration on their

acculturation and information behaviour. Hargittai and Hinnant (2006) argue for the inclusion of participants' social attributes including age, gender, race, ethnicity and socio-economic status in studies of information behaviour. Williamson (1998) argues adopting an ecological approach, particularly in studies involving older people, extends a situational approach to information behaviour by accommodating individual characteristics and structural factors. Social circumstances influence the nature and extent of the interchange of information as illustrated by studies that investigated the role of social networks, for example (Fisher et al., 2004; Courtright, 2005; Johnson, 2007) and information grounds (Pettigrew, 1999) in this regard. Fisher and colleagues (2007) argue that research to understand better the influence on information flow of personal characteristics of individuals, physical location and the nature of information exchanged will assist ICT system designers develop social spaces to improve information flow and human interaction.

10.7 Concluding Comments

This thesis has illustrated the information behaviour of a cohort of older Greek and Italian migrants who settled in South Australia during the post-World War II migration period. Further, it highlights the range of barriers and facilitators that these older migrants from CALD backgrounds experience in finding information and measures they employed to overcome the barriers to finding what they needed to know and function in their everyday lives. It offered a theoretical explication of a basic social process that draws together aspects of their information needs of the participants and locates these experiences in the social, economic and technological conditions existent during that process. This study addressed the aims described in the research question. The substantive grounded theory 'Becoming Informed' presents a theoretical understanding of the studied phenomenon.

Adopting a constructivist grounded theory approach provided a means to represent as central to the research, the experiences and perspectives of this often under-researched group. A constructivist perspective acknowledged the (re)construction of data and the roles of participants, interpreters and researcher in this process and the participant-researcher interaction. Doing so makes transparent and accommodated many issues often considered problematic which prevent monolingual researchers

engaging this demographic. Locating the studied phenomenon in the context of their migration experience provided a context to the study but required reconstruction by participants of events from many years ago. The research makes apparent and acknowledges the reconstruction of previous events and the role of interpreters in data generation. Further, an innovative application of qualitative social network analysis elucidated and illustrated the role and extent of social networks in providing information and identifying sources for this group. Finally, the research identified aspects of the topic worthy of future research and implications for policy initiatives, which should support the social inclusion of migrants.

APPENDICES

1. Literature Database Search

DATABASE	KEYWORD(S)	RESULTS	TITLE SEARCH
Library, Information Science and Technology Abstracts	Information	16,434	-
	AND need*	3,143	-
	AND elder*	16	2
	AND old*	1	0
	AND migra*	1	1
	Information and seek*	475	-
	AND old*	3	1
	AND elder*	0	-
	AND migra*	0	-
	AND context	32	19
ProQuest 5000	Information	1,339,213	
	AND needs	256,215	
	AND elder*	2,496	
	AND migra*	23	1
	AND elder* AND digital divide	326	
	AND older people	9	2
	Information AND needs	445,092	
	AND older people AND seeking	2	2
Social Science Citations	Information	>100,000	
	AND migrant	161	

	AND needs	13	6
	AND migrant AND seeking	3	2
	Information science	2,462	
	AND seeking	69	
	AND human information behavio*r	35	2
	AND behavio*r	161	
	AND older people	0	
	AND seeking	23	2
	AND elderly	0	
	AND foraging	0	
	Information science AND knowledge	563	
	AND elderly	4	0
	AND epistemology	9	0
	Information science	2,462	
	AND ethnic	0	
	AND CALD	0	
	AND migrant*	2	0
ISI Web of Knowledge	Information	92,228	
	AND needs	3,552	
	AND context	299	
	AND older people	3	0
	Information		
	AND behavio*r	4,800	
	AND seeking	734	
	AND meaning	13	3
	Information		
	AND behavio*r	4,800	
	AND context	164	2

	AND older people	1	1
	AND everyday life	12	7
	Information		
	AND behavio*r AND Ag*ing	14	1
	Information AND behavio*r		
	AND older people	4	1
	AND migra*	1	1
	AND immigra*	8	5
	AND immigra* AND older people	0	
Social Science Citations	Wilson TD	287	
	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	26	12
	Williamson K	261	
	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	9	4
	Spink A	141	
	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	95	2
	Cole C	319	
	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	48	3
	Talja S	16	
	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	13	2
	Savolainen R	71	
	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	33	14
	Dervin B	19	

	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	10	3
	Fisher K	81	
	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	2	1
	+ Geriatrics + Gerontology (Subject)	9	1
	Pettigrew K	4	0
ISI Web of Science (Soc Sc Index Expanded)	Information	91,287	
(Soc Sc Citation)	AND literacy	472	
(Arts & Humanities Citation Index)	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	338	
	AND old*	5	1
	AND elder*	0	
	AND older people	0	
	AND migra*	0	
	AND immigra*	0	
	Computer	10,626	
	AND literacy	103	
	Info Sc & Lib Sc (Subject Area)	16	
	AND old*	1	0
	AND elder*	0	
	AND migra*	0	
	AND immigra*	0	
Pub Med (All databases)	Information	540,224	
	Limits: age > 65, human,		
	published in last 10		

	years		
	AND migra*	298	
	AND migrant*	61	0
	Information AND behavio*r	221	
	AND seeking	9	0
	And searching	0	
	AND digital divide	0	
	Information AND digital divide	4	2
Pub Med Central	Digital AND divide	1,864	
	Limit: last 10 years		
	AND older adult*	21	1
	AND older adults AND migrants	1	0
	Digital AND divide AND older people	166	
	AND information seeking	51	8
Psych info	Information science	9,344	
	AND ag*ing	35	
	Limits: English language, > 65 years	22	
	Digital divide	5,682	
	Limits: English, >65	225	
IngentaConnect	information	222,284	(in title 1998-2008)
	AND need	101	
	AND elder*	0	

	AND migra*	0	
	Information AND need AND context	118	
	AND old*	2	0
	AND elder*	0	
	AND migra*	0	
	AND immigra*	0	
	computer	10442	(in title 1998-2008)
	AND literacy	36	
	AND old*	0	
	AND elder*	0	
	AND migra*	0	
	AND immigra*	0	
EMERALD Insight	information	4,994	Article title, all years
	AND context	29	0
	AND need	140	
	AND old*	55	2
	AND migra*	7	1
	AND immigra*	5	2
	Information AND need AND digital divide	0	
	Information AND literacy	135	
	AND old*OR elder*	48	
	AND migra*	0	
	AND immigra*	5	0
	Computer AND literacy	9	
	AND old*	0	

	AND elder*	3	0
	AND migra*	0	
	AND immigra*	0	
	Digital divide	34	
	AND old*	0	
	AND elder*	0	
Australasian Digital Thesis Program	Information AND migrants	16	(1)
	Information AND seeking AND immigra* AND old*	0	
	Inform* AND seeking AND immigra* AND old*	0	
	Digital AND divide AND Immigra*	0	
	Migra* AND information	0	
	Information AND seeking AND migrants AND old*	0	
Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations	Information AND search* AND migrants	76	0
	Information AND migrants	20	(4)
	Digital Divide AND migrants	0	
	Computers AND migrants	0	
Google Scholar	Information AND	61,100	

(Years 1991 – 2009)	seek*AND old AND immigrant		
(Excluding - youth, young people)		716	

2. Participant Characteristics

	GREEK					ITALIAN					All Participants
	SP Metro	SP R'land	Non-SP	Isolated	Total	SP Metro	SP R'land	Non-SP	Isolated	Total	n
n	15	10	6	1	32	6	11	4	1	22	54
Male	6	0	2	1	9	3	0	2	0	5	14
Female	9	10	4	0	23	3	11	2	1	17	40
Avg. age at interview (Yrs)	71.3	76.2	71.7	62		81.5	72.3	69	89		74.1
Min - Max (Yrs)	63 - 94	70 - 82	63 - 80	n.a.		73 - 94	60 - 83	62 - 78	n.a.		60 - 94
Avg. Age arriving in Aus (Yrs)	23.8	24.8	21	46		29.3	22.5	17	42		28.3
Min - Max (Yrs)	18 - 42	12 - 35	17 - 26	n.a.		18 - 42	12 - 31	6 - 24	n.a.		6 - 42
Avg. residency in Aus (Yrs)	47.5	52.8	50.7	16		52.2	49.8	52	47		46
Min - Max (Yrs)	37 - 56	39 - 82	45 - 57	n.a.		43 - 58	46 - 55	46 - 56	n.a.		16 - 82

Notes:

SP - Service Provider

Metro - Metropolitan Adelaide

R'land - Riverland region

Isolated - Socially and/or linguistically isolated

3. Coding Map

Example of Initial Coding

Transcript	Initial Coding
<p>Interviewee: Well for myself I can't say because it's too long ago to remember all those sort of things but if I can remember, like I said before, nothing worried me anyway – everything was quite alright because we had no problem, people liked us, when we'd go there; and we liked them but bosses wife used to always talk to us; I used to do work in that house and all that but she used to talk to me and she'd say "Oh this is 'chair', this is something else" that's how we learnt and I was determined to learn.</p>	<p>Acknowledging passage of time</p> <p>Accepting Australia</p> <p>Feeling accepted</p> <p>Liked the locals</p> <p>Workplace</p> <p>Learning English</p> <p>Determination to learn English</p>
<p>Interviewee: I came here when I was five and some things you just don't forget and I'll remember you know first starting school, I'm tiny as I am but then I was tinier and you know they used to pick on me because I couldn't understand or couldn't talk to them you know couldn't answer them and I'm suffering now with my knees because of all the times I got pushed over.</p> <p>And you know taunted and so it was very hard, even for the young, young ones and for me especially because I was [unclear 19:19] the knowledge, the thing of my family, you know Mum had to go to the doctors, I was ... Dad had to go to a lawyer, I was, you know whether I felt embarrassed in saying what he said or whatever ... You had to do it because I was their voice.</p> <p>Interviewer: From what age [name]?</p> <p>Interviewee: Five.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah. So you didn't speak any English [on arrival]?</p> <p>Interviewee : Not at all, not at all.</p> <p>Interviewer: How long was it before you ...</p> <p>Interviewee: Oh quite quick.</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah.</p>	<p>Arriving as child</p> <p>Lasting memories</p> <p>First impressions</p> <p>Getting an education</p> <p>Learning English</p> <p>Bullied as linguistic outsider</p> <p>Consequences of mistreatment</p> <p>Lasting impressions</p> <p>Children as interpreters</p> <p>Children as interpreters – embarrassment</p> <p>Children as interpreters</p> <p>Learning English</p> <p>Learned English quickly</p>

<p>Interviewee: I was blessed in the age, you know going to school every day so no it was a matter of maybe, 3, 4, 5 months I don't know but um...</p> <p>Interviewer: So by the time you were 6 you were ...</p> <p>Interviewee: I was quite fluent yes, well I had to.</p> <p>Interviewer: ... interpreting for your family.</p> <p>Interviewee: Mmm yeah. And they took me everywhere.</p> <p>Interviewer: Big responsibility.</p> <p>Interviewee: Big responsibility for a young [child], because I didn't understand what they were talking about.</p> <p>Interviewer: No.</p> <p>Interviewee: You know it just went over my head but Dad would say you say this to him and you know Mum would say this him and sometimes I'd think, Ma I can't say that ...</p>	<p>Learning English –time taken</p> <p>Learning English</p> <p>Children as interpreters –responsibility</p> <p>Children as interpreter - responsibility</p> <p>Children as interpreter – dealing with adult concepts</p> <p>Children as interpreter – embarrassment</p>
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3. Coding Map

Category – Leaving home and starting from scratch

Initial Codes	Focussed Codes	Theoretical Codes
Devastated by war Had no choice Would have starved Civil unrest Schooling before leaving There was no country	Reasons to leave home	
Had no idea Thought it was America Did not want to go USA Followed family members Processes of migration	Choosing Australia	Leaving home and starting from scratch
Like being in the dark World was upside down Landing in Australia Starting from scratch A shock Strange smells Terrible tasting water People were friendly	First impressions	

3. Coding Map

Category – Acquiring Necessities

Initial Codes	Focussed Codes	Theoretical Codes
Help from others Menial nature of work Conditions in workplace Caring in the workplace Working hard Experiencing bullying Language in workplace	Finding work	
With other migrants Rode bike or walked Used buses and trains Lived near factories	Getting Around	
Lived with family Shared with others Bought a house soon Living in a tent Living in the dirt	Finding a place to live	
Dealing with strange foods Avoided using English Making mistakes Relying on others Gesturing when shopping Prefer paying cash Using credit cards	Shopping	Acquiring Necessities
Recognised need to learn English Determination to learn Attending classes Learning in workplace Learning from others Ongoing process Reading and practising No opportunity to learn Mixing with Anglophones Children as interpreters	Learning the language	

3. Coding Map

Category - Ways of Finding Out

Initial Codes	Focussed Codes	Theoretical Codes
Depends on topic/issue		
Books/Libraries as sources		
Free to air radio		
Free to air television		
Community Organisations		
Community radio	Choosing information sources	
Community television		
Spouse		
Satellite television		
Local newspapers		
Community language newspapers		
Direct use of ICT		
Mediated use of ICT		
Relying on compatriots		
Trusting adult children		
Friends as trusted sources		
Family in Australia		
Spouse		
Identifying more knowledgeable sources	Using social and information network	Ways of finding out
Preferring face to face		
Sharing with others		
Family overseas		
Church as source		
Choosing doctor for health		
Government Departments	Perceived importance	
Trust adult children		
Assess what they know		
Keep it simple		
Television useful		
From another person		
Influence of language on choice	Preferred form to receive information	
In print form		
Visit or telephone office		

3. Coding Map

Category – Reconstructing Identity

Initial Codes	Focussed Codes	Theoretical Codes
Working with Anglophones Anglophone neighbours Role of English language		
Volunteering in mainstream community Shop customers Raising funds for community Acknowledging passage of time Accepting Australia Feeling accepted	Engaging mainstream communities	
Voting in overseas elections Transnational sharing of information Achieving bilingual abilities Living across both cultures	Transnational elements of identity	Reconstructing Identity
Children learned birth language & English Children attending extra classes to learn birth culture and language Using media to access cultural programmes and news	Maintaining language and culture	
Recognised need to learn English Role of English language English affords direct access Direct or mediated access	Cultural adaptation and accessing services	

4. Examples of Memos

MEMO 9 December 2008 Focus Group

Members of the group are generally older than expected (although there is no upper age limit to participate). Noted that the information sheet and consent forms are written in a very formal style of Italian, which is grammatically correct but not an everyday style. At least one participant could not read material due to lack of formal schooling. Need to bear this in mind for future focus groups to ensure I get real informed consent. Interpreter read aloud the documents and asked for questions before participants signed.

MEMO 13 December 2008

Life is much easier than before

Participant comments that life is better now because of more general availability of interpreter services. There are things to tell you or 'someone to explain to you'. Need to explore this more in the next focus group. If life is easier now, what was it like when people arrived regarding them finding out about everyday things they needed to know to get by? If it is easy now, was it 'hard' then and if so what does this mean.

Community Organisation as valuable source of information

So far participants have commented on the invaluable role of their respective community organisations (IBF & GOCSA). Need to investigate this by talking to participants not recruited through a community organisation. One would expect people so recruited and interviewed at the venue to speak positively about the organisation. What about people who do not engage the services of these organisations? How do they find information? Are they advantaged or disadvantaged by not being actively involved?

MEMO 18 August 2009 Networks and Information sources

What is the role and extent of networking in sourcing information?

Central role of family is unquestioned both as a source of information as well as a means of verification. Many participants have asked their children (usually) to clarify or verify information they have been given or have read.

Do participants not actively involved with ethno-specific organisations have different networks? Do they use their networks differently?

Family (close network) is common source of information.

Kin- other members of ethnic community frequently used in addition to mutual support often resulting in a two-way process. Community networks used to get and +/- verify information. On occasions, recipients become sources during mutual exchange and role changes.

Perhaps participants associated with organisations use them as de-facto family for information and in some cases services such as transport, socialisation etc.

Those living in wider community (not that any are in residential aged care) have different networks in addition to family and kin. They talk to neighbours; many have worked in factories or their own businesses and interact with 'general community'.

These provide numerous opportunities to 'immerse' in Anglo-Australian culture and community.

Has this meant these people are more independent as their diffuse networks afford them more contacts and diversity of views and information? Think about Granovetter's 'Strength of Weak Ties'.

What has been the consequence of this action? Was it deliberate engagement with the community or simply a necessity due to work? Yet several acknowledge taking steps to retain their culture including language themselves attending clubs that focus on regional culture, cuisine etc. and birth language classes for their children. What are the consequences for identity retention or reconstruction to produce a hybrid of birth and adopted cultures? Does this influence how and what information migrants access and if so in what way?

MEMO: 18 August 2011 A Contracting Life

When asked to explain why she prefers English-language free to air television in preference to Greek language programs on SBS Sofia replied 'Because we live here' referring to English as the language of Australia and the need to speak English to be part of the community.

As Sofia has aged and her illness progresses she has withdrawn from her social groups at her church and now attends an English-language Day Care Centre for

Socialisation arranged by a 'mainstream' service provider. Her life seems to be closing in. She no longer reads the local English-language daily paper. Same with satellite television, she watched it once but not now. English language radio no longer features in her daily routine. Much of the contact is now by electronic or digital means – telephone to family and friends overseas and some service providers when necessary. Interpersonal contact is now with immediate family, other attendees at the socialisation program and her doctor, whom she sees increasingly often. In conjunction with her isolation from her old church community it is as if Sofia's social world is contracting. Consider Chatman's concept of small worlds.

MEMO 27 April 2012 Needing to Know – a bsp?

Needing to know conceptualises the ongoing need for information by migrants on matters involving both the mundane and the more social. Learning to use English as a language allowed migrants to communicate with others outside of their particular ethnic group. By doing allowed them to broaden their information networks with subsequent improvement in access to sources not available to those who did not speak English. This information contributes to development of an identity that includes elements of their birth and Anglo-Australian culture. Initially, needing to know where to find work, a place to live and shops from which to buy essential items was critical to an individual's success if not survival. Consistent with Maslow's theory of self-actualisation these needs changed as people became more established having addressed their basic physiological needs and puts some order in to their lives. Social and information networks broadened initially through employment but more so as increased social engagement occurred both with the ethno-specific community and more broadly. As English language skills improved people accessed more sources of information available to Anglo-Australians such as free to air television and local newspapers, and so became increasingly informed about every day matters.

5. Interview Guide

FLINDERS UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA
OLDER CALD MIGRANTS FINDING INFORMATION
INTERVIEW GUIDE

Stages 1, 2 and 3 of Data Collection

1. What does the term 'information' mean to you?
2. Do you use any of the following electronic equipment?
 - Mobile phone/fixed line
 - Computer
 - Satellite television
 - CD/DVD/mp3 player/other
3. Can I ask you about how you learned English when you arrived?
 - Did you speak English before arriving?
 - After arriving how did you cope with everyday things like shopping, talking to a doctor, finding directions before you could speak or read English
 - How did you learn to speak and/or write English? (Formal classes, workplace, children at school, neighbours)
 - (For linguistically isolated) Why did you not learn English?
 - In the workplace, did you help train or show other people who could not speak English?
 - How were you treated by your boss/supervisor/colleagues because you could not speak English?
4. Please tell me what it is like now for you finding information you need for your everyday activities?
5. Is life better or worse now? What do you think has been the most important event or aspect that made it better/worse?

Stages 2 and 3 of Data Collection

6. Social Network Analysis (Explain the process and the drawing of a diagram)

6a. Ask about networks as per topics on page 2:

- On arrival
- More recently (Now)

6b. Explore sources of information – including other people, (family, friends, government departments) media print/electronic (radio/TV), local or overseas

6c. Means used to access information – interpersonal (f2f) mediated (telephone etc.) Internet, other

6d. Confirm language used in each network tie – English/Greek/Italian/Mixed

6e. Ask participant to assess the importance of each tie/contact using the scale 5 -1 (Explain numbering system: 5 =most important source, 1 =- least important as source of information)

5. Interview Guide

Stages 2 and 3 of Data Collection

Who did/do you ask about:-

	On arrival	Most recent times(Now)
Finding a job		n.a.
Where to buy clothes, food etc.		
Finding a doctor or finding out about health care services		
Finding out about Govt financial (family) support	<i>(Child Endowment)</i>	<i>(Pensions, Concessions)</i>
Finding a bank or financial services		
Finding a place to live or buying a property		
Getting around (buying a car, finding public transport, etc.)		

6. Letters of Introduction

English



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CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

September 2008

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear Sir/Madam

This letter is to introduce Mr Ken Goodall who is a Higher Degree Research student in the Department of Public Health at Flinders University. He will produce his student card, which carries a photograph, as proof of identity.

He is undertaking research leading to the production of a thesis or other publications on the subject of *'Information needs of CALD Groups'* which involves talking to older people from culturally and linguistically diverse communities about the information they need to carry out everyday tasks and where and how they find and use that information.

He would be most grateful if you would volunteer to assist in this project, by taking part in a small group discussion (a focus group of 8 – 10 people) or granting an interview, which covers certain aspects of this topic. No more than 1-1^{1/2} hours on one occasion would be required. An interpreter will attend each focus group and interview to help.

Be assured that any information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence and none of the participants will be individually identifiable in the resulting thesis, report or other publications. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time or to decline to answer particular questions.

Since he intends to make a tape recording of the interview, he will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview, to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis, report or other publications, on condition that your name or identity is not revealed, and to make the recording available to other researchers on the same conditions.

It may be necessary to make the recording available to secretarial assistants for transcription, in which case you may be assured that such persons will be advised of the requirement that your name or identity not be revealed and that the confidentiality of the material is respected and maintained.

Any enquiries you may have concerning this project should be directed to me at the address given above or by telephone on 7721 8415, fax 7721 8424 or e-mail paul.ward@flinders.edu.au

Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely

Paul Ward
Professor
Higher Degrees Coordinator
Department of Public Health

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University and Southern Adelaide Health Service Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee. For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Secretary of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 5962, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email sandy.huxtable@flinders.edu.au.

6. Letters of Introduction

Greek



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Σεπτέμβριος 2008

ΣΥΣΤΑΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

Αγαπητέ Κύριε/Κυρία

Αυτή η επιστολή έχει σκοπό να συστήσει τον κ. Ken Goodall που είναι φοιτητής Έρευνας Ανώτερου Πτυχίου (Higher Degree Research) στο Τμήμα Δημόσιας Υγείας (Department of Public Health) στο Πανεπιστήμιο Φλίντερς (Flinders University). Θα προσκομίσει τη φοιτητική του κάρτα, η οποία φέρει φωτογραφία, ως απόδειξη ταυτότητας.

Διεξάγει έρευνα η οποία οδηγεί στην εκπόνηση επιστημονικής εργασίας ή άλλων δημοσιευμάτων στο θέμα *‘Ανάγκες Πληροφόρησης Πολιτισμικά και Γλωσσικά Διαφοροποιημένων (CALD) Ομάδων’* η οποία περιλαμβάνει συζήτηση με άτομα μεγαλύτερης ηλικίας από πολιτισμικά και γλωσσικά διαφοροποιημένες κοινότητες σχετικά με τις πληροφορίες που χρειάζονται για να εκτελούν καθημερινές εργασίες και πού και πώς βρίσκουν και χρησιμοποιούν αυτές τις πληροφορίες.

Θα ήταν εξαιρετικά ευγνώμων αν προσφερόσατε ως εθελοντής για να βοηθήσετε σε αυτή τη μελέτη, λαμβάνοντας μέρος σε μια συζήτηση μικρής ομάδας (μια ομάδα εστίασης 8 - 10 ατόμων) ή παρέχοντας μια συνέντευξη που καλύπτει ορισμένες απόψεις αυτού του θέματος. Δεν θα απαιτούνται περισσότερες από 1-1^{1/2} ώρες σε μία περίπτωση.

Να είστε βέβαιος/α ότι οποιοσδήποτε πληροφορίες παρασχεθούν θα τύχουν αυστηρότατης εμπιστευτικότητας και κανένας από τους συμμετέχοντες δεν θα είναι ατομικά αναγνωρίσιμος στην επιστημονική εργασία, στην αναφορά ή σε άλλες δημοσιεύσεις που θα προκύψουν. Είστε, φυσικά, απολύτως ελεύθερος/η να διακόψετε τη συμμετοχή σας οποιαδήποτε στιγμή ή να αρνηθείτε να απαντήσετε συγκεκριμένες ερωτήσεις.

Επειδή προτίθεται να μαγνητοσκοπήσει τη συνέντευξη, θα ζητήσει τη συγκατάθεσή σας, στο συνημμένο έντυπο, για μαγνητοσκόπηση της συνέντευξης, για να χρησιμοποιήσει τη μαγνητοσκόπηση ή τη μεταγραφή της στην ετοιμασία της επιστημονικής εργασίας, σε αναφορά ή σε άλλες δημοσιεύσεις, υπό τον όρον ότι το όνομά σας ή η ταυτότητά σας δεν αποκαλύπτεται, και για να κάνει τη μαγνητοσκόπηση διαθέσιμη σε άλλους ερευνητές υπό τους ίδιους όρους.

Μπορεί να είναι αναγκαίο να διαθέσει τη μαγνητοσκόπηση σε βοηθούς γραμματείας για μεταγραφή, στην οποία περίπτωση εσείς μπορείτε να μείνετε βέβαιος/η ότι αυτά τα άτομα θα ενημερωθούν για την προϋπόθεση να μην αποκαλυφθούν το όνομα ή η ταυτότητά σας, και να γίνει σεβαστή και να διατηρηθεί η εμπιστευτικότητά του υλικού.

Οποιοσδήποτε απορίες που μπορεί να έχετε σχετικά με αυτή τη μελέτη θα πρέπει να απευθύνονται σε μένα στη διεύθυνση που έχει δοθεί ανωτέρω ή τηλεφωνικώς στο 7721 8415, φαξ 7721 8424 ή e-mail paul.ward@flinders.edu.au

Σας ευχαριστώ για την προσοχή και τη βοήθειά σας.

Μετά τιμής

Paul Ward
Professor (Καθηγητής)
Higher Degrees Coordinator (Συντονιστής Ανώτερων Πτυχίων)
Department of Public Health (Τμήμα Δημόσιας Υγείας)

Αυτή η ερευνητική μελέτη έχει εγκριθεί από την Επιτροπή Δεοντολογίας Κοινωνικής και Συμπεριφοριστικής Έρευνας του Πανεπιστημίου Φλίντερς και της Υπηρεσίας Υγείας Νοτίου Αδελαΐδας (Flinders University and Southern Adelaide Health Service Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee). Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες σχετικά με δεοντολογική έγκριση της μελέτης, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον/τη Γραμματέα της Επιτροπής τηλεφωνικώς στο 8201 5962, με φαξ στο 8201 2035 ή με ηλεκτρονικό ταχυδρομείο (email) στο sandy.huxtable@flinders.edu.au.

6. Letters of Introduction

Italian



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CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

Settembre 2008

LETTERA DI PRESENTAZIONE

Egregio signore/signora

Con questa lettera le presento il signor Ken Goodall che è uno studente di ricerca per Laurea Superiore nel Dipartimento della Sanità Pubblica dell'Università di Flinders. Le mostrerà la sua tessera di studente con fotografia come prova della sua identità.

Sta intraprendendo una ricerca che porterà allo svolgimento di una tesi o altre pubblicazioni sul soggetto di *'Informazioni necessarie per i Gruppi CALD'* che richiede di parlare con persone anziane che provengono da comunità con cultura e lingua diverse riguardo quali informazioni necessitano per svolgere le proprie faccende quotidiane e dove trovano e come usano queste informazioni.

Il ricercatore le sarà molto grato se può partecipare in questo progetto, facendo parte di un piccolo gruppo di discussione (un gruppo di 8 – 10 persone) oppure partecipando in un'intervista che coprirà certi aspetti di questa materia. Si tratterà di essere disponibile una sola volta per non più di un'ora o un'ora e mezza.

Può rimanere sicuro che qualunque informazione data sarà trattata con la massima riservatezza e nessuno dei partecipanti sarà identificato individualmente nella risultante tesi, rapporto o altre pubblicazioni. Naturalmente, è completamente libero di ritirarsi dalla partecipazione a qualsiasi punto o rifiutarsi di rispondere a particolari domande.

Dato che il ricercatore vuole fare una registrazione dell'intervista, dovrà chiedere il suo consenso sul modulo allegato per registrare l'intervista, per usare la registrazione o una trascrizione per scrivere la tesi, rapporto o altre pubblicazioni, a condizione che il suo nome o identità non saranno rivelati, e di mettere la registrazione a disposizione di altri ricercatori seguendo le stesse condizioni.

Forse sarà necessario dare la registrazione ad una segretaria per la trascrizione, nel qual caso può rimanere sicuro che tale persona verrà informata dei requisiti che il suo nome o identità non possono essere rivelati e che la riservatezza del materiale sarà rispettata e mantenuta.

Ulteriori domande riguardo questo progetto possono essere dirette a me all'indirizzo dato sopra o per telefono al 7221 8415, facsimile 7221 8424 oppure per e-mail paul.ward@flinders.edu.au

Grazie per la sua attenzione ed aiuto.

Distinti saluti

Paul Ward
Professore
Co-ordinatore Lauree Superiori
Dipartimento della Sanità Pubblica

Questo progetto di ricerca è stato approvato dall'Università di Flinders e dal Comitato di Etica per la Ricerca Sociale e di Comportamento del Servizio Sanitario di Sud Adelaide. Per ulteriori informazioni riguardo l'approvazione etica del progetto si può contattare la Segretaria del Comitato per telefono al 8201 5962, per facsimile al 8201 2035 o per e-mail sandy.huxtable@flinders.edu.au

7. Project Information Sheet

English

INFORMATION NEEDS OF OLDER PEOPLE OF GREEK OR ITALIAN ORIGIN PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

This project is about finding out what older people from culturally and linguistically diverse groups, specifically from Greek and Italian communities need to know to carry out their everyday activities, as well whether they have preferred sources and ways of gathering this information.

Findings to date suggest that learning English language plays an important role in migrants accessing information they need and one place they learned was the workplace. Talking to English speaking co-workers and supervisors will help explain this process to me and offer a different perspective on the learning of English by migrant workers.

To take part in this project involves an interview with the researcher to talk about your experiences when you worked with or supervised people who did not speak English. There are no right or wrong responses to the questions asked or what you may say. The researcher will record the discussion on a tape and later analyse the recording as part of his research.

You do not have to agree to take part in this project. If you wish, you can chose not to take part and you are free to withdraw at anytime during the meetings or interview or not answer some questions if you do not wish to do so.

This project is approved by the Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee of Flinders University of South Australia which means we have agreed to carry out the work according to strict rules including confidentiality and protecting your identity.

Results from this project will be presented in a thesis as part of the researcher's course in a way that no individual can be identified. The results may also be published in journals or presented at meetings. All the material collected will remain confidential and will not be given to anyone else without your written permission.

This project offers no immediate benefit to you if you agree to take part. The findings may in the future make it easier for people to find out about services or other issues by suggesting better ways of presenting information that is easier to understand by more people.

If you would like to know more about this project you can contact either the researcher Ken Goodall by telephone on 8168 8705 or 0418 836 570 or his Supervisor Professor Paul Ward on 7721 8415.

Thank you for your interest.

7. Project Information Sheet

Greek

ΑΝΑΓΚΕΣ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΗΣΗΣ ΑΤΟΜΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΥΤΕΡΗΣ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ Ή ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΕΛΕΥΣΗ ΦΥΛΛΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ

Αυτή η μελέτη αποσκοπεί να διαπιστώσει τι χρειάζεται να γνωρίζουν άτομα μεγαλύτερης ηλικίας από πολιτισμικά και γλωσσικά διαφοροποιημένες ομάδες, συγκεκριμένα από την ελληνική και ιταλική παροικία, για να εκτελούν τις καθημερινές τους δραστηριότητες, καθώς επίσης κατά πόσον έχουν πόρους και τρόπους που προτιμούν για συγκέντρωση αυτών των πληροφοριών.

Για να λάβετε μέρος σε αυτή τη μελέτη θα συμμετάσχετε σε μια μικρή συνάντηση περίπου 8 ατόμων που μοιράζονται παρόμοια ενδιαφέροντα για να μιλήσετε για το πώς μαθαίνετε σχετικά με πράγματα ή γεγονότα που χρειάζεται να γνωρίζετε για την καθημερινή σας ζωή. Αυτό μπορεί να περιλαμβάνει να γνωρίζετε τι κάνουν η οικογένεια ή οι γείτονές σας, να εξακριβώνετε πίνακες δρομολογίων τρένων ή λεωφορείων ή να μαθαίνετε για υπηρεσίες όπως ένα γιατρό ή μια τράπεζα.

Αν θα προτιμούσατε, μπορείτε να μιλήσετε στον ερευνητή ατομικά αντί σε ομάδα. Δεν υπάρχουν σωστές ή λάθος απαντήσεις στις ερωτήσεις που ρωτούνται ή σε ό,τι μπορεί να πείτε. Ο ερευνητής θα μαγνητοσκοπήσει τη συζήτηση σε μαγνητοταινία και αργότερα θα αναλύσει την μαγνητοσκόπηση ως μέρος της έρευνάς του.

Δεν είστε υποχρεωμένος/η να συμφωνήσετε να λάβετε μέρος σε αυτή τη μελέτη. Αν επιθυμείτε, μπορείτε να επιλέξετε να μη λάβετε μέρος και είστε ελεύθερος/η να αποσυρθείτε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή κατά τη διάρκεια των συναντήσεων ή της συνέντευξης ή να μην απαντήσετε ορισμένες ερωτήσεις αν δεν επιθυμείτε να το κάνετε.

Αυτή η μελέτη είναι εγκεκριμένη από την Επιτροπή Δεοντολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Φλίντερς και της Υπηρεσίας Υγείας Νοτίου Αδελαΐδας (Flinders University and Southern Adelaide Health Service Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee) που σημαίνει ότι έχουμε συμφωνήσει να εκτελέσουμε την εργασία σύμφωνα με αυστηρούς κανόνες συμπεριλαμβανομένων εχεμύθειας και προστασίας της ταυτότητάς σας.

Τα αποτελέσματα από αυτή τη μελέτη θα παρουσιαστούν σε επιστημονική εργασία ως μέρος των σπουδών του ερευνητή και ως αναφορά προς κυβερνητικό τμήμα με τρόπο που να μην μπορεί να αναγνωριστεί κανένα άτομο. Τα αποτελέσματα μπορεί επίσης να δημοσιευθούν σε περιοδικά ή να παρουσιαστούν σε συνεδριάσεις. Όλο το υλικό που συλλέγεται θα παραμείνει εμπιστευτικό και δεν θα δοθεί σε κανέναν άλλο χωρίς τη γραπτή σας συγκατάθεση.

Αυτή η μελέτη δεν προσφέρει κανένα άμεσο όφελος σε σας αν συμφωνήσετε να λάβετε μέρος. Τα πορίσματα μπορεί στο μέλλον να διευκολύνουν τα άτομα να μαθαίνουν για υπηρεσίες ή άλλα θέματα με την εισήγηση καλύτερων τρόπων παρουσίασης πληροφοριών οι οποίες θα είναι ευκολότερο να κατανοούνται από τα περισσότερα άτομα.

Αν θα θέλατε να μάθετε περισσότερα γι' αυτή τη μελέτη, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε είτε με τον ερευνητή Ken Goodall τηλεφωνικώς στο 8278 8879 ή 0418 836 570 ή τον Επόπτη του Καθηγητή (Professor) Paul Ward στο 7721 8415.

Σας ευχαριστώ για το ενδιαφέρον σας.

7. Project Information Sheet

Italian

INFORMAZIONI NECESSARIE PER LE PERSONE ANZIANE DI ORIGINE GRECA O ITALIANA FOGLIO D'INFORMAZIONI PER I PARTECIPANTI

Questo progetto ha lo scopo di identificare cosa devono sapere le persone anziane che provengono da gruppi di cultura e lingua diversi, specificamente dalla comunità greca e italiana, per poter svolgere le loro attività quotidiane, come pure per vedere se hanno fonti o metodi preferiti per ottenere queste informazioni.

Per partecipare in questo progetto si unirà con un piccolo gruppo di circa 8 persone i cui interessi sono simili ai suoi, per discutere su come riesce a sapere di cose o avvenimenti che deve sapere per condurre la sua vita quotidiana. Questo può includere sapere cosa fa la sua famiglia o i suoi vicini, verificare gli orari del treno o autobus oppure informarsi sui servizi che presta un dottore o una banca.

Se preferisce può parlare con il ricercatore personalmente invece che in gruppo. Non ci sono né giuste né sbagliate risposte alle domande che saranno fatte o su quello che vuole dire. Il ricercatore registrerà la conversazione su nastro e più tardi analizzerà la registrazione come parte della sua ricerca. Un interprete sarà presente ad ogni incontro di gruppo o colloquio personale.

Non deve sentirsi obbligato di partecipare in questo progetto. Se desidera può scegliere di non partecipare ed è libero di ritirarsi a qualsiasi punto durante le riunioni o l'intervista o di non rispondere ad alcune domande se non desidera farlo.

Questo progetto è approvato dall'Università di Flinders e dal Comitato di Etica del Servizio Sanitario di Sud Adelaide, ciò significa che abbiamo accettato di svolgere la ricerca secondo rigide regole che includono la riservatezza e protezione della sua identità.

I risultati di questo progetto saranno presentati in una tesi come parte del corso di studio del ricercatore e come un rapporto ad un dipartimento del governo in un modo che nessun individuo potrà essere identificato. I risultati potrebbero pure essere pubblicati in giornali o presentati in riunioni. Tutto il materiale raccolto rimarrà riservato e non sarà dato a nessun altro senza il suo permesso scritto.

Questo progetto non le offrirà nessun immediato beneficio se decide di partecipare. Le conclusioni forse potranno nel futuro rendere più facile alle persone di ottenere informazioni su servizi o altre questioni suggerendo migliori modi di presentare le informazioni per poter essere capite più facilmente da più persone.

Se desidera sapere di più riguardo questo progetto può contattare sia il ricercatore Ken Goodall per telefono al 8278 8879 o 0418 836 570 oppure il suo relatore Professore Paul Ward al 77218415.

Grazie per il suo interesse.

8. Participant Consent Form

English

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH (by interview and focus group)

I
being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the Letter of Introduction for the research project on Information needs of CALD groups.

1. I have read the information provided.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to audio recording of my information and participation.
4. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Letter of Introduction and Consent Form for future reference.
5. I understand that:
 - I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
 - I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and am free to decline to answer particular questions.
 - While the information gained in this study will be published as explained, I will not be identified, and individual information will remain confidential.
 - I may ask that the recording/observation be stopped at any time, and that I may withdraw at any time from the session or the research without disadvantage.
6. I agree/do not agree* to the tape/transcript* being made available to other researchers who are not members of this research team, but who are judged by the research team to be doing related research, on condition that my identity is not revealed. * delete as appropriate
7. I have had the opportunity to discuss taking part in this research with a family member or friend.

Participant's signature.....Date.....

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name: Ken Goodall

Researcher's signature.....Date.....

8. Participant Consent Form

Greek

ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΣΕ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ

(με συνέντευξη και ομάδα εστίασης)

Εγώ ο/η

ηλικίας πάνω από 18 ετών δια του παρόντος συγκατατίθεμαι να συμμετάσχω όπως ζητείται στη Συστατική Επιστολή για την ερευνητική μελέτη σχετικά με τις ανάγκες Πληροφόρησης Πολιτισμικά και Γλωσσικά Διαφοροποιημένων (CALD) ομάδων.

1. Έχω διαβάσει τις παρεχόμενες πληροφορίες.
2. Οι λεπτομέρειες διαδικασιών και οι οποιοδήποτε κίνδυνοι μου έχουν εξηγηθεί προς ικανοποίησή μου.
3. Συμφωνώ για ακουστική μαγνητοσκόπηση των πληροφοριών και της συμμετοχής μου.
4. Έχω υπόψη μου ότι θα πρέπει να διατηρήσω αντίγραφο της Συστατικής Επιστολής και του Εντύπου Συγκατάθεσης για μελλοντική αναφορά.
5. Καταλαβαίνω ότι:
 - Δεν μπορώ άμεσα να ωφεληθώ από τη συμμετοχή μου σε αυτή την έρευνα.
 - Είμαι ελεύθερος/η να αποσυρθώ από τη μελέτη οποιαδήποτε στιγμή και είμαι ελεύθερος/η να αρνηθώ να απαντήσω συγκεκριμένες ερωτήσεις.
 - Αν και οι πληροφορίες που εξασφαλίζονται σε αυτή τη μελέτη θα δημοσιευθούν όπως εξηγείται, εγώ δεν θα αναγνωριστώ, και οι ατομικές πληροφορίες θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικές.
 - Το κατά πόσον θα συμμετάσχω ή όχι, ή αν αποσυρθώ μετά από συμμετοχή, δεν θα επηρεάσει καθόλου οποιαδήποτε θεραπευτική αγωγή ή υπηρεσία που μου παρέχεται.
 - Μπορώ να ζητήσω να σταματήσει η μαγνητοσκόπηση/παρατήρηση οποιαδήποτε στιγμή, και ότι μπορώ να αποσυρθώ οποιαδήποτε στιγμή από τη συνάντηση ή την έρευνα χωρίς να βρεθώ σε μειονεκτική θέση.
6. Συμφωνώ/Δεν συμφωνώ* να διατίθεται η μαγνητοταινία/τα πρακτικά* σε άλλους ερευνητές που δεν είναι μέλη αυτής της ερευνητικής ομάδας, αλλά οι οποίοι κρίνονται από την ερευνητική ομάδα ότι κάνουν συναφή έρευνα, υπό τον όρον ότι δεν αποκαλύπτεται η ταυτότητά μου. * διαγράφεται ως απαιτείται
7. Είχα την ευκαιρία να συζητήσω τη συμμετοχή σε αυτή την έρευνα με μέλος της οικογένειας ή φίλο.

Υπογραφή Συμμετέχοντος.....Ημερομηνία.....

Βεβαιώνω ότι έχω εξηγήσει τη μελέτη στον/στην εθελοντή και θεωρώ ότι κατανοεί τι περιλαμβάνει και ότι συγκατατίθεται ελεύθερα σε συμμετοχή του/της.

Όνομα ερευνητή: Ken Goodall

Υπογραφή ερευνητήΗμερομηνία.....

8. Participant Consent Form

Italian

MODULO DI CONSENSO PER PARTECIPARE ALLA RICERCA

(per intervista e gruppo di discussione)

Io

essendo maggiore di 18 anni d'età do il mio consenso per partecipare come richiesto nella lettera di presentazione per il progetto di ricerca su Informazioni necessarie per i Gruppi CALD.

1. Ho letto le informazioni che mi sono state date.
2. Particolari delle procedure e qualunque rischio mi sono stati spiegati in modo soddisfacente.
3. Sono d'accordo per l'audio registrazione delle mie informazioni e partecipazione.
4. Sono consapevole che devo conservare una copia della Lettera di Presentazione e del Modulo di Consenso per un futuro riferimento.
5. Capisco che:
 - Forse non riceverò un beneficio diretto dalla partecipazione in questa ricerca.
 - Sono libero di ritirarmi dal progetto a qualunque punto e sono libero di rifiutare di rispondere a particolari domande.
 - Sebbene le informazioni ottenute in questo studio saranno pubblicate come spiegato, io non verrò identificato e le informazioni personali rimarranno riservate.
 - Che io partecipi o no, o se mi ritiro dopo aver partecipato, non avrà alcun effetto su qualunque trattamento o servizio che io ricevo.
 - Posso chiedere che la registrazione/osservazione sia terminata a qualsiasi punto e che posso ritirarmi in qualsiasi momento dalla sessione e la ricerca senza svantaggio.
6. Sono d'accordo/non sono d'accordo* che il nastro/trascrizione* sia messo a disposizione di altri ricercatori che non fanno parte di questo gruppo di ricerca, ma che sono considerati dal gruppo di ricerca di svolgere una ricerca connessa, a condizione che la mia identità non venga rivelata.
**cancellare come necessario*
7. Ho avuto l'opportunità di discutere la mia partecipazione in questa ricerca con un membro della mia famiglia o un amico.

Firma del partecipante.....Data.....

Certifico che ho spiegato questo studio di ricerca al volontario e considero che lei/lui ha capito cosa comporta e acconsente liberamente alla partecipazione.

Nome del ricercatore: Ken Goodall

Firma del ricercatore.....Data.....

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