

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Societal ageing is a current issue that is being dramatized, often wrongfully, in the daily press and other media. The retirement of the so-called 'Baby Boomers' (those born between 1946 and 1965) is seen as an impending economic disaster that is given considerable, if intermittent, notice in the media. Stereotyping is rife, insidious and often startling and does not present in-depth data even when it is available.

The columnist Lee (2005:5) categorizes the next wave of retirees as people who 'want it all', also suggesting that there will be a great deal of petulance expressed when this segment of the population retires. Such stereotyping reduces retired people to the status of children incapable of adjusting to new social situations. The expression 'want it all' is characteristic of tabloid thought which has spawned a variety of terms such as 'baby boomers', 'generation X', and 'generation Y'.

The ageing issue has also exercised the attention of both Federal and State governments of Australia. Reports produced at the behest of these different government bodies tend to approach the issue of ageing populations in a more balanced fashion than the emphasis on negative stereotypes and outcomes espoused by the media.

Johnson (1998:11), in discussing the problematisation of population ageing, explains:

We know why our societies are ageing – a general and long-run decline in fertility rates, combined with more gradual increase in life expectancy at higher ages. These trends have been common to most industrial nations for the past 100 years, and have spread to almost all countries in the last third

of the 20th century. Both these trends are, of course, to be welcomed. Lower fertility means less population pressure on food supply and other resources; lower mortality means longer life.

He goes on:

If there are no new bio-medical challenges created by the demographic process of population ageing, and if the underlying fertility and mortality processes are to be welcomed, how come ageing has been problematised—transformed into something to worry about, even into a ‘crisis’?

Other writers such as Encel (2002), likewise, do not agree with the picture portrayed by the media. Encel is highly critical of extremist language appearing in the discussion of government reports, such as ‘crisis’, ‘burden’ and the labelling such as ‘revolutionary class’, because these emotive words simply make assumptions that create anxiety but overlooks the complexity of the issue. When discussing reports issued by the Federal Government between the years of 1999 and 2001 e.g. in ‘The Intergenerational Report’, Encel outlines their seven priorities for ensuring fiscal sustainability. These are the Federal debt, efficiency of health service, contained pharmaceutical benefits, affordable residential care for the aged, encouragement of working age people to find jobs, encouragement of mature participation in workforce, and the encouragement of private saving for retirement.

Encel is also more optimistic branding the economic dread about mature people as examples of “Voodoo Demographics”. He says:

The threat comes not from an ageing population, but from refusal by governments to admit that we can well afford the modest increase in taxation which will banish the phantoms created by voodoo demographics. (Encel 2002:6)

In doing so he shifts the focus of attention to a line of action designed to dispel these economic fears.

Despite these more pragmatic findings, based on considered analytic study rather than speculation, there is strong tendency in the literature to stereotype, even when this is not the intention of the

writer. Material from the Australian Governments (both Federal and State) displays a preoccupation with aged “care”, respite support for carers, the prevention of elder abuse, and continence awareness. Except for the latter of this group, the objects of concern are really the carers and significant-others. Care of the personally incompetent is a social issue not necessarily associated with ageing. Focus on these issues contrives to maintain a feeble and helpless stereotype of ageing. This is not to mean that the need for carers is unimportant, just that it should not be automatically associated with ageing. The provision of care is an administrative/social function as well as an issue for academic attention.

The government literature expresses abstract concepts, and in the use of broad categories such as ‘ageing’, does not cope well with the complexity of this group. Even in the Productivity Commission’s report the latter part of lifespan is said to be heterogeneous, therefore, unlikely to be easily described in few words.

As well as the sensationalist stereotyping such as that created by Lee (2005), other unexamined beliefs, reflected in the popular media on the topic of ageing, are no less disturbing. It is assumed, for instance, that people at the end of the lifespan will be quite passive and incapable of looking after their own affairs. Already, there is a developing boom in commercial enterprises purporting concern for post retirement financial management. A recent Internet search produced 5,200,000 websites associated with superannuation. It seems that every bank or credit union advertises its capacity to help retirees manage their money. The blooming of these would-be helpers must be the result of perceived concern about retirement. Such interest would indicate that even among the ‘want it all’ generation there must be many who are capable of postponing gratification and who are capable of planning for the future. There is also an assumption that with lower birth rate there will be a greater load on the younger working population.

The journalist Gittins (2005), in discussing the present hysteria, states in 'The Sydney Morning Herald':

A related politician-spread misconception is that ageing will mainly affect the budget. Rubbish. The reason you and I should be taking ageing more seriously is that its main effect will be on the jobs market and the world of work. (Gittins 2005b)

This article has moved away from obsessive concern with an abstract "economy" and taken a step towards concern about the more manageable idea of employment. It ignores significant findings of the Productivity Commission that convened a conference as reflected by Johnson's (1998:16) comment:

Overall, I think there is little reason to believe that ageing will inevitably reduce the savings rate, or lower labour productivity, or significantly limit the size of the labour force. All these effects are possible, but there is sufficient uncertainty about long run outcomes to caution against taking these outcomes as problems against which policy response should be launched.

Despite what is written there are visual descriptions of old age that are habitually used in the media. The Gittins article is printed on a backdrop of repeated images of an old, balding and presumably arthritic man (with a walking stick). In a recent six-page inclusion in the 'Weekend Australian' newspaper (2006), mature people are depicted as inevitably infirm - walking on Zimmer frames and physically supported by somebody else. Otherwise they are depicted in some 'hedonistic' activity (not that this is necessarily bad) – dining, playing croquet or bowls in smiling company. This has been labelled "A Special Advertising Report". It is an example of Parmentier's (1994) semiotic regimentation. This means the selective presentation of images that leads to a conclusion wanted by the presenters of such images. In this instance the messages were:

When you get older you will need someone to look after you and support you physically. But there is a way out, where you will be always happy and smiling – at our institution.

There is no appraisal of how many post-retirement people will need, or desire this highly attentive supportive kind of care or how many could afford it. The free use of these images serves to reinforce ageist stereotypes. These persistent distortions indicate a hiatus between academic understanding of the ongoing phenomena and the journalistic fashion of 'awfulization'. The degree of variability in the post retirement population which contains a wealth of knowledge and skill is ignored. Statistical statements that would set the degree of critical dependency in perspective and obviate less hysterical approaches to the topic are not readily accessible in the public domain. In most cases they would they not necessarily be in a form that would make them understandable to the general public.

THE ACADEMIC AND FEDERAL/STATE GOVERNMENTS POSITION

Kendig et al (2000) suggest positive steps in the issues of older people's health. Basically they see the need for considerably more study of these people. They do have the merit of suggesting one of the blockages is in knowledge utilization. Their analysis states that:

Information is not useful unless it is available to inform someone who can act usefully on it. This requires the presentation of knowledge in forms which are appropriate and accessible to a variety of quite different audiences. Dissemination is part of the knowledge circle which in our view is one of the most serious areas of current deficiency and needs to be addressed urgently to deal with the following concerns.

New knowledge is seriously delayed in its application because quality research is disseminated years after the data collection and analysis primary through peer reviewed journals.

Knowledge is disseminated primarily to audiences of other scholars with less synthesis and translation of findings to non-specialists. Healthy ageing needs to be part of a massive trend towards improved knowledge dissemination, e.g., to support evidence-based practising medicine. (2000:33)

Government departments have Websites that make information available to the public but there is great difficulty in finding out how any information derived from studies is actually used. How the political system processes and prepares policy deriving from studies, and who prepares these policies, is rarely noted and there appears to be a patent lack transparency about whose vested interest is being served by such policies. Hard data about the impact of such policies on the lives of older people or their status in society is scarce.

Neither media articles, (Lee 2005; Gittins 2005), nor government convened studies, (Banks 1998), have a great deal to say about the actual performance of aged persons described in any detail and from the voice of older persons. The former present tabloid thinking and the latter takes refuge in abstract issues derived from statistics – both focus on particular sub-groups which present as a perceived ‘potential problem’. Few look at the positive qualities an ageing population may present, nor the possible economic effect the inculcation of positive roles may have.

For example, the Australian Government's Department of Health and Ageing priorities are reflected in a monthly bulletin on activities carried out in the previous month. From February 2006 to September 2006, 69 items were posted of which 57 were concerned with aged care, four were concerned environment, and one concerned with positive focus on ageing research. The major concerns were the costs featuring how much the government had subscribed to each particular item and shows the preoccupation with the caring process for the infirm elderly. Even the research mentioned seems to be involved with such things as dementia in the population. The New South Wales government media releases are slightly more hopeful insofar as the government has begun local workshops to gain opinions from communities. The outcome so far is more of a list of problems that people want fixed rather than visions of later life and its creative potentials.

In summary, late life is mostly regarded by governments as a period where people will demand care. Very little concern is shown for developing roles in the community which would assist citizens to stay in contact with and contribute to communal life. Most of the interest focuses on the negative aspects of ageing that is not a helpful attitude when it comes to policy formulation.

Banks (1998:3) said:

Elderly Australians embody a wealth of knowledge, experience and understanding which is valuable in economic as well as human terms. Their contribution to the well-being of the nation has the potential to expand if underpinned by appropriate policies. In this sense it is important to consider not only the costs but also the benefits of population ageing and how they can be better harnessed.

It is difficult to find, in the politically oriented literature of governmental agencies recognition of such strengths of older groups. Although there is considerable interest in the ageing population, there is little in-depth study of older people and how they adjust to their environments. In particular how do they, in practice, cope with a retirement that in some cases span 30 years?

AIM OF STUDY

The aim of this study is to provide a dialogue that can be used in expanding community awareness of the potentialities of knowledge and the skill in using such knowledge existing in retired people and the impediments in their use. It will be an ecological study implying examination of the interaction between people and the environment. The given environment consists of numerous settings that are part of the ecology of people living in them. In this case the city of Coffs Harbour is the overall environment for participants in the study.

Chapter 2 consists of an examination of local municipal literature describing Coffs Harbour and district, and academic literature that it is deemed to be relevant. The latter is presented using the terminology of Walters (2000), who examines the contributions from physical science and mathematics, biological science, social sciences – sociology, psychology, philosophy – epistemology and ontology. Chapter 3 outlines the methods of using photographs. Chapter 4 describes a quantitative approach to the photographs produced by participants in the search for recurrent themes. This is used to set up a framework for the qualitative study. Chapter 5 presents an analysis of how participants give meaning to photographs via a case study approach of two informants. Chapter 6 describes a model for the migration process. It is seen to begin as a fantasy which is brought to reality by acting upon the freedom afforded by retirement. The final process of the model is the construction of a lifestyle by an exchange between the environment and the migrant. The findings are discussed and recommendations are suggested in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

Coffs Harbour is situated on the mid north coast of New South Wales. It encompasses the geographical region, including Local Government Areas (LGAs), from the greater Taree in the South to Coffs Harbour in the North. Between these two LGAs are those of Bellingen, Nambucca, Kempsey, and Hastings, all somewhat smaller than Coffs Harbour, and Port Macquarie which is about the same size as Coffs Harbour. Coffs Harbour is approximately midway between Sydney and Brisbane. In the past this made it necessary for residents, needing advanced services, such as in medicine, or special commodities, to travel to other centres where such services may be located. For example, for things such as auto parts, citizens or their agents had to travel either to the main urban centres or to experience periods of delay while the part was transported to Coffs. From the 1966 census to the 2001 census the resident population has grown from 14,625 to 61,770, according to Coffs Harbour City Population Profile (CHCPP). (2004:321).

The early settlers, mainly timber-getters, fishermen and farmers, arrived in the 19th-century. They were quite self-sufficient and could live on their selected properties growing their own food. They relied on the timber trade for cash income. This led to the development of sawmills, transport systems for moving timber, and other infrastructure to ensure the efficient functioning of these industries and services. Most of the early industries have all but vanished as the natural resources they depended upon have been depleted. They were replaced by the farming of bananas, exotic fruits, and berries. In

the hinterland there are still banana plantations and dairy farms. Banana growing has slowly moved to northern Queensland, where plantations can be on level ground, so it is easier to harvest the fruit. Because of the marketing strategies of supermarket chains, the local dairying industry has declined over the last twenty years. Until well into the 20th century the easiest access to Coffs Harbour was by sea. Only post-World War II were highways improved to take heavy automotive traffic. Since the late 1960s, there has been an accelerated growth in the population. The CHCPP (2004:i) reports:

...significant growth (53%) in the age-group 45–60 years (known as the ‘baby boomer’ generation), over the last 10 years.) The influx of this age bracket from the metropolitan and other rural areas of the State to coastal areas such as Coffs Harbour LGA is occurring as these people search for a better lifestyle, part-time work and/or self employment.

It also states:

...a decline of people aged 25 to 39 years over the last 10 years. This appears to be generally through the need to seek out job opportunities elsewhere. Trends indicate these people are returning to Coffs Harbour LGA in their early 40s to raise their children.

In addition to being a retirement destination, Coffs Harbour is also a growing educational centre and is seen as a desirable conference centre because of its climate and scenery.

There are many clubs and activities that include service club attendance, horticulture, intellectual pursuits (at Southern Cross University for example, Technical and Further Education or University of the third Age) conservation work, woodwork, art, music, and drama. A good deal of local emphasis is placed on sporting activities, in particular golf, bowls, rugby football, and horse racing.

Politically, Coffs Harbour has been a safe Conservative seat held by the National Party whose interests initially were those of ‘the man on the land’. The demographics, however, have changed slowly as a result of migration from the major centres of Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney and

Newcastle. This may be sufficient to bring about swings in representation. Social and political development is quickening. At the moment there is a good deal of tension around the provision of highway bypasses and alienation of land around Coffs Harbour. This involves both the Local government and Commonwealth government. The result is that there is a good deal of political activity that requires thinking beyond the needs of 'the man on the land'. The CHCPP (2004:ii) reports:

In 2001, the unemployment rate for Coffs Harbour was estimated to be 13.1% of the labour force (over 15 years of age), which is a decrease from 16.8% since 1996. Coffs Harbour LGA has a comparable rate of unemployment to that of the mid North Coast; however the LGA has a much higher rate than estimated for New South Wales (7.2%).

This means that the older migrants in the current study will often be more affluent than a large section of the general population. They will own their own homes outright, will often have good superannuation, and are relatively free from debt. Concern for their own financial wellbeing is illustrated by the existence of groups such as the 'Self-Funded Retiree Association', which seeks to assist its members in preserving their assets. By their demands for cultural stimulation and recreational opportunities, the older group of migrants is bringing about a change from the one time rural nature of Coffs Harbour to that of urban centre. The service activities and financial capacity of older people increasingly receives much more attention in the local press than it does in national media. There continues to be a gap in the general understanding of people well advanced in their life course.

THE LIFE COURSE LITERATURE

Life course literature naturally covers many fields and requires some provisional map of the territory to begin with. The works of Arber and Evandrou, Veal, and Walters have been used to create a rough map. Arber and Evandrou (1993:9) place emphasis on a life course approach. They argue:

The life course approach provides a framework for analysing the various influences which contribute to the life experiences of different groups of individuals at particular stages of their lives. It emphasizes the inter linkage between phases of the life course, rather than seeing each phase in isolation.

For them, ageing is a social construct. They reject the ageist view in social policy that sees ageing people as a distinct group from the rest of humanity to be treated in terms of their deficits.

The medicalisation of ageing is exemplified by the medical profession's concern to return elderly people to 'normal physical functioning', with the ideal of a younger able-bodied person. The establishment of the specialty of 'geriatric medicine exemplifies how older people are seen as patients with age per se seen as pathological rather than ageing being a normal process. (p.11)

According to their findings, social mores and policy should develop conditions in which older people can exercise independence. Four specific areas are outlined:

1. Financial resources
2. Housing and home
3. Physical health (functional)
4. Social, emotional and sexual independence (Arber & Evandrou 1993:20).

Older people should not be considered as the victims of tragedy when they are unable to conform to youthful physical or cognitive standards. Alternatively, they suggest that:

The aim should be to maximize independence and social participation. In order to achieve such objectives, it is necessary to change attitudes within society towards mature people, and to reform the structures and institutions which reward people in terms of participation in an unequal labour market and which segregate mature and disabled people from the rest of society. (Arber and Evandrou 1993:11)

This view, unfortunately containing the seeds of confusion, is similar to that in choosing words to avoid negative aspects of words, such as 'old', 'ageing', 'elderly', or 'senior citizen', as a category is created. Categories have a polarizing effect which leads to loss of information. By using the term 'life course' some of the polarizing effects can be minimized. A child of eighteen months, a woman of thirty-five or a man of fifty-seven have life-courses in which they have behaved dynamically. It is the nature of this dynamism that is important, not numerical age or the age category of persons.

Lifestyle, as used by Veal (1991), has a somewhat different meaning to 'life course'. According to Veal, lifestyles have usually been studied in the context of marketing. Lifestyle is concerned with activities which are patterns composed of various elements of behaviour. Differing facets of lifestyle include place and style of residence, financial security, the availability of occupational and recreational activities, social and family life, and adequate nutrition as afforded by services such as shops and supermarkets. Lifestyle is the way daily life is constructed with the affordances of a particular environment. Lifestyles can change frequently as a result of changes in the environment, such as changes in fashion. The description of a lifestyle is a qualitative statement about some aspect of the 'life course'.

Walters (2000) gives a somewhat different, but comprehensive, view of 'life course' which includes various substantial phases experienced by people over the extent of their life. Walters is mainly concerned with dysfunctional lifestyles. Nevertheless the areas of scientific and philosophical experience that he recommends are useful, as this form of construal moves from pathological applications. These areas are: non-linear dynamical systems theory, behavioural genetics, evolutionary biology, cultural anthropology, social control, symbolic interactionism, cognitive constructionalism, learning theory, object relations theory, existentialism, and Allport's psychology of the individual and organismic approaches. Of these, in this thesis, non-linear dynamical systems theory, cognitive constructionalism, and learning theory are considered by Walters to be the most useful.

The branches of knowledge included in his model are seen to be formed from the physical sciences, from biology, through sociology and psychology, to the consideration of meaning that engages philosophy. For convenience Walters labels these fields, 'physicos', 'bios', 'socios', and 'logos'. They are fuzzy sets that overlap. They do, however, provide some structure for the literature review.

PHYSICOS BORROWINGS FROM PHYSICAL SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS

Mathematical dynamics has developed significantly in the last 20 years, and was greatly assisted by the advent of the computer, largely because of its capacity to carry out recursive processes quickly. Recursion occurs when a process is completed, with the result fed back and a new outcome computed. This process can be repeated as many times as desired. As a result, unexpected effects emerge. Aware of the possibilities, a number of the mathematical authors, Abrahams and Shaw

(1985) and Zeeman (1980), have made cases for the utility of mathematics (besides statistics) in the social sciences.

CATASTROPHE THEORY

Catastrophe theory deals with the behaviour in dynamic fields with varying number of parameters. This is done abstractly by the consideration of mathematical functions. Zeeman (1980) has investigated the characteristics of the two-parameter function and has presented his findings for non-mathematicians. Where there are two parameters controlling a system there are five characteristics of the system. These are now discussed.

Zeeman (1980) and Thom (1975) have developed catastrophe theory to explain evolutionary behaviour in systems polarized by conflicting pressures that cause them to suddenly split asunder. Catastrophe theory derives its name from the French verb '*catastropher*' meaning to split asunder. Thom developed a theory of the succession of form and the evolution of form in biological and other systems. He argued the need for qualitative science to ensure an acceptable view of phenomena (Thom 1975:6), "What matters most for everyday use are almost always a qualitative result and not the precise value of some real number?" The *catastrophe* set is an important concept in his work. Thom (1975:7) defines catastrophe set as follows:

The space of observables M contains a closed subset, K , called the catastrophe set, and as long as the representative point m of the system does not meet K , the local nature of the system does not change. The essential idea introduced here is that the local structure of K , the topological type of its singularities and so forth is in fact determined by an underlying dynamic defined on the manifold M which in general it is impossible to exhibit. The evolution of the system will be defined by a vector field X on M , which will define the microscopic dynamic. Whenever the point m meets K , there will

be a discontinuity in the nature of the system which we will interpret as a change in the previous form, a morphogenesis.

The concept of catastrophe set is useful in considering the life course. Many catastrophe sets begin to develop from birth and, unless managed, will control the life course. The fact that catastrophe sets are closed makes their modification difficult, in some cases impossible.

Both Thom and Zeeman discuss the five common catastrophe situations derived from mathematical functions which range from quite simple to very complex. Of these, the bipolar catastrophe is of immediate interest as one can see it in the numerous human situations. It occurs when there are two control parameters in a system. Zeeman states, from mathematical study, that the bipolar catastrophe situation has five characteristics, mathematically derived, that are of importance to social science. He asserts (1980:18):

In fact the cusp-catastrophe (bipolar) shows that the five qualitative features of bimodality, inaccessibility, sudden jumps, hysteresis, and divergences are all interrelated. And the deep classification theorem of catastrophe theory permits us to enunciate the general principle that whenever we observe one of these five qualities in nature, then we should look for the other four, and if we find them we should check whether or not the process can be modelled by the cusp catastrophe.

The case of two people arguing suggests that a bi-polarity situation exists between them. This can be checked by looking for the other characteristics of a bipolar catastrophe. There may be large jumps in behaviour from civilized discussion to physical aggression, or flight. In such an argument people often go over and over the same points, becoming more exhausted as they do so. This is the 'hysteresis cycle'. It is interesting to note that when those arguing separate, each protagonist can often suddenly remember things they could have or should have said. That is, part of their repertoire of ideas had become inaccessible as the strength of polarity escalated, and returned to accessibility

when the bipolarity lessened in strength. Sometimes a quite small input of words, which in other circumstances would be trivial, can trigger more extreme behaviour. This is divergence.

The bipolar catastrophe can be found in many human activities, such as marital behaviour, sporting situations, or even academic processes. It goes on in the academic processes when categorization is attempted—categorization polarizes a situation and causes the loss of information, making understanding difficult. Thus, when we talk about the ‘elderly,’ for example, we have created a polarity (elderly vs. not elderly) which calls into effect those other aspects of the bipolar catastrophe situation. Information can be suppressed or lost, or not taken into account. This is especially important when considering the latter part of the life course where there is increasing heterogeneity, which gives more opportunity for polarization, with the unsuspected loss of information.

DYNAMICS

Dynamics is the study of physical motion. Some of its concepts have been taken over by the social sciences, particularly psychology. In psychology many things that purport to be dynamic are in fact not. The work of Abrahams and Shaw (1985) is important because it sets out methods of describing dynamic systems which if adopted could produce truly dynamic science.

Abrahams and Shaw (1985) set out their own view of dynamics in four volumes, which includes: periodic behaviour, chaotic behaviour, global behaviour, and bifurcation behaviour. In these books, usual mathematical symbols are replaced by diagrams and result in what they called ‘visimaths’. For dynamic dialogue ‘state’ space must be defined i.e. where the action is taking place. The environment of the system must be described. ‘Phase space’ is defined as the mathematical picture of the state

space by the vectors in the field included. The features that make up the phase portrait are attractor sets, repeller sets, and separatrices. The latter can divide the other two types of sets. Abrahams and Shaw criticized catastrophe theory because they said it attempts to hold the attractor and repeller sets in a static fashion, which is usually not the case in the real world where they can vary. In discussing chaos theory, they define chaotic attractors as those that function unpredictably. In group behaviour, the presence or absence of particular attractors or repellers (persons) can radically change the dynamic picture. For example, groups of people behave differently depending on the inclusion of particular individuals.

DISSIPATIVE STRUCTURES AND BIFURCATION

Bifurcations are points of stress in a system about which change takes place. They occur when the system runs out to the limit of one or more of its parameters. Dissipating structures are those structures in systems that automatically develop as it moves towards entropy. They dissipate entropy. This is now explained.

Like Abrahams and Shaw (1985), Prigogine and Stengers (1984), and Nicolis and Prigogine (1989) have explored the concepts of bifurcation and dissipative structures which are both important to the understanding of ageing. Prigogine and Stengers (1984:169) write of the history of a system in terms of bifurcation and determinism. They state that:

The "historical" path along which the system evolves as the control parameters grow is characterized by a succession of stable regions, where deterministic laws dominate, and instable ones, near the bifurcation points, when a system can "choose" between or among more than one possible future.

Retirement is the result of a socially dictated bifurcation, and often prompts a cascade of bifurcation behaviour that leads to a new form of social environment of the participants. 'Cascade', in this context, means that each bifurcation becomes bifurcated until some process intervenes and causes it to cease. The bifurcation process can also lead to exhaustion. An example of relative free choice at a bifurcation point is when the retired individual realizes the possibility of choices previously not available, whether choices are ever, in fact, free is debatable. Migration in search of a better lifestyle is one possible choice. They may, in fact, find it difficult to readjust to the actual circumstances when they find their new locations.

Dissipative structures are sub-systems emerging spontaneously in dynamic processes that are far from equilibrium. Dissipative structures dissipate entropy. Entropy is a term introduced from thermodynamics that has moved into psychosocial discussions. In thermodynamics, it is the state of gas when all molecules in it have the same momentum and no chemical reactions are therefore possible. As entropy increases, meaningful activity becomes less and less possible. Entropy is a terminal state and can be a metaphor for death. In individuals, a dissipative structure delays the progressive build up of entropy. There are many examples of such dissipative structures. For example, health services that have evolved in a community are dissipative structures and are one of the causes of the increase in older people.

FRACTAL GEOMETRY

Fractal geometry is a branch of mathematics that has emerged since the 1980s. The characteristics that highlight the difference between fractal geometry and Euclidean geometry are described in Table 2.1 and taken from the work of Voss (1988:26).

Table 2.1: Characteristics of Euclidian Geometry and Fractal Geometry

Euclidian	Fractal
Traditional >2000 years	Modern Monsters <30 years
Based on characteristic scale or size	No specific size or scaling
Suits manmade objects	Appropriate for natural shapes
Described by formulae	Recursive, Algorithm

Modern monsters are mathematical expressions that have, to some extent, defied conventional mathematical analysis. Fractal geometry has given insight into these expressions which can be investigated by computer algorithms. These have been discussed in Peitgen et al (1992) and Voss (1988). In the social sciences, the important characteristics are the last three in the fractal column in Figure 2.1. No specific size or scaling removes the artificial rigidity that is introduced, in efforts to attach scales to psychological or sociological phenomena. It depends heavily on the interaction of idealized objects. Human beings, however, are part of nature and will be better studied with fractal geometry which will permit the consideration of less than ideal states. The basic mathematics of fractal geometry is a topology that considers what properties of systems remain after the system has suffered radical distortion (Simmons 1963). Topology recognizes different mathematical spaces to

which different concepts of dimension to Euclidian space apply. Euclidian concepts permeate everyday life and appear to be commonsense but are actually a highly idealized special case when dimensions are considered.

One of the characteristics of fractal geometry is self similarity, which is embedded in its outcomes that are, at present, illustrated in the literature by graphics (Wegner and Tyler 1993). It is possible to use fractal geometry to draw shapes that look perfectly natural (e.g. landscapes) and that do not, in fact, exist. This is done with an appropriate algorithm and the appropriate number of *iterations*. It is possible to enlarge sections of a fractal image and find embedded in the enlarged sections, reproductions of the same basic forms found in the initial image. The importance of this work is that it shows the effects of iteration in dynamic systems. It also suggests that, when translated into the sphere of human social activities, many of the structures perceived will be the result of iterative processes. When people undergo migration they move to a less predictable environment, which in time, and with iterative contact, becomes normal for them.

In recent times, gerontologists Birren and Schroots (1996), Schroots (1996), Schroots and Yates (1999), and Schroots (2003) have used the term gerodynamics and sought to introduce concepts from dynamics theory and fractal geometry into the study of ageing. They have used these concepts in a metaphorical way. This is especially the case for Schroots (2003) who has made attempts to incorporate the idea of bifurcation in his interviews on life course-autobiographical studies.

BIOS: BIOS CONSIST OF THE BORROWINGS FROM BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Evolution, ecology and autopoiesis are three of the main concepts borrowed from biology. Baltes, together with his co-authors has developed papers on evolution and ageing. Baltes (1997), when talking on the plasticity of human mind, makes a distinction between biological development and the need for cultural input. He proposes:

Why, did whatever happens later in the lifespan benefits less from the optimizing power of evolutionary selection pressure? The primary reason is that reproductive fitness, the essential component of natural selection, involved the transmission of genes in the context of fertility and parenting behaviour, events and processes that typically extend from conception to early adulthood. As a consequence, over evolutionary history selection has operated more strongly on the first half of life...

He further states:

The demand for culture also increases because as individuals reach old age, their biological potential decline. The older in age individuals are, the more they are in need of culture based compensations (e.g. material, technical, and social, economic, psychological) to generate and maintain high levels of functioning. This view of culture as compensation is a major tenet of many evolutionary theories in cultural anthropology. (1997:4)

In a later paper, Baltes and Singer (2001) introduce the term bio-cultural. They make a distinction between 'biology-driven' and 'cognitive' mechanics. The former is biologically-driven, while the latter cognitive mechanics (later called cognitive pragmatics) are maintained. Societal processes and conditions become increasingly important. The latter is described by Baltes and Singer (2001:59) as involving examples of "...professional expertise, artistic competence, social-emotional intelligence and wisdom are examples of late life potentials in cognitive pragmatics."

They feel it is necessary to argue for the importance of culture which they see as combining with genetics to produce increasing longevity in the late 20th century. Their general view was that the issues of ageing could be managed by a system of selection, optimization, and compensation whereby the ageing person could adjust their levels of aspiration to decreasing physical capacity, and retain a sense of competence. Baltes and Smith (2003:123) are much less optimistic in their appraisal of late old age:

New theoretical and practical endeavours are required to deal with the challenges of increased numbers of the oldest old and the associated prevalence of frailty and forms of psychological mortality.

AUTOPOIESIS

Another import from biology is provided by Maturana and Varela (1980) in the discussion of self reproduction. They claim to have invented the word 'autopoiesis' to enable discussion of the self-generation of living systems. Maturana and Varela liken living organisms to machines. Their work is often referred to in the literature of artificial intelligence. They define an autopoietic machine:

An autopoietic machine is a machine organized (defined as the unity) as a network of processes of production (transformation and the destruction) of components that produced the components which: through their interaction and transformation continuously regenerate and realize the network of processes (relations) that produced them; and constitute it (the machine) as a concrete unity in the space in which they (the components) exist by specifying the topological domain of its realization as such a network. (Maturana 1980:79)

Although this is the definition of a machine, it can be applied to living systems. Maturana and Varela see this description as being relevant to cognition, which is the only necessary and sufficient characteristic of life.

Rocha (1998), working in the field of artificial intelligence, bridges both biology and dynamics. Rocha (1980:79) sees as Eigenvalues and Eigenvectors, "...the components which, through their interaction and transformation continuously regenerate." Eigenvalues, from which Eigenvectors are derived, are values in cognition that do not change unless there is radical disruption in a person's environment.

ECOLOGY

Ecological psychology was a major work of Barker (1978) who described in detail behaviour settings and their influence on behaviour e.g. some settings cause us to whisper while others permit loud and noisy display. It is clearly, of course, in the behaviourist mode. Nevertheless his work directs attention to the environment and hence to ecology, at the time of Barker's book, which is often not taken into account when considering human issues.

Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994:568) present what they call an ecological model in an attempt to reconcile the notions of nature and nurture. They state that:

In addition to incorporating explicit measures of the environment conceptualized in our of systems terms, and allowing for non-additive, synergistic effects in genetics-environment interaction, the model posits empirically accessible mechanisms called *proximal processes*, through which genetic potentials for *effective* psychological functioning are actualised.

They claim that their bio-ecological model:

...also addresses what is probably the most serious and problematic limitation of the established behavioural genetics paradigm, namely, that inheritability measures only the proportion of variation attributable to individual differences in actualized genetic potential; the extent of non-actualized potential remains unknown. (p.570)

They foresee that, for the development of human potential, there is a need for a continuing and regular interaction with the immediate environment because there is an unknown amount of an unactualized potential in human beings at any age. This potential could be actualized with inputs from appropriate environments. This view is consonant with others discussed later. Shaie and Willis (1998) also see the possibility of reversing the cognitive decline which is putatively the result of ageing.

SOCIUS: STUDIES DERIVED FROM SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

A review of the literature on lifecycle reveals a number of factors that impact on the lives of older people. These include: 'good' ageing, life markers, questions of control, wisdom, generativity, economics and social status, cognitive ageing, daily pursuits in physical activities, spirituality, self, and culture.

THEORIES OF AGEING

Gerontology is a relatively new discipline, although commentary on ageing can be found in both Egyptian papyruses (Janssen 2006), and in the writing of more advanced ancient civilizations. Credit is given to Cumming and Henry for their study *Growing Old* (1961) as being the first to state an overall theory of ageing which was termed disengagement theory. Achenbaum and Bengtson (1994) briefly defined disengagement as:

...an inevitable process in which many of the relationships between an ageing person and other members of society are severed, and that those remaining are altered in quality. (p.758)

Strong criticism came from those holding the belief that, by keeping active, one could stave off ageing. Disengagement theory fell into disrepute. Achenbaum and Bengtson (1994:756) attempted to re-engage the theory:

First we analysed the historical context of this theory. Second, we examine its long-term contributions and deficiencies in terms of finer criteria-standards which we suggest should be used in evaluating current and future theories in social gerontology.

Aschenbaum and Bengtson (ibid) criticized disengagement theory in terms of its logical adequacy, of which they say, “Perhaps no other theory in social gerontology has been quite as well developed in terms of attempts at logical consistency.” They investigated the theory under the following headings: logical, operational, empirical and pragmatic adequacies. Of the logical adequacy of the theory they comment: “Perhaps no other theory in social gerontology has been quite as well developed in terms of attempts at logical consistency” (p.756).

On operational adequacy, they comment:

Growing Old, Cumming and Henry (1961) were diligent in their attempt to derive operational definitions of variables representing Central constructs. This side using standard measures, they developed instruments later used by other researchers (for example the “morale index”). (p.761)

On empirical adequacy:

Cumming and Henry base their theories on cross-sectional data. At other critics have observed, a much more appropriate test would have involved longitudinal assessment, measuring the same individuals over time. Then and only then could the central posture of the theory – that there is a developmental progression from late middle age through the last years and months that can be characterized as “disengagement” be truly tested. (p.761)

On pragmatic adequacy of theory:

Disengagement theory of ageing has not been notably productive in terms of any of these criteria, predictivity, control/intervention, feasibility/relevance, but then again, nor has any theory produced in social gerontology today. (p.762)

Tornstam (1999:10) protested against a relentless activist approach which sought to keep older people functioning in their everyday life. He argued:

Subjective reports from staff working with old people have also pointed to some hidden theoretical strength in the disengagement theory. Care providers have reported that their feelings are very mixed when trying to “activate” certain old people. The workers say while they believe that activity is good, they nevertheless have the feeling that they are doing something wrong when they try to drag some older people to various forms of social activity or activities therapy. The caregivers say they feel they are trespassing on something they ought to respect and leave alone.

Tornstam had proposed and written extensively on what he called gero-transcendence. Thorsen (1998:166) quotes Tornstam:

According to Tornstam’s theory gerotranscendence is a universal phenomenon which expresses normal ageing; “at the same time, we believe that this process is generated by normal living. The very process of living an everyday life and the intrinsic drive towards transcendence are only different sides of the same coin. In principle we believe that the process towards gerotranscendence is a lifelong and continuous one. In practice however, it can be obstructed or accelerated. (Tornstam 1989:59)

Tornstam does not see the phenomena of ageing as disengagement but rather as movement to another level of development beyond the materialistic and socially frenetic culture of younger people. Thorsen points to many anomalies in the theory. In talking of Tornstam’s discussion of Erikson’s staged developments, she points out that he distanced himself from gradual development, seeing the transformation to a transcendent level as a result of crisis that triggers a switch to a new “meta world”, somewhat like a religious conversion. Thorsen notes:

...that this becomes a paradoxical theoretical position, are “both the one and the other” philosophy of what otherwise appear to be different phenomena and different processes: on the one hand the continual, the gradual development, and, on the other, the transcendental “leap”. Is it possible to conceive of a gradual development to a completely different mode of cognition? Will not gradualness in itself cause the state to be a somewhat changed version of the earlier state, and not appear as radically different? When can continual change be said to have turned into something qualitatively quite different? (1998:166)

A transcendental “leap” could be in keeping with bifurcation theory in that as one runs out to the extreme of a parameter a bifurcation takes place in which two new pathways are available. In her conclusions she makes the following statement:

In my view the ageing process from adolescence onwards must be seen in the light of the complex relations between cultural change and individual development of ageing cannot be viewed separately from the historical and cultural landscape in which it is which takes place; ageing takes place in the landscape. (p.172)

These social scientists so far quoted have worked at the turn-of-the-century. A more recent summary of the state of gerontological theory is given by Bass (2006:139):

Unfortunately, many of the early theories emergent in the development of the field have melted away due to the over simplicity, inadequate or even contradictory empirical evidence to support the theoretical construct, or lack of intellectual staying power in the community of scholars (Biggs et al, 2003). It is often the case that these theoretical writings about research concerning the aged and the ageing society emerge from the underpinnings of one of social issues gerontology’s core disciplines – work which viewed from the interdisciplinary gerontological perch could be criticized as unidimensional in perspective. Such theoretical formulations are customarily specialized and narrow, restricted to questions of ageing or ageing society that are often associated with a particular discipline or sub discipline and lacking the robustness and complexity with which gerontologists seek to examine the ageing phenomenon.

He further claims:

Part of the criticism voiced is that the existing theoretical works that have been published maybe inadequate, in that they either incorporate the micro levels involving the psycho-social disciplines without blending with the larger political, cultural and economic conditions that interact with the behaviour of individuals and groups, or they do just the opposite.

Some methodology bridging or combining both the macro and micro issues of ageing is required. As Bass asserted, “the search for a larger scale unified theory is, indeed, gerontology’s Holy Grail”. Whether such a theory is necessary or possible is debatable.

GOOD AGEING

The concept of good ageing has difficulty embedded in it. These arise from the term ageism coined in the early 1960’s by Robert Butler, a psychiatrist living in the United States. Quoting Minichiello et al (2005:4).

Butler was involved with the civil rights movement at the time and was offended by the systematic stereotyping and discrimination of older people simply because they were old.

They quote Bytheway who states:

(a) Ageism generates and reinforces of fear and denigration of the ageing process, and the stereotyping presumptions regarding competence and the need for protection.

(b) In particular, ageism legitimates the use of chronological age to mark out classes of people who are systematically denied resources and opportunities that others enjoy, and to suffer the consequences of such denigration, ranging from well-meaning patronage to unambiguous vilification. (Minichiello et al, 2005:6))

The significant part of these quotations is to show the outcome of polarisation in a particular system. This tendency to polarisation lurks in the literature of gerontology. The search for ‘good’ or ‘efficient’ or any other positive that can be said about ageing simply engages the negatives as well. If there is good ageing there must be bad ageing. Possibly the only way to overcome this is to adopt the Buddhist view and simply say; “ageing exists”. It is very difficult to carry out a non-polarised treatment of ageing because the entire Western culture is posited on success in overcoming or surpassing one’s rivals. This will be further discussed in chapter 7.

The concept of 'good ageing', or 'positive ageing', emerged as a major theme in the late 80s and is set out in a paper by Rowe and Kahn (1997). The linguistic flavour of such literature suggests a fairly strong cultural bias towards the values of the market place and upper socio-economic group values. It tends to make 'good ageing' into something like a business goal. The adjective 'good' introduces a fuzzy value judgment. In Rowe and Khan's paper, good ageing consists of the avoidance of disease and disability, maintaining a high physical and cognitive functioning, and continuing to function in social contexts. Variations on this theme can be found in Yoon (1996) who repeated the theme of Rowe and Kahn and added the idea of a "self-justification mechanism of negative life outcomes", but does not enter into detailed discussion of 'self justification'. Jorm et al (1998) turned to an Australian epidemiological study pointing out that all previous studies have used North American samples.

They maintain:

The data is cross-sectional rather than longitudinal, making it difficult to interpret the causal direction of any associations found. To overcome this limitation the factors investigated were restricted to long term or stable characteristics of participants which are unlikely to be effects of successful ageing: socio-demographic characteristics (age, sex, education, occupational status, marital status, and English speaking background), psychological traits (intelligence, personality), and health habits (exercised earlier in life, smoking). (p.33)

They found:

The prevalence of successful ageing declined steeply from age 70–74 to aged 80+. Men had a higher prevalence than women. In both men and women successful ageing was associated with higher verbal intelligence. For women there were, in addition, associations with lowered neuroticism, not smoking and lower frequency of strenuous activity in earlier life. (p.33)

Kahana and Kahana (1996) see the need for proactive adaptation. That is, to shape one's environment rather than simply reacting to it. They present a model for its development. This model is based on the handling of stressors in the environment, and they thus orient it to a clinical paradigm. Stressors

that they mentioned are illness, losses, and person-environment incongruence. These are to be overcome by the internal resources of hopefulness, altruism, self-esteem, acceptance reframing, and life satisfaction. Behaviours of successful ageing are listed as health promotion, planning and helping others. External resources are financial resources and available social supports. The expected outcome of successful ageing is quality of life which consists of positive affective states, meaning of life, maintenance of valued activities and relationships.

Like Rowe and Kahn (1997), Kahana and Kahana give the impression of presenting a sermon on what the 'good life' should be. They give no indication of how some of these activities are to be presented to the community of older people, or how they are to be implemented. It is reasonable to say that it is possible to find such attributes as hopefulness or self-esteem in people who have succeeded in developing satisfactory lifestyles in their old age. But if one has not developed these attitudes, how are they to be brought about? Moreover, how are well-age people defined? It would seem that these will be the well-educated and wealthy. When one looks at some of the late literature on deficits with age, one might have expected a better comment to be, "optimized living over the life-cycle" leaving 'ageing' out so as to do away with implicit ageism.

Holstein and Minkler (2003) trenchantly criticized the concept of the 'new gerontology' as it emerges in Rowe and Khan's work. For them there are too many value statements and assumptions that lead important processes to be overlooked. The phrase 'successful ageing' is implicitly normative, overlooking the heterogeneity of the age group. They see difficulty in achieving success arising from those issues which marginalize large groups of people and, older women in particular.

O'Rand and Henretta (1999) explore the inequalities that lead to differential states and stratification in ageing. The problem of stratification extends over the life course. Such stratification leads to

inequalities in pensions, and in political reactions to the transfer situations that are examined. For example, they maintain that although women have played an increasing role in non-domestic fields, their overall well-being, in the USA, has not improved. In other words, they are unable to meet some of the criteria proposed by the above (Rowe and Kahn), and hence cannot successfully age.

Strawbridge et al (2002) take issue with Rowe and Kahn's definition of successful ageing. According to Strawbridge, there are many old people who would not meet Rowe and Kahn's criteria nevertheless they regard themselves as having aged well. Before broadening the concept of good ageing it is their opinion that there needs to develop an understanding of older people's criteria.

Much of the literature written by those who wish to take arms against ageism falls into the difficulty of language. It accepts the current thought based on such issues as dichotomizing found in the word 'ageism'. This leads to the interpellation problem discussed by Butler (2000). 'Interpellation' is a concept first coined by Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser to describe the process by which ideology addresses the (abstract) pre-ideological individual thus effectively producing him or her as subject proper (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/interpellation>).

This process is important not only in gender issues but also in ageist issues. Butler clarifies this situation with the description of the roles, in a film called "Paris is Burning," of trans-sexual people attempting to be seen as belonging to the mainstream. By demanding to be part of the mainstream they simply demonstrate that they are not. When talking of one of the characters, 'Venus', in this film is a male transsexual who is ultimately killed by one of his/her lovers who discovers this fact. Butler (2000:457) says:

Clearly, the denaturalization of sex, in the multiple senses, does not imply a liberation from hegemonic constraint: when Venus speaks her desire to become a whole woman, to find a man and have a house in the suburbs with a washing machine, we may well question whether the denaturalization of gender and sexuality that she performs, and performs well, culminate in a reworking of the normative framework of heterosexuality.

Butler makes the point that, in attempting to re-signify her relationships, Venus inevitably uses the language of what Butler calls the "heterosexual family" (Butler 2000:459), and in doing so strengthens its power of the privileged in this family. This idea not only illustrates issues of gender but is also significant when talking about age. When someone is called by a name e.g. elderly, or aged, the caller fits the person so-called into the traditional social construct of that person, thus strengthening the power of a hegemonic group that it seeks to moralize. The use of interpellation makes it difficult to break out of the stereotyped use of words. This principle can be found at work in many situations involving older people, or gender, or any other situation where a dichotomy polarizes a situation and creates catastrophe sets that can lead to chaos and to suffering.

In this literature, pleasure is not discussed as an issue in ageing. Again 'good ageing', although vague, seems to be influenced by upper class commercial values and Calvinistic ethics. The consideration of simple pleasures is, perhaps, too frivolous for consideration.

LIFE MARKERS

Grob et al (2001:1) have examined the life course in terms of life markers and history. They observe:

Human development is often understood as interplay between biological, socio-historical, and social factors as well as individual developmental actions. However, historical influences on development have rarely been investigated.

Life markers are such activities as involvement in war, education, pregnancy, parenthood, quitting smoking, and so on. Life markers can be dictated by social groups, and can be very stable aspects of those groups. In some communities there are definite rituals associated with life markers; in ours the school certificate is a significant initiation ritual. Grob, Krings and Bangerter (2001:2) assert:

Developmental tasks seem to be increasingly less given by society and, furthermore, less bound by to specific agents. Instead, the individual has to construct his or her own biography by formulating personal projects and goals. This developmental understanding makes human beings more than ever architects of their own fortune and confronts them with a new emerging pressure, characterized by the necessity of permanently realizing oneself in the new and original manner.

They acknowledge, however, that this statement may not be applicable to a community which is stratified by poverty, social class, and other subcultures.

Grob, Krings and Bangerter (2001:2) further note:

We investigated the relation between the historical context and the conceptualization of life of people from three different cohorts spanning most of the 20th century in Switzerland. Although each participant life is unique, we assume cohorts-specific commonalities in biographies...

The commonalities consist in how people reconstruct their biographies and how they construct their future life course. We assume a major shift in this process which goes from a more system-centred and deterministic conceptualization of life for people from older cohorts towards a more self-centred and agentic conceptualization of life for people from younger cohorts.

Grob et al's participants were classified as between the wars (BTW, 1920-1925), early baby boomers (EBB, 1945-1950) and generation X (GEX, 1970-1975). It was found that there were significant differences. The results show that preoccupation with the self increased with the youth of the sample. GEX participants were less preoccupied with marriage and family than the older groups.

Habermas (2001) criticizes the Grob paper on the grounds that it does not distinguish between life histories that could be constructed by a third person, and life stories that are part of the individual's

personal repertoire. He also discriminates between life histories as marked by crucial events and those changes taking place over a lengthy period of time. The use of that dichotomy leads to the problem of how to discriminate. Even slow changes must have pathways of critical events which lead to them. Critical events need not be particularly startling. The word crisis, from which the concept emerges, simply means a turning point. The main difference between large historic changes and everyday ones is a matter of dramatic effect, when many details have been edited out while some are retained.

CONTROL

Training of the ability to control various functions begins early in life with toilet training. This control generalises to all function of the organism. The ability to control one's physical and psychological functions determines social acceptance. Heckhausen and Schulz (1995) lay out a lifespan theory of control, and have subsequently conducted a number of studies utilizing their theory. They maintain that control is an issue that persists through all of life. They see two types of control:

Primary control refers to behaviours directed at the external environment and involves attempts to change the world to fit the needs and desires of the individual.

Secondary control is targeted at internal processes and serves to minimize losses in, maintain, and expand existing levels of primary control. Furthermore, they argue that primary control has primacy over secondary control. (Heckhausen and Schulz 1995:2).

Gould (1999:597) criticized the above statement:

Although the approach is useful in focusing attention on control across the lifespan in Western contexts, it breaks down when seen from various Asian and other cultural perspectives. In much of Asia, secondary control takes on primacy and results in some control perspectives and manifestations different from those conceptualized by J. Heckhausen and R. Schulz.

A spirited rejoinder was made by Heckhausen and Schulz (1999) in that Gould had failed to appreciate that primary and secondary degree control complement each other. Primary control develops first as it is concerned with the survival of the organism.

Secondary control strategies promote primary control in two ways: as a means of directing motivational resources (i.e. selective secondary control) and as a means for compensation for the negative effects of failure and loss (i.e. compensatory secondary control). Heckhausen and Shultz (1999:606)

Other studies, Wrosch and Heckhausen (2001), Wrosch et al (2003), and Jokisaari (2004) have examined control over the lifespan. This has been done in terms of the regulation of self when goals are discovered to be unattainable, and in terms of regrets. Wrosch and Heckhausen define regrets (2002:342): “Life regrets are a psychological phenomenon that relates to both cognition and emotion.” Regrets involve counterfactual thought e.g. “If I would have done X, I would be happier”. Such alternative and highly valued scenarios of the past probably represent failure experiences that might negatively affect people’s quality of life. They see the possibility of either a change in a person’s goals, or a change in their motivation towards the present goals. However, there is an age differential in this sort of behaviour because older people have less time to make long term changes. Wrosch and Heckhausen (2002:341) contend:

Given that the opportunities to undo the consequences of regrettable behaviour decline with age, we suggest that age differential control attributions might contribute to an adaptive management of life regrets. High levels of internal-control attribution might motivate active attempts to overcome regret in young adult when people face favourable opportunities for goal attainment. In contrast, attributions of low internal control might serve self-protective functions in the older adults and facilitate the deactivation of regret.

Wrosch et al (2003) further explore the self-regulation of unattainable goals. They claim to have found that the capacity for goal disengagement and re-engagement can have an interactive effect on subjective well-being. They make the comment that the sample was of well-educated people. Whether this would be true of other groups would have to be explored. For example, Jokisaari (2004) aimed to study gender differences in the sample ranging from the age of 19 to 82. She found:

Furthermore, gender comparison revealed that regrets concerning relationships and family were more frequent among women than among men. Related to subjective well-being, results show that regrets concerning education and work were negatively associated with life satisfactions and depressive symptoms and associated with self related regrets. (2004:281)

In summary, it would seem that although a sense of control is essential to survival, and develops from early in life, overly strong attempts at control, especially in later life, have a negative effect. Comfort control must not be too rigid. It is necessary to see it as a process that can become relaxed or rigid, depending on the environment perceived by the person.

WISDOM

Wisdom is a concept that has attracted many writers, many whom have remarked on the difficulty of defining wisdom. Wisdom is a fuzzy concept that is not possible to easily define its contents in an unequivocal way. Usually definitions become circular. Older contributors have been criticised by Ardelt (2005), who feels that too much attention has been paid to the abstract intellectual side, and not enough attention has been paid to people who are considered to be wise, to see how they operate. Wisdom is mentioned because it is an area in which, despite not necessarily characteristic of old age, is one that needs transforming for many modern situations. Certainly, it seems, an activity that retired people would have sufficient time to explore for public benefit.

Dahlsgaard et al (2005), in trying to develop a positive psychology, have investigated, in an extensive study, the shared virtues of a broad range of cultures such as Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Athenian philosophy, Christianity, and Islam. Daoism is sometimes written as Taoism, Daoism is written in Pinyin, adopted in 1958, as the Romanisation of Mandarin, the official language of the Chinese Peoples' Republic. Taoism is written in Western scholars' invented Romanisation. The authors found that six core virtues recurred in these writings: courage, justice, humanity, temperance, wisdom, and transcendence. This convergence suggests a non-arbitrary foundation for the classification of human strengths and virtues. They define wisdom as:

Cognitive strengths that entail the acquisition and use of knowledge; examples include creativity, curiosity, judgment, and perspective (providing counsel to others). (2005:205)

Also their definition of transcendence links that particular virtue to generativity:

...strengths that forge connections to the larger universe and thereby provide meaning; examples include gratitude, hope, and spirituality. (2005:205)

A series of papers has been produced to define, or try to define, the concept of wisdom. The field is somewhat polarized between Western and Eastern thought. Sternberg (1990) edited a collection of papers from various points of view and also contributed himself. Later he expanded his own view on the relationship between wisdom, intelligence and creativity. He defines wisdom as:

...as the application of successful intelligence and creativity as mediated by values towards the achievement of the common good through a balance among the (a) intrapersonal, (b) interpersonal, and (c) extra personal interests, over (a) short term (b) long terms, in order to achieve a balance among (a) adaptation to existing environments, (b) shaping of existing environments, and (c) selection of the new environments. (Sternberg 2003:152)

This he calls the balance theory of wisdom that is not about maximizing particular outcomes but a balancing of various interests. Csikszentmihalyi and Rathunde (1990:27), attempt to discuss an evolutionary interpretation of wisdom by the way it evolved, using what they called evolutionary hermeneutics which they describe as:

...simply the name we have given to the attempt at reconciling what has been said in the past about certain important concepts and what is being said about them now within the framework of current psychological knowledge informed by evolutionary theory.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rathunde (1990) seem to attempt a balance between Western, Greek and Asian thought. For example, when talking of universal truths they inevitably appeal to philosophers who have taken their lead from Plato and Aristotle. In their examination of the definition of wisdom, they see it as comprising of three processes: cognition, virtue, and good. When talking of cognition, they note that traditional characteristics such as 'universals' and God have been abandoned. Csikszentmihalyi and Rathunde (1990:31) state:

...There is an underlying emphasis... on the value of holistic cognitive processes that move beyond a fragmented and impassive relativity, towards a more 'universal' or metasytemic awareness of interrelated systems.

They further argue:

...this view points at what the "universal truth" of our time may turn out to be. Not immutable Platonic ideas, or the eternal, all embracing will of God, but systemic ecological consciousness in which the consequences of events and actions are understood to be causally related and to have long-term effects for the survival of human life and for the environment that sustains it. (1990:32)

There is a move away from purely intellectual knowing, and gradually a move towards a more Asian view of wisdom. It can also be detected in the following, where reflective awareness is seen as a 'good':

When self reflection leads to emancipation, or the moment when expanded awareness recognizes the limitations of one's previous perspective, the process of growth is ecstatic in the literal sense of the word-"to take place outside" in other words, one is momentarily placed outside ordinary (habitual) awareness, and this experience is exhilarating and it and intrinsically rewarding. (In studies of optimal psychological experience this enjoyable dimension has been described as a loss of ego or self-consciousness). (1990:39).

Baltes and Smith (1990) and Baltes and Staudinger (2000) present wisdom in a way that other writers in the field see as mainly intellectual. They define wisdom as a higher intellectual functioning. In their definition of wisdom, they claim to have recognized seven components. Baltes and Staudinger (2000:4) argue:

...(a) wisdom represents a truly superior level of knowledge, judgment, and advice; (b) wisdom addresses important and difficult questions and strategies about the conduct and meaning of life; (c) wisdom includes knowledge about the limits of knowledge and the uncertainties of the world; (d) wisdom constitutes knowledge with extraordinary scope, depth, measure, and balance; (e) wisdom involves a perfect synergy of mind and character; that is, and orchestration of knowledge and virtues; (f) wisdom represents knowledge used for the good and well-being of oneself and for that of other and that of others; and (g) wisdom, although difficult to achieve and to specify, is easily recognized when manifested.

It can be seen that they lay emphasis on ' knowledge', 'superior levels', and 'excellence'. This gives their papers something of the tone of a business motivation exercise.

Ardelt (2004) produces what she calls an alternative model. Like other authors in the field, she concedes that there is no "generally agreed upon definition of wisdom". She criticizes the Berlin School's (i.e. Baltes et al) intellectual approach. One of her main arguments is that, instead of the focus on wisdom in an abstract way, it should be on wise people. Recently, she produced a study called *How Wise People Cope With Crises and Obstacles in Life* (2005) in which she examines the coping strategies of people who are called wise. If we considered the Berlin School's position as the extreme of Western thought, Csikszentmihalyi and Rathunde and Ardelts are midway between Western and Asian thought.

The major works of Mahayana Buddhism are collectively entitled *The Perfection of Wisdom*, or *The Prajnaparamita*, which is a compilation of sutras (discourses) of varying lengths. In one form it is eight thousand words long. However, over time it has been distilled into some quite short documents such as the Heart Sutra and the Diamond Sutra. The Heart Sutra is said, by its adherents, to be the very heart of Buddhism. It is only sixteen lines long in English. Its main message, as translated by Conze (1975:81), is that:

...form is emptiness and the very emptiness is form; emptiness does not differ from form, form does not differ from emptiness: whatever is formed, that is emptiness, whatever is emptiness, that is formed, the same is true of feelings, perceptions, impulses and consciousness.

The important term is ‘emptiness,’ for which Conze offers three explanations:

1. Ecologically it could mean something which looks important but is really nothing.
2. Spiritually it is a complete denial of the material world and to complete liberation from it.
3. Technically as a term for the absence of any kind of self.

This last term connects with Csikszentmihalyi’s comment on flow which can lead to ecstasy because one is temporarily giving up self. Needless to say, over the centuries the Heart Sutra has spawned numerous commentaries on what it actually means. Adding to this literature Coward (1990) wrote a comparison of Derrida’s deconstructionism to the philosophy of Nagarjuna (a notable Indian intellectual of the second century CE). Nagarjuna was actually credited with writing the Heart Sutra. Coward thought that Nagarjuna was more deconstructive than Derrida (Coward 1990). To be wise one must go beyond words. Although the ultimate goal of enlightenment cannot be described, the Buddha provided a heuristic formulation, for attaining enlightenment, in the form of the Noble

Eightfold Path. It prescribes a series of actions that lead ultimately to a wordless understanding, a very different position from the European group.

One of the notable ideas coming from the Baltes group is that wisdom is not an automatic function of ageing. In a short paper rivalling the Heart Sutra for its brevity, Strange et al (2002) examined the relationship between age and wisdom:

Old-age and wisdom are related in lay theories of wisdom but cross-sectional studies have not detected age-related differences in wisdom related knowledge after the age of 25 (p.97).

This study investigated the relative importance of age, wisdom related knowledge, and listening behavior for the attribution of wisdom to a person. Participants (N= 160) watched a video dialogue and evaluated the wisdom of the advice giver. Age (young versus old), listening to as ‘yes’ behaviour (good versus bad), and the advice (high versus low levels of wisdom-related knowledge) were manipulated. Analyses address the following predictions: older advice givers, who listen well and express high levels of wisdom-related knowledge, are perceived as most wise. And advice givers (regardless of age) who listen well but express low levels of wisdom-related knowledge are not perceived as wise. The results would indicate that age of a potential advice-giver facilitates the attribution of wisdom but only if high levels of wisdom related knowledge are present at the same time.

Sternberg (2003) has sought to make a synthesis between intelligence, creativity, and wisdom. He proposes a balanced theory of wisdom which seems to have similarities to both Western and Eastern views. Wisdom is seen as a valid balancing mechanism for both intelligence, and creativity. He

recognizes the inevitable individual differences arising from different life courses, and even proposes a method by which wisdom may be taught. The issues are:

- (i) responses to environmental contexts
- (ii) balancing of interests
- (iii) short-term goals with long-term goals.

The wise person unobtrusively acquires tacit knowledge from life situations. The wise person knows how to use knowledge in the light of a value system.

GENERATIVITY

Generativity, as defined by Erikson (1963), is a desire to hand on worthwhile things to the next generation and future generations. Only in the last 10 years or so has it become the object of more intensive academic exploration. It appears in the protocols of a number of participants in this study. To some extent it could be said to be associated with wisdom.

Wakefield (1998), in a paper entitled *Immortality and the Externalization of the Self: Plato's Unrecognized Theory of Generativity*, describes aspects of Plato's *Symposium* in which love is discussed. Wakefield is pointing to the fact that what Plato was discussing, in modern terms, could be called generativity. Erik Erikson (1963) is credited with inventing the term 'generativity'. Those who discuss the topic, McAdams (1992a), (1998b) and (1998c), and Peterson (1996), (1997) and (1998), give due credit to Erikson, and as influencing their studies. Wakefield (1998:133) defines generativity as follows:

... generativity consists of motives that are directed at creating and caring for children, things, or ideas that last beyond one's own life span and play a role in the perpetuation of society.

Despite its apparent longevity, generativity has been taken for granted and has not been extensively researched until recent times. McDermid et al (1998:181) believe that:

Generativity is vitally important to society. This is a strong statement on behalf of the theoretical construct given only passing attention by some scholars.

The question that arises is 'Why would one want to behave in a generative way'? This question has been explored by the above writers. Wakefield (1998), commenting on Erikson and Plato, sees that they have only one motive for generativity, and he sees that as untenable. He states:

The idea that complex areas of human functioning are dominated by one motive is appealing to theorists but is implausible in the light of evolutionary considerations. (1998:170)

His comment relates to group dynamics where there is a group of attractor sets. At any given time the portrait of the dynamic situation will vary according to the presence or absence of specific attractors. Wakefield then goes on to express a theory of externalization of one's creations. That is, internal thoughts and ideas are expressed outwardly either in a generative sense or in the presentation of the results of the creative activity.

GENDER

Gender is of great importance in human existence of influencing political, commercial and private life. Generally, males are more personally advantaged in all these areas. However, the social changes in the last 50 years have given greater freedom to females. Females live longer than males, and

usually will spend some of the latter life unmarried. The main issues in the larger literature involving gender are about political and economic discrimination. It is written in terms of the problems that arise from lack of financial security in later life. For example, marital disharmony, which occurs when married couples whose time together has been punctuated by the daily separation of work, and are forced together for longer periods of time. Each partner needs some space of their own that cannot be invaded by their spouse. Widowhood, or the loss of a partner, can radically upset the lifestyle of the survivor. This is important in the migration scene where a married couple will migrate often, live in the new environment for a number of years, until one of them dies. This then leaves the remaining partner with a number of serious decisions including whether to sell their current home and move to be nearer family if they live in another city.

Childless women, unless wealthy, have greater difficulty in finding support in their old age. Oberg and Tornstam (1999). Of course women with children can also be the object of ageist discrimination which can take place around physical appearance (ibid). This is true of older women who are badgered about their appearance by their grandchildren (ibid).

O’Rand and Henretta (1999), in *Age and Inequality*, had explored the reasons for gender inequality of prosperity in the ageing cohorts, from the end of World War II onwards. Gender differences play a large part in these inequalities. They traced the effects of a variety of social phenomena which tend to differentiate between those who will be comfortable in old age and those who will face poverty. Henretta and O’Rand see cultural shifts, such as the breakdown of a structured life course, being differentiated into young, middle, and old categories. Each of these categories had socially expected functions; education for the young, work for the middle-aged and leisure for the old-aged, or at least a diminished role. Since the end of that war, globalism and changing work practices have slowly begun

to dominate, and in particular the break down of this structured differentiation of the life course. There has been a tendency to have more than one job, with a second job being relatively poorly paid. Henretta and O’Rand (1999). Women, although they have moved in increasing numbers into the workforce, tend not to be as well off as men (ibid). Their savings are dissipated by the need to look after children, especially if they are divorced. Also, because of child rearing, they often had intermittent breaks in work which in turn interfered with such things as pensions and other government assistance. The outcome is that women do not have as much leisure time and access to goods and services as men who, if they change jobs, often did so to progress to higher status positions. Preston, Jefferson and Seymour (2006) have made similar statements about the parity of males’ and females’ salaries.

O’Rand and Henretta (1999:207) say, when talking of social policies:

Demographic pressures stemming from population ageing, fiscal crises tied to mismanaged taxation and social spending policies, and global markets promoting the privatization of all aspects of social life have converged on advanced industrial societies to challenge their welfare regimes.

Field (2001:113) traces the history of the classification of women by government policies, and in the abstract of her paper wrote:

In the antebellum US, law and public opinion have defined independence as a stage of life specific to white men, while classifying white women as perpetual dependents.

To overcome this infantilizing of women, feminist activists used arguments dependent upon the developmental age of a person, as a method of overcoming the use of gender in determining whether a person should be accorded the rights of independence rather than basing this on gender. This

provokes the question of how developmental age is to be measured, a process which seems to be necessary for their statement.

Butler (2000) examines some of the issues of gender and stereotyping that applies not only to gender but, in many ways, can also be applied to ageism (this has been commented upon earlier). Butler makes the point that, almost unconsciously, we can be made to conform to social standards whether we agree with them or not. She uses the example of 'interpellation' or 'hailing'. The example she uses is the reaction to a policeman's interpellation:

This 'one' (the person hailed) who appears not to be in a condition of trespass prior to the call (for whom the call establishes a given practice as a trespass) is not fully a social subject, is not fully subjectivated, for he or she is not yet reprimanded. The reprimand does not merely repress or control the subject, but forms a crucial part of the judicial and social formation of the subject. (2000:448)

She goes on to talk about "the constitutive ambivalence of being socially constituted, where 'constitution' carries both the enabling and violating sense of 'subjection'" (p.450).

She uses the notion of ambivalence to show that things which purport to make changes in the dominant culture have themselves to emerge from the culture, and by doing so, reinforce it, the dominant culture. For example, in trying to find a term to express old-age without denigrating old-age the word 'vintage' was considered as a substitute for 'old age'. But this leads back directly to the impossibility of talking about something such as old-age without reinforcing the concepts that support the idea, thus reinforcing them.

Wainrib (1992), Belsky (1992), and Brock (1992) have approached gender issues in old age from a clinical point of view. Wainrib makes a distinction between developmental and disorder issues,

preferring to see women in terms of normative processes similar to Field above. She then goes on to ask, “What are the norms for ageing women clients?” There is always a conflict between the social suppositions about older women and how they actually live. Older women, she points out have always been the targets of negative comment, even from professionals and cites the assumption that women become more masculine as they grow older, and men become more feminine. This perception of older women is not because they have become masculine, but because they have become nonentities. Belsky (1992).

Belsky also examined the role changes as life progresses, and suggests that some of the changes that are reported, i.e. that women become more masculine and men become more feminine, could be better explained in terms of taking on and giving up roles. For example, as they age, the letting go of roles associated with child-rearing can be a release for some women, and also gives them the opportunity to express those sides of their personality that have hitherto been suppressed. Brock (1992) takes a not dissimilar view of men’s problems. According to his theories, the critically important things are for all men to work with issues of interaction with life stages, and with the memory of earlier conflicts.

Educational facilities that often hold the key to future prosperity are stratified in terms of gender. This structuring tended to favour men but now seems to be breaking down. O’Rand (1999:78) point to the highly structured nature of work. Tulle-Winton (1999) has explored the relationship between power of the state and its effect via regulations on the lifestyles, particularly the body of older people. She states:

...social gerontology has turned its attention to positive or successful ageing and its payback for individual old people and policymakers. However, because it is embedded in a broader discourse

which gives primacy to lifestyles, social and economic opportunities and moral responsibility, successful ageing is an ambiguous project caught between resisting the mask of ageing and reaffirming the continued cultural repression of the declining body and by extension of the ageing self. (Tulle-Winton 1999:281)

Wainrib (1992), working in the clinical field, described other forms of gender separation. They see the pathology presented to them not as the result of infantile trauma, or inevitable developmental conditions, but as marks of the roles that they have been forced to play. For example, in the case of women, as emphasis on the parenting role diminishes they are freer to actualize other potential roles in their repertoire of roles that had been previously subservient to parenting. Such a process, according to these authors, can be accompanied by a good deal of irrational guilt and anxiety.

The exterior of the body is of special interest in a number of industries such as fashion, diet, and alternative health. Shaw (1998) and Bancroft (1998) have examined the effects of the media on female and male body images, and identities, respectively. Both point to the fact that neither masculinity nor femininity is a unitary thing. As examples, the magazines that pontificate on body styles overlook varieties of masculinity, insisting on a narrow range. Similarly, very few women could conform to the tall slender model ideal.

Öberg and Tornstam (1999) found, for all age groups, that physical appearance was more important for women. They found no significant differences between age groups. That is, in each age group women were more concerned with their appearance than men. They were surprised to find that in their study there was no decline in satisfaction with the body by age. In fact they found that women tended to increase their satisfaction with their bodies. It was also found that there was no general pattern of conflicts between the inner youthful self and the ageing outer self. Pressure and guilt, according to Tunaley et al (1999), is put on the older women by their husbands, and at times by

younger women in the family. These pressures are intended to make the older women conform to current standards of physical attractiveness which really apply only to younger women.

MARRIAGE AND WIDOWHOOD

Chipperfield and Havens (2001), in their study of life transitions and marital status, show gender differences with women almost inevitably suffering a loss of life satisfactions. Men, especially those who had remarried after being widowed, had an increase in life satisfactions which diminished slowly with the increase of age. In their opinion, men were more likely to retain their psychological well-being in later life. The writers found it difficult to explain women's decline in satisfaction, which they speculated may not be completely associated with marriage but with other difficulties visited upon older women by contemporary society. Men can more easily move into the leisure culture of retirement and experience satisfaction, while women retain many of the duties (housekeeping) that they had prior to retirement.

Carr et al (2000) studied psychological adjustment to widowhood by examining adjustment in the light of three aspects of marital quality: warmth, conflict, and instrumental dependence prior to bereavement. Their overall findings, they believe, conflicted with the view that grief would be more intense if the marriage had been conflicted. They found that widowhood was a significant predictor of depression but depression was not significantly related to the quality of marriage. However, like other authors, they concluded (2000:S197):

A more complex relationship exists between bereavement and characteristics of the marriage. The findings contradict the widespread belief that grief is more severe if the marriage was conflicted.

Davidson (2001) conducted a study of the term 'selfishness' as it is expressed in the re-partnering of older people after widowhood. She found gender differences in the use of the word 'selfish'.

The words 'selfish' and 'freedom' were often used by the widows when describing their present existence, which was associated with not having to look after someone all the time. (Davidson 2001:297)

Men saw it as an expression of weakness and did not use it of themselves. On the other hand, some women felt guilty about new found freedom of widowhood. The opportunity to please oneself was seen as 'selfish'.

Kulik (2002) looked at the long-term marriage issue in later life and equated her findings with a theory of equity. In general, her findings seemed to be that there was a continuation of the equity in the roles prior to retirement. In her study, women reported a high level of burnout in marriage and a low level of marital satisfaction. Hilbourne (1999) examined the problem of living together full-time after retirement and found conflicts over control of, and loss of, personal space .

COGNITION AND AGEING

According to Maturana and Varela cognition is described as the one essential quality for defining a living object. They see a micro organism's capacity to differentiate itself from its environment as a primitive form of cognition. This would place cognition in the forefront of our concerns about ageing. There is considerable argument about what people can retain as they age and what they lose.

There is broad psychological literature on the various facets of cognition and ageing. These studies have been largely quantitative, conducted on large samples, and generally anchored in psychological

concepts and methodologies. The studies generally show that there is a drop in cognitive ability over the life cycle. Salthouse (2000) has remarked that there is a considerable variety of labels used in the studies, and prefers to use his own terms, which he feels distil the meaning of the others. These terms are *process* and *product*. Process refers to the efficiency or effectiveness of processing at the time of assessment. It refers to the ability to solve novel problems. *Product* refers to the results of processing carried out over the past, and consists of acquired knowledge. The two forms of cognition differ from each other over the ageing period. While process might become less accurate over time, product cognition remains relatively unchanged.

Salthouse (2000:45) is of the opinion that:

The consistency of the age relations in process measures of cognition across different samples and specific types of tests suggest that we can have considerable confidence in what and what of age process relations that is at least in cross-sectional samples, it appears that there is an age-related decline between one and two standard deviations across the range in age from 18 to 80.

Salthouse (2000:46) makes the point that "...age related differences on various cognitive variables are not independent." This introduces "an examination of a common factor theory of shared variance among age, sensory function, and cognitive function in older adults" (Anstey, Luszcz et al. 2001:3).

Wahlin et al (2006:318) examined the effects of biological age, chronological age and sex differences in cognitive ageing. They concluded:

...that health and bioage served both a moderating and mediating role for age differences in cognitive performance. Health both mediated and moderated (whereas BioAge only mediated). Our results suggest that studies of cognitive ageing can benefit from focused and profound attention to biological vitality and health. (2006:330)

This work points significantly to the importance of physical energy in cognitive processes. Persad et al (2002) showed that there was a significant decline in the skills of people between 60 and 85. Shaie and Willis (1998:701) also examined the possibility of reversing cognitive decline.

Our findings lend support to contention as regarding the plasticity of behaviour in late adulthood. They suggest that for at least a substantial portion of the community dwelling elderly, cognitive decline is not irreversible; it is likely to be creditable to do is use, and can be subjected to environmental manipulations involving relatively simple and inexpensive ideal casebook training techniques.

There are a number of more specific studies on cognitive functioning and language. The research is aimed to be relevant to clinical diagnosis. Anstey et al (2001) look to cognitive and sensory variables to predict mortality. They found, in the very old, poor performance on all variables predicted mortality, as did a decline in hearing and cognitive performance.

Stine-Morrow et al (1999) examined speech recognition from a signal detection point of view. They found that the context of words was particularly important in both young and old. Stine-Morrow et al (1999:125) found:

Older adults were at least as capable as the young in taking advantage of feedback to normalize the speech signal so as to increase discriminability and a decrease bias.

All of the above papers, to some degree, pointed to the context in which people are expected to perform. As Shaie and Willis have claimed, there are inexpensive and relatively simple educational techniques. They also felt that the possibility of improving people's performances also lay in the manipulation of the environment.

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY, HEALTH AND LEISURE

Physical activity, health and leisure, are important characteristics of human life. The invention of new physical activities that can be indulged in by a very old people is necessary. To do this they will have to be weaned to some extent from the vicarious exercise provided by spectator sports.

The academic study of leisure has been steadily growing since the latter half of the 20th century. More and Averill (2003) define leisure as a form of systems behaviour, while Dawson (2003) chooses to compare United States and Canadian leisure research in terms of ontology, epistemology, and praxiology. These papers lead into an exceptionally large field, which goes beyond the simple understanding of the benefits of physical and other recreational activities.

Iwasaki and Zuzanek (2001), Nutbeam (1998), and Patterson and Chang (1999) have reviewed studies on physical activities and concluded that they showed beneficial effects. They have produced strategies for the optimization of these effects. Paterson and Chang, in addition, like the writers on 'good ageing', have pointed to constraints in carrying out physical activities. The geographical relationship of the older person to the valued activity can present a problem in terms of transport and cost, the time of day, and a threat of violence that seems to be increasingly real. A large proportion of the population, especially in rural areas, is dependent on the family car. The loss of ability to drive a car can restrict social and physical activities of the older person unless society comes up with some adequate alternatives.

The relationship between physical activities, leisure behaviour, and ageing has been investigated in what has been called the Nottingham Longitudinal Study of Activity and Ageing. Morgan (1998) sets out a methodological approach which took into account physical activity and health, and psychosocial status. They examined physical capabilities which included strength, flexibility and cognitive impairment which they assessed on a standardized scale. Social engagement was included as an index of well-being.

Armstrong and Morgan (1998:17) studied stability and change in levels of habitual physical activity in later life. They conclude, “These findings suggest that, while some activity variables showed levels of stability consistent with trait like constructs, others are clearly more labile.” Bath and Morgan (1998:29), examined customary physical activity and physical health outcomes in later life, and concluded:

The results are consistent with the conclusion that, among elderly people, health gain resulting from higher customary physical activity levels can promote a longer and more independent later life.

Morgan and Bath (1998) also studied customary physical activity and psychological well-being and noted:

While the results provide some support for the conclusion that physical activity contribute independently to the promotion and make use of psychological well-being in later life, this contribution is, at best, extremely modest. (p.35)

Strain et al (2002:6), following the Nottingham studies, examined changes in leisure activities of older adults over an eight-year period. They found that, “The results show that the younger you are, the more likely you are to continue your leisure participation”. They go on to state, “Yet age does not explain why some older adults cease their participation nor is it significantly associated with all

activities studied here". They further suggest older adults, in reducing their participation, may be fulfilling Baltes notion of selective energy investment i.e. as people age they select those things they want to do, optimize them, and compensate for the loss of things they cannot do.

Searle et al (1998:7) examined the long-term effects of 'leisure education' on a sense of independence and psychological well-being among the older persons. They found:

Results generally confirm the first hypothesis that the outcomes arising from the leisure education intervention measured immediately following the completion of the study would be sustained several months later. The second hypothesis predicted that a sense of independence would be generalized to other life domains over time. There was a significant positive effect on the generalized sense of locus of control.

This generalized sense of control was expected to persist and improve confidence in leisure activities.

Iwasaki et al (2001) examined the effects of physically active leisure on the relationship between stress and health, using data from a large Canadian health survey. They found evidence for the physical and mental health benefits of physically active leisure. They observed:

We suspect that the formula of "more active people, the healthier they are" may hold for everyone. People may get in what is an optimal act dividend level for them. (Iwasaki, Zuzanek et al. 2001)

In summary, the results of these studies tend to show that there are benefits in physically active leisure.

LOSS

The longer one lives the more one experiences loss. There is a need to explore how people cope with loss of significant others in a non-clinical fashion. Perhaps this will require an investigation of

rituals. At the end of the life cycle, it is impossible to avoid the issue of bereavement. This occurs when the older person is inevitably confronted with diminished numbers of acquaintances as result of death, or separation due to relocation as a consequence of age-related exigencies. Thus, more than at any other time, individuals are likely to be confronted by depression as result of loss. Lang et al (2002) see resource rich older people as having much greater opportunity to use strategies of selection, optimization, and compensation than the resource-poor.

Lynch and George (2002) have tried to trace depression and loss related events and, not surprisingly, find that there is a close association between loss trajectories and depression trajectories. Snowdon (1998) notes that somatic approaches are more likely than psychological ones to relieve depression in old age. Sandberg et al (2002:4) examine depression in older married couples and found, in the initial analysis of coding:

The three codes that were unique to the non-depressed group dealt with comments regarding the "questionnaire", "advice" to other couples, and "potential future crises". The second code is unique to the depressed couples contained comments regarding "death of a loved one," "communication during depression," "depression and marital interaction" and "health services".

Mental health is too large a field to be discussed in depth here, however, it is worth noting that all writers saw depression as one of the main mental illnesses at the end of the life cycle. It resulted from personal losses due to death, accident, illness, and sensory or cognitive deficits that cut the person off from social interaction.

SPIRITUALITY AND RELIGION

Richard Higgins (2000:19), a commentator on *The Boston Globe*, headlined the question “Sold on Spirituality: Religion is everywhere in the US these days, but is faith really deepening, or is it just being marketed better?” He speculates whether this current state of affairs is indicative of a resurgence of spirituality in the US population, or cynically, whether it is simply an example of more efficient marketing. Certainly there appears to be a strong upsurge of material on spirituality in the social science literature. Crowther et al (2002) criticized Rowe and Kahn's successful ageing model because it had overlooked positive spirituality. Unlike many of the writers on religion and spirituality, they make an effort to define the difference between religion, spirituality, and positive spirituality. They break down the area of spirituality into three sections:

Religion is an organized system of beliefs, practices, rituals and symbols designed (a) to facilitate closeness to the sacred or transcendent (God, higher power), or ultimate truth/reality, (b) to foster an understanding of one's relation and responsibility to others in living together in a community.

Spirituality is the personal quest for understanding answers to ultimate questions about life, about meaning, and about relationships to the sacred or transcendent, which may (or may not) lead to or arise from the development of religious rituals and the formation of community

Positive Spirituality yielded or associated with positive outcomes. It seeks to blend community focused and individualism. (Crowther et al. 2002:614)

Much of the American literature on spirituality is in terms of Judeo-Christian beliefs. Parker et al (2002) constructed a group of older people from both white and black American communities. They hypothesized that the common feature of these two communities was their Christian religious devotion that would pull historically and culturally diverse people together. This process worked to

their satisfaction. There were, however, many aspects which were not examined. One of the questions that remained unanswered was “What aspects of 'religion', is it that facilitates well-being?” It could be the simple act of grouping is sufficient to have people believe that something significant is happening (as it does), and that would be sufficient to benefit some individuals.

Of the other religious paradigms, Buddhism receives much attention. Krause et al (2002), and Nakashima et al (2003) have worked within the framework of Buddhist thought. Many Buddhists assert that Buddhism, which is atheistic, is not a religion but a form of education used to view and handle life stresses, and offers a number of techniques to deal with them. Meditation, a cornerstone in Buddhist practice, is becoming used more frequently by non-Buddhists in areas as diverse as pain-relief, treatment of panic attacks, and the more general promotion of a subjective sense of well-being. For example, Bonadonna (2003), described the use of meditation techniques in the treatment of chronic illness.

There is an indistinct boundary between spirituality, religion and mysticism. The issue of mysticism is complex and dealt extensively by Bharati (1976), who sees it as a dimension of existence orthogonal to everyday life and ethics. He gives one description of mystical experience:

The flowing together and dissolution of all things in the ultimate identity of non-duality can be tamed in different ways; through the effective identity of universal suffering, to sympathy, through the theoretical identity or the non-differentiation of subject and object (p.32).

This he calls the ‘zero experience’ and dedicates the rest of his book to scholarly explication of its meaning. Generally, he derides modern cults purporting to be mystical as rigid and puritanical. He maintains:

With the rise of intellectually disciplined non-squares, and non-Puritans who would absorb and transmit the primary sources unsanctimoniously meditating, studying and copulating as they do these things, there may well come a time when a rational mysticism is generated by modern people who love to think, read, learn difficult grammars, and make love to consenting adults. A rational mysticism is not a contradiction in terms; it is mysticism whose limits are set by reason: a quest for the zero-experience without any concomitant claim to world-knowledge, special wisdom, or special morality. These latter three must be directly generated by reason and by reason only. (1976:234)

The benefits of mystical experience are described by Leary as follows:

The perception of oneness often changes people's sense of identity from that of a self-contained individual to part of a larger cosmic whole. People also tend to emerge from mystical experience with positive, optimistic outlook on life, increase feelings of peace, and a more patient, compassionate, and altruistic approach to other people. (2004:161)

There can be no doubt that the human mind can be energized to experience an oceanic feeling of being one with the universe (whatever that can mean for an individual). It could be the result of some motivated change in individual nervous systems, and would be better described by the somewhat cumbersome term of 'mysticality', thus avoiding the need to invoke the 'other world' or nebulous entities such as spirits.

THE SELF, ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURE

These terms referred to significant constructs used to construe the life course. These three terms, in many ways, refer to intertwined processes and are therefore examined together. Gillihan and Farah (2005) have concerned themselves with the question of the special nature of the self, and review studies which have involved brain scans. On what they call the physical self, and the literature on it, they conclude:

In sum, the literature as a whole fails to support the idea of a special system of representation for the physical self, integrating facial appearance, the layout of the body parts, body part ownership, position, and agency. (Gillihan and Farah 2005:85)

On the examination of the literature on the psychological self they note:

Neither the imaging (referring to CAT scans) nor the patient data implicate common brain areas across different aspects of the self. This is not surprising because there is generally little clustering even within the specific aspects of the self. In the absence of evidence that each of the individual aspects of the self is special, the questionable organization of specialized self processing is, for now at least moot. (2005:94)

If the issue is moot then a new approach to the self may be warranted.

Part of the problem seems to reside in the metaphors used to understand self. Cushman (1990) sees self as a container in his paper "Why the Self Is Empty". Charmaz (1989, 1997, 2000) sees the self as a quarry to be sought after. Lifton (1999) likens it to Proteus, the Greek God of many forms, who could adapt to many situations. The metaphor was used to indicate dynamism and resilience which helps the self in confused and chaotic situations. Each of these metaphors, in its own way, is problematic because they have made a thing of the self.

Maturana and Varela (1980) postulate that the self is part of the cognitive processes that must act on various levels. One of its functions is to form a 'membrane,' to protect the living organism from too many uncontrollable inputs. It is one of Prigogine's dissipative structures, aimed at dissipating the entropy that increases in chaotic situations. It does this in the cognitive sense by allowing the person to construct a narrative that appears to explain the present situation, and reduces the sense of chaos.

GEOGRAPHY

In the description of the functions of a dynamic system it is necessary to describe the state space and examine it for attractors and repellers. The geographical space in which a person lives largely dictates that person's repertoire of activities. The geographical setting and the infrastructure for that setting, dictate what activities a person or a social group may indulge in. This is especially true for people who live in rural settings or small provincial towns. These settings can function socially only with the aid of good communication systems and access to personal transport. Friendship relations, according to a study by Lawton and Simon(1998), are highly dependent upon proximity.

Gubrium and Holstein (1999) examined the effect of the nursing home, a limit to personal space, as a discursive anchor for the ageing body. They say:

The nursing home is a device that now, more than ever, provides a recognizable horizon for bodily representation, such as everyday justice of death coming to those in skilled work, before it comes to those in dementia care. (p.524)

By this they mean that issues such as dying, or who's going to die, or whose helpers are exhausted, become more focused and meaningful in the context of the nursing home. They go on to assert:

The nursing home is not only a source of concrete care and care giving, but is a discursive phenomenon, inciting us to reference and describe the ageing body in a particular way. We age bodily in other words as much because our bodies are discursively anchored by a particular institution, as because our bodies grow old. (p.537)

In other words, place takes part in the construction of old age. Actual world geography has also become involved in the describing the environments of old age. In many countries the phenomenon

of retirement migration has been documented. For example, Cribier (1982) studied aspects of retiree migration from Paris to coastal and provincial towns. While three quarters of the men and two thirds of the women stated unhesitatingly that they were pleased with the move, there appeared to be difficulties, the most significant being related to widowhood. As Cribier contends:

This study represents a first assessment. A full examination requires a longitudinal study to assess the responses to widowhood, and the bereavement of parents and friends of the same age, the declining health and loss of autonomy, and above all advancing age. (1982:137)

Since Cribier's study, the process of elderly migration round the world seems to have increased. More recently, Gustafson (2001) has conducted a study on trans-local normality, particularly the migration of Swedish people to Spain during the winter months. He comments:

The analysis of the interviews produced three ideal-typical trans-national lifestyles: trains local normality, multi-local adaptation and routinised sojourning. These life-styles reflect different strategies for managing cultural difference, but also different forms and aspects of place attachment and different ideals of mobility. (Gustafson 2001:371)

The description of these perceived ideal styles bears some relationship to internal migration in Australia. For example, there are those who have moved permanently to Coffs Harbour and there are others who migrate only during the winter to get away from the cold weather in southern Victoria. Like the Swedes in Spain, who retain an attachment to their children in Sweden, the Australian migrants' attachment is to their children who usually, for economic reasons, live in one of the capital cities. The Swedish people, classified as expressing trans-local nationality, retain their Swedishness and tend to live in Swedish enclaves. Their mobility was prized as demonstrating their health in being able to make the journey for relocation. The other categories of lifestyle varied according to the attachment that the migrants had for both Sweden and Spain. Those with multi-locational adaptation saw both Sweden and Spain as places of attachment, having strong emotional and cognitive ties to

both. Routine sojourning did not imply multiple place attachments, and this group of migrants see themselves as visitors coming in a routine way, as they might on holidays in Sweden itself. Gustafson (2001:388) remarked: “Nevertheless I would emphasized that the lifestyles presented here are not clear-cut categories of people, but are analytically derived ideal types.”

CULTURE

Skill with cultural literacy, especially with a proactive attitude to culture, to some extent determines the success of older migrants in adapting to new locations. Schirato and Yell (2003:1) defined culture as: “The totality of communication practices and systems of meaning”. They also go on to define cultural literacy and they extend their definition, “Cultural literacy can be defined as both knowledge of meaning systems and the ability to negotiate those systems within different cultural contexts.”

Culture is that part of human ecology that is man-made. The totality of it goes beyond simply the written word or painted picture, but includes all those signs and representations that confront the human occupants of a habitat.

In 1997, a special issue of the *Journal of Culture and Psychology* paid tribute to the work of E. Boesch who was a pioneer in cultural psychology. Brandtstadter (1997:335) described Boesch’s position:

Boesch’s basic proposition is that any adequate theory of culture must be, or be based on, an adequate theory of action, and that any adequate theory of development must pay heed to the way in which individuals construe their developmental ecology is within a given cultural and historical context.

In discussing action, the general interest of this group was in how action arises from fantasy. Boesch introduced the concept of fantasm: that is the main source of fantasy. The fantasm is a form of template that enables persons to project themselves into the future.

Despite the popular belief in positive thinking, Oettingen (1997) echoes Boesch's view that positive fantasies can hinder motivation and require mentally contrasted reflections on the contradictory negative reality. This is relevant because positive fantasies of older people could have negative effects on action. Rather than attempting new activities, satisfaction is derived from achieving goals in fantasy which, by its very nature, tends to cut people off from others.

In the literature there are examples of authors who have attempted to cope with the division of mind and body, and they point to the importance to the self of the objects chosen to be collected and lived among. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981:139) elaborated on the purpose of home:

One of the most important psychological purposes of the home is that those objects that have shaped one's personality and which are needed to express concretely those aspects of the self that one values are kept within it. Thus, the home is not only a material shelter, but also a shelter for those things that make life meaningful.

They further define the home as a storehouse of signs.

Alfred Lang has devoted a number of papers to the interaction between people and their environments (Lang, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c). People invariably change the environments once they move into them, even if it is only by adding a single piece of furniture to a room. Lang advances the notion of 'the concrete mind heuristic' in which he sees the concrete environment as an expression of the self. It has a different time horizon to the biologically encased self, existing for longer.

In the literature on culture, a number of writers have drawn attention to the relative neglect of visual culture. Fyfe and Law (1988) comment on the absence of depiction in sociology. They find this strange because sociology is full of visual metaphors. They note, however, that there is an increasing use of visual material, of photographs, in particular. Since the Fyfe and Law study in 1988, there has been a rapid increase in the number of papers on the use of photography. Both Emmison and Smith (2000) and Leeuwijn and Jewitt (2001) have written on research with photographs, Mirzoeff (2000) has published a volume of essays on visual culture from which Foucault (2000) and Butler (2000) have been cited.

Schirato and Web (2004:6) explain their use in semiotic terms, and on how they have changed, and what their vocabularies mean:

Firstly we use the term 'reading' is a particular form of visual practice and this is the topic of chapter 1. Reading, we argue, is both an active and creative process; and when reading the visual we draw on our general and specific knowledge is, our tastes and habits and our personal contexts (what Pierre Bourdieu calls habitus) to make what we see, and to make sense of it.

They go on to explain that the term 'reading' comes from the use of semiotics, as does the term 'text', when referring to a collection of signs. Fiske et al (1987) made a prior study using semiotics. Their book 'Myths of Oz' gets its title from Barthes 'Mythologies' (2000) in which he says:

But what must be firmly established at the start is that myth is a system of communication, that it is the message. This allows one to perceive that myth cannot positively be an object, a concept, or an idea; it is a mode of signification, a form. (p.109)

TECHNOLOGY

Technology is an important aspect of Western culture and plays an increasing role in the life of people towards the end of the lifespan. In the past 20 years there has been significant technological change. Almost every aspect of life has been invaded by electronics. The family car, which was once every man's duty to keep in good repair, has now got so many computer controlled components that only the courageous, or the highly trained, would dare touch it. The Internet, digital cameras, computers and their peripherals, mobile phones, digitally recorded music, and jet airliner travel, have become everyday objects. As well as providing pleasure for older people, these innovations also challenge and baffle.

Baltes (2001) has made the point that, as people age they become more reliant on culture. Australian culture quickly adopts technology. The types of aid that can be given to older people are increasingly technological e.g. hearing aids, electric scooters etc. The technologists, however, seem to have done very little in coming to an understanding of the impacts their products can present. For example, hearing aids have such small components that they require considerable dexterity in their use. Fozard (2005) states:

The message of gerotechnology is that ageing and aged people should be actively involved in shaping the technology that affects their lives. Limiting the use of technological products and environments, for whatever reason, may limit their value to both successful and unsuccessful consumers of technology. Adaptation to changes in the built environment will be requiring of us all. (p.268)

MEANING

Reker and Chamberlain (2000) explore existential meaning and have distilled from it five common threads. These are:

1. Existential meaning as an essential concern of human life.
2. Existential meaning as personally constructed.
3. Existential meaning as a relational construct.
4. Existential meaning-making as a developmental process.
5. Existential meaning is amenable to investigation. (p.200)

Gergen (1994:21) further explored the communal creation of meaning:

So long as the problem of interpersonal meaning is derived from a belief in the individual as a centre of meaning, it will remain recalcitrant to solution.

However, he makes the statement that individual utterances in themselves possess no meaning i.e. there has to be interaction with more than one person in order for meaning to emerge. Presumably, even when writing, one is carrying out a dialogue with other people who will be sufficiently familiar with the social environment of the writer to be able to glean meaning from the text. Gergen calls this 'meaning realized' by supplementary action, even if this is only a one word response such as 'yes'.

Meanings change and develop from interactions with others. Greene (1994), in her discussion of epistemology, traces the movement away from objectivism to a variety of other philosophical positions. She examines how a variety of writers have approached the idea of meaning. In writing from an educationist's position she also sees the need to develop a concrete social practice in which

schools are brought together with expressions of popular culture, the arts, and the domains of work. Postmodernism, post structuralism, hermeneutics, and phenomenology, critical theory: these labels ought not to matter. What matters is the affirmation of the social world accepting of tension and conflict.

CONCLUSION

This literature review has covered a wide range in an effort to gain a picture of the available scientific knowledge about older people. The gerontological literature has paid great attention to the notion of 'good' or 'productive' aging and the battle against ageism. Good ageing is indefinable, except by any group whose members have sufficiently agreed views. An attempt at definition will inevitably be considered biased by non members of such a group. The quality of ageing is a fuzzy concept, and as such, any judgment about the goodness of a particular individual's life will have a fluctuating value. How to understand this dynamic state is one of the future issues for gerontology. Gender has received mention because it is a fundamental issue in ageing. Not all people will have the basic comfort of a secure old age because of the differential financial opportunities brought about by gender in our society. Wisdom, in Sternberg's sense of striking balances between responses to environmental contexts, personal interests, and short term and long term goals, will have to be cultivated. Expertise in this area has to be built up from recursive experience over time. Hence, although not necessarily the province of older people, they have an edge in wisdom if they can learn to use it. Generativity would appear to be a drive that could increase social capital, but although known for centuries, only recently has it begun to be studied. From wisdom and generativity it would seem possible to develop roles for older people.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Much of the view of ageing held in the popular press, and in both Federal and State Parliaments, is constrained by uncritically accepted narrow stereotypes that take no account of the heterogeneity of lifestyles to be found among people well advanced in the lifespan.

Berman (1994) has posed the question ‘What is knowledge of ageing knowledge of?’ He is mainly concerned that the way in which studies are often conducted, although they can follow correct scientific procedure, can eliminate meanings which intuitively appear to be important, at least for the participant. According to Berman there are three modes of understanding ageing. These are (1) reporting, which is a statement of what has actually been observed to happen, (2) an understanding of the causes of the situation, how it came about and (3) an attempt to clarify what it must feel, think, or say about something in the ageing situation. The third point involves the issue of meaning, and is likely to vary considerably between participants.

ASPECTS OF PERSONAL HISTORY AS AN INFLUENCE ON THE THESIS

Since this study aimed to explore aspects of the advanced end of the life course in an open and flexible manner, it can be open to criticism on the way in which the researcher's own personal choices have influenced the research, particularly with respect to the selection of participants and the relatively unorthodox way of flexibly acquiring data. This thesis is a product of personal development and of the remnants of intellectual skills. It is part of the researcher's attempt to give meaning to the latter part of his lifecycle that now has few vocational prospects. The thesis is more the pursuit of knowledge and perhaps wisdom, than career advancement. Hopefully, because there are few cultural models for people advanced in their life cycle, it can be seen as contribution to the social construction of role templates for a group of people well advanced in the life cycle. It is hoped that others in this older group will begin to make their own contributions.

The personal genesis of this thesis began when I joined the U3A in Coffs Harbour. At one stage I commented to a colleague that there were a lot of older people whose potentials and contribution to society were not well known. He agreed to do something about it. He explored a number of universities and decided upon The University of New England as a venue to study for his doctoral studies. He suggested to me that I should attempt a PhD. I had some trepidation because I was then 72 and had been exactly 50 years past my initial degree. Somewhat to my surprise my application was accepted and I began the process of reading for my doctoral study.

I have seen a number of people, some close relatives included, who appeared to die with a great sense of dissatisfaction with their lives. Since my 50s I have been working upon achieving all those things

that I had fantasised about throughout my life. The PhD was to be the summit of my intellectual pursuits. I have spent my professional life as a clinical psychologist and a planner of mental health services. I did not want to attempt a degree in counselling or clinical psychology, because I felt that my own arrogance in this area would inhibit me from learning new ways of thinking. So I decided to work in gerontology because my likely sample was going to be older people like myself, and because I needed to think through the next phase of my life.

My early training in science was in physics and mathematics. Before I became a psychologist I had been a primary school teacher, and then a mathematics teacher in a high school. This meant that my idea of science was conditioned in that direction. At University I had learnt a considerable amount of statistics and had, throughout my professional career, conducted statistical studies of one issue or another. The opportunity to break away from this style of approach was refreshing and so I opted to do an intensive qualitative study.

Work in mental health settings in and up to the 1970s was done in a quasi medical manner. People were brought in to the clinics, like the ones in which I had worked, examined, and if suitable, offered psychotherapy or referred for other interventions. However, as the 60s progressed and merged into the 70s, there was a lot of thinking about the issues of ‘crises’ and environmental ‘manipulations’ of one sort or another. Also, the labour intensity and narrowness of the field made reform necessary. Writers espousing these themes recommended that attention be paid, not just to what people said about their lives in the consulting room but also to the localities and settings where they lived them. Since I was a closed-door clinical person I was rather surprised by what I discovered when I started trying to do psychotherapy in natural settings. I almost immediately discovered quickly important things that were usually slow to be mentioned in an interview.

In the late 50s and early 60s there was a Sydney group of psychiatrists and psychologists led by Dr Neville Yeomans (now deceased) who ran a therapeutic community in Sydney. Although Yeomans had worked very much in the Freudian mould, he had broken out and was moving to explore the relationship between patients and their environments, and was doing therapy by manipulating environments, including others who inhabited them. Yeomans' theory of group therapy depended heavily on the concept of regression to the mean. For a group to be therapeutic it had to have people in it who balanced each other out in such a way that the mean effect of their activities came close to the mean of the ordinary community. Yeomans gave thoroughly scientific lectures on how to balance a large group. The nominal patients were balanced out so that the mean of the group on some parameter would be closer to the population mean. For example, one of Yeomans equations was: every criminal psychopath in the group had to be balanced by a least eight schizophrenics. Since he had agreed to take long-term patients from the back wards of the local mental hospital, he had a ready supply of people diagnosed as schizophrenic. Even so, he was naturally more circumspect in taking on criminal psychopaths.

The therapeutic community held at least one group meeting a day. Since patients and staff were in constant contact, the therapeutic process continued throughout the patients stayed in the psychiatric ward. One large formal group meeting was scheduled for every Thursday morning. Anybody who was in some way associated with a patient was free to attend this group. This meant that family members, neighbours, business associates, and anybody else felt to be relevant, could attend the group usually invited by the nominal patient, and in doing so, became involved in the therapeutic process. Yeomans had set up a research system and was intent on showing how well his approach worked or where it needed modification. Contact with this group caused me to consider the importance of group processes.

From 1960 to 1965 I was employed as a Psychologist at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, Sydney. In 1962 I was able to institute a group, with the similar intake philosophy to that of Yeomans, including many significant others of a disturbed children undergoing the treatment process. This group ran successfully for three years. In 1966 I was employed by the Federal government to set up a Child Guidance Clinic in Canberra which was nominally under the directorship of Professor Julian Katz (now deceased) who was very much in the Freudian mould. Julian Katz was expected to travel between Canberra and Sydney every week. He rebelled against this absurd idea and recruited me to set up and run the Child Guidance clinic. This I did for two and half years until a Department of Psychiatry was set up.

In the ACT at that time, the Australian Federal government had the responsibility for health and education functions usually carried out by State governments. Slowly, after many tedious submissions to the Federal Health Department, a Department of Psychiatry was set up in Canberra. Dr Brian Hennessey (now deceased), who had followed Yeomans as director of the therapeutic community, was selected as the Director. Since we had both had contact with Yeoman and Yeoman's ideas, we saw eye to eye on many issues and set out to build a mental health service based on mobility and crisis intervention. At this time I had become disenchanted with the standard psychotherapy of the day and began to read in what seemed to be other relevant areas, in particular catastrophe theory which gave some theoretical ideas for crisis therapy.

The Australian political climate changed radically in 1972 and many reforms were introduced, particularly the no-fault divorce, mediated by a new Family Court. In 1975 I was given the task of setting up a Court Counselling service for Australia. Although there had been a planning committee for 18 months it was appalling to find that its members had not the slightest notion of how to plan.

They were mostly judges, lawyers and public servants and could not conceptualise the social significance of the area they were moving into, and who found innovation difficult. The major damage was caused at the outset by calling the institution they sought to set up a 'Court'. This evoked the rituals and beliefs of a thousand years of British law, most of which were destructive in the divorcing process. Instead of assisting by reducing polarities in the situation, the legal process deliberately creates a bipolar catastrophe situation. This helps the spread of grievance and the waste of clients' money. It can be seen from the last remarks that catastrophe theory, described in Chapter 2, is highly relevant to this particular situation. With the knowledge of Zeeman's characteristics of a bipolar catastrophe it was potentially possible to reduce the time spent on and the hostilities in the processes. This was not met with favour largely because it offended the legal fixation on individual responsibility, and was tantamount to a foreign language for counsellors. Finally, I retired from the Court after twelve years. I then became part of a team that set up a private college for the post graduate training of psychologists to enable them to become registered. After a period as principal I retired to Coffs Harbour.

This thumbnail sketch is intended to give the impression of how I have develop from a closed somewhat psychoanalytic oriented consulting room clinician to one with a more expanded ecological view of the management of the life cycle and its issues. As has been said, on the way scholarly and more systematic use of them. Also, in opting to follow a different path, I was reading the literature on qualitative research where there is often an emphasis on the researcher's reflection on process.

If the above section is reflected upon, some of my personal success has been in the clinical field. In this study there has been a tendency for me to drift towards clinical processes. The interaction with clients had to be watched so I didn't follow up heavily even when there was an opening that showed

some psychopathology as I might have done in clinical mode. For example, the discussion of one participant's husband's illness produced some pathological behaviour and she was in a disturbed state for some days. She acknowledged that she had a problem but she didn't want to discuss it. I offered to discontinue the interview but she refused and carried on with a different subject. Other instances arose in the interviews. A woman who had trouble with her father, and men in general, went to have some counselling after the interview. A local businessman willy-nilly abreacted, producing floods of tears recalling his business problems and how he had been treated by the towns people. Another had a very unsatisfactory childhood and produced associations that could be considered pathological however, although he did not want to continue on the theme of his childhood in the interview, in many instances later, he brought up the issues. It took some effort not to turn interviews into therapy.

ISSUES OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The results, and hence the meaning, of qualitative research will be coloured by the researcher's perceptions much more than in quantitative studies, although it must be said that the latter also have to be interpreted. Moreover, the quantitative researchers impose a rigid set of conditions on those participating in their studies. These conditions are constructed by the researcher from a literature survey and past learning. Such an approach is useful where there is a well structured body of knowledge in which issues have been detected and decisions have to be made on the use of which variables to test.

The main issue in the present study is to find out what is happening at the advanced end of the lifespan in the lives of actual people, a less well differentiated domain of enquiry. The object is to see

how valid are the stereotypes generally found in popular literature. This is unlikely to happen in a comprehensive way if the participants are constrained by too many conditions that could simply prevent them from expressing some of their views. For this reason, part of this research is carried out by photography which can introduce data that is, initially, not easy to put into words. For example Barthes' 'punctum', described in this chapter, is an almost unintentional quality of a photograph that frequently adds to its meaning. In the study, the instructions for taking photographs were very broad and largely non-directive, allowing the participant a great deal of freedom and choice of subjects. This meant that what was produced was largely the result of the decisions and preferences of the participant.

Throughout the literature review it was discovered that a number of writers such as Lawton and Simon (1998), Baltes et al (1998), and Lang (1998) emphasize the importance of ecology, the environment, community and contexts. The meaning of these terms follows.

Bronfenbrenner (1995b:612) defines ecology:

...the ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties all of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by the relations between the settings, and the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded.

The other definitions are taken from the Macquarie dictionary:

Environment: "The aggregate of surrounding things, conditions or influences". (Macquarie 1987:592)

Community: "A social group of any size whose members reside in a specific locality, share government, and have a cultural and historical heritage". (Macquarie 1987:380)

Context: "The set of facts or circumstances that surround a situation or event; the historical context". (Macquarie 1987:402)

It can be seen that ecology is the more embracing term which includes the other terms. The objective of this thesis is to describe 'migrant ecology' in Coffs Harbour. It will require the sampling of environments, communities and contexts. Since the advent of digital photography, the acquisition of photographs has become relatively easy. Digital cameras are inconspicuous and portable and, for the simplest types, cheap. Because the photograph adds more information than people usually give verbally, it was decided to use photographs as part of an intensive interviewing process. Some authors, Coover (2004) and Pink (2001), have described the respective uses of photographs in the ethnographic study of work, and in visual ethnography as part of the research method. Coover (2004:187) speaks of the advantage of photographs:

In taking images and collecting data, one looks for strategies that will bring back the diverse qualities of that experience. At the same time, looking at the world alongside one's informants helps one to circumvent objectifying aspects of ethnographic photography. (2004:187)

Pink (2001) used photographs in ethnographic studies and as a result raised context issues concerning the effects on the objects of photographs.

Without good knowledge of the context in which one is planning to do ethnographic research it is very difficult to predict how and what extent visual images and technologies may be used. (2001:33)

After considering Pink's views it was found necessary to take further steps to ensure anonymity. In the original statement given to potential participants were guarantees that the photographs they presented would be made available only to the examiners. When the thesis was assembled it was realised that participants would want to read it. It was also realised it would be very easy for anybody living in Coffs Harbour to identify the locality of the photographs and the identities of participants.

Two copies of the thesis were made without photographs and steps were taken to expunge references to location and any other well-known characteristics of participants.

Spence (1991) used photography as part of psychotherapy in which the patients were photographed acting out the role of a person important to them e.g. in her case acting as her own mother. When she acted the part of her own mother she noticed how she sneered. This led her to an understanding of the contempt that existed between them, which was expressed in the visual communication, but had not previously been verbally acknowledged.

It can be seen, therefore, that the photograph can serve useful functions. It can provide immediate denotive meaning of an environment and, used in the manner of Barthes (1997) described in this chapter, can stimulate the production of connotative meaning.

METHODOLOGY

Data was obtained from narrative, produced in response to these photographs, and is similar in style to psychological projective tests protocols. The photographs link the past (recent and distant) with the present, and can provide meaning that springs from their association to episodes of the photographer's life. Since it was gathered in the participant's own environment with comments added in direct responses to the photographs, and additional information provided in other interaction situations, it could be said to have ethnographic qualities. Epistemologically, by using concepts from catastrophe theory, dynamics, and autopoiesis theory, a strong constructivist line has been followed. Ethical approval for the study was obtained from The Ethics Committee at UNE.

One portrait of a participant was included. This woman known as Kate, had produced some photographs in which she appeared with other people. She complied with a statement in the document on photographs that people could not appear unless they had signed a waiver. Kate was one of the few people who managed to get a full range of signatures from her friends who appeared on photographs, and signed a waiver permitting the photographs to be exhibited. The photograph exhibited was because it showed an elderly person confidently working at a computer station.

RECRUITMENT

Two groups of people were selected. The first consisted of migrants to Coffs Harbour. The second consisted of people who had lived most of their lives in Coffs Harbour.

The migrant group contained participants between the ages of 60 and 80. They were recruited through community bodies (e.g. University of the Third Age (U3A), Probis, Quota, Country Women's Association, and Senior Citizens), personal approaches, and through referral by acquaintances who knew about the project. Most participants were recruited from the University of the Third Age.

It was relatively difficult to recruit long-time resident participants since some were not associated with any specific group. Two males over 70, and two over 60, were recruited along with two women over 70. Although the sample of long term residents was small, nevertheless it should have been possible to see how some long term residents viewed life in Coffs Harbour. Each participant is referred to by a pseudonym they chose for themselves. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 provide information about the samples.

Table 3.1 Male Sample

Name	Age	Time CH	Migration Path	Occupation	Recruitment
Alf	79	7 yrs	UK - Sydney	company CEO	personal
Hiram	77	11 yrs	UK - Sydney	senior clerical	personal
Piano	70	4 yrs	UK - Melbourne	IT manager	referred U3A
Roy	65	9 yrs	Melbourne	own business	personal
Rocky	69	6 yrs	Coolum, rural	farmer	ref by wife
Tryer	74	17 yrs	Sydney	company CEO	personal
George	62	resident		laborer	personal
Henry	74	resident		manager	personal
Mac	72	resident		farmer	GP
Guitar	64	resident		laborer	friend

Table 3.2 Female Sample

Name	Age	Time CH	Migration Path	Occupation	Recruitment
Anushk	69	7 yrs	Croatia - Melbourne	proprietor	personal
Carmen	62	4 yrs	UK - Wollongong	senior sales	personal
Felicity	63	2 yrs	Central Coast	teacher	personal
Gemma	64	8 yrs	Brisbane	teacher	personal
Laura	69	4 yrs	Sydney	GP office mgr	personal
Kate	79	16 yrs	Germany - Hobart	teacher	personal
Elizabet	73	resident		book keeper	personal
Viv	72	resident		teacher	personal

Recruitment depended upon whether the potential participant felt comfortable with the description of the project. If there was concern at any time in the recruitment process the issues were explored to see if the person volunteering should continue. After beginning and in the course of the interviews, if emotional responses were very strong, it was suggested to the participant that they should not continue. Only two people fell into this category. As will be mentioned later, some who participated

were obviously upset by the direction the interview was taking, the participant was given the option of dropping out of the study. None took this option.

OCCUPATION

There was a wide variety in the participants' former occupations. They ranged from CEOs of international companies through self-employment (either a farmer or owner of their own business) to wage employees such as clerks, teachers and labourers.

HEALTH

Three men had lived through life-threatening illnesses. Alf, at 79, is still living after suffering lymphoma that was successfully treated when he was 75. Guitar has suffered from kidney disease since the age of 21, and two years before the interview had a kidney transplant. At the time of the interview he was well and planning to build a small recording studio to record his own country and western music. Although restricted by respiratory disease and a weight problem, Henry had retained a number of his interests, and was considering improvements to his orchid hot house. He has subsequently died. At the time of the interview, Rocky was waiting for replacement surgery on his knee, and has now become much more active since it was done.

One of the women living on her own, Kate, was intellectually and politically active despite a respiratory disease contracted as a result of heavy smoking. She has subsequently died. Viv had had a bout of cancer that slowed, but did not prevent, her busy involvement in the community. Despite a

certain amount of developmental physical problems, such as arthritis, all participants were still actively engaged in the community.

MARITAL STATUS

At the beginning of the study only one of the men was without a partner. In the course of time during the thesis' preparation one separated from his de facto partner. Until this happened all nine were in long-term conventional marriages. One of the nine had remarried after his first wife's death. The marital status of the women had more variety. Four had had multiple marriage partners. Two of them had been widowed, in one case three times. Three had been divorced; one of these three times. Three of the women presently live alone. The oldest of the three was pleased to do so, while the other two expressed a wish for male company.

PROCEDURE

The first approach, in which the idea of the study was introduced to participants, was relatively informal. The personal approach mentioned in the tables involved the researcher asking a particular person if they were over 60 and would they like to participate in a study. Only one woman refused because she had to help her daughter in Canberra but some months later became a participant after she returned to Coffs Harbour. This form of recruitment depended on the researcher's salesmanship. This may be seen as a source of bias but, on reflection, any volunteering depends upon the persuasiveness of the recruiter. As the participant group began to grow it was observed that it tended

to have more English born people in it. A deliberate effort was made to recruit participants of non-Anglo-Saxon origin. A Croatian woman (Anushka) and a German woman (Kate) participated; both had been living in Australia since the 1950s. At the end of the initial approach participants were provided with forms describing the study, and the methods by which it would be carried out. They were then provided with a form to sign their agreement to participate (see appendix).

In the next interview, in their own homes, the procedure of the study was described. They were given training in the use of a small Konica Revio C2, digital camera. It was the size of a playing card 1.4 centimetres thick, and could be carried in a shirt pocket. Training was necessary because the participant had to learn steps to take a picture. Because the camera had limited capacity, they also had to learn how to delete pictures so as not to waste the camera's memory. Participants were trained to the point where it was observed that they knew how to operate the camera. Three participants were anxious about using the camera. Two of them relaxed after some training whilst another one became more anxious. He was omitted with thanks from the study.

They were then asked to photograph important settings that had meaning for them in their lives in Coffs Harbour. 'Setting' was defined variously as a vista of landscape proportions, a compact scene such as a house or garden, or the corner of a room, or simply objects. In the course of the training in the use of the camera, the phrases 'of meaning to you' or 'of importance to you' were used to emphasize their relationship to the object being photographed. No instruction was given on how many pictures to take. The upper limit was decided by the camera's capacity of 25 but nobody reached it.

In addition, each participant was requested to provide photographs including themselves and other people. They were asked to get consent forms from the people in these photographs. A number of

participants resisted the latter request. Either they presented no person in the photographs or dismissed the need for consent saying they knew the people in the photographs wouldn't mind.

This exercise took most participants about a week to complete. The photographs, on return of the camera, were then downloaded onto a computer and stored on disk for safekeeping. The set of photographs from each participant was then printed on postcard sized paper. This facilitated the placing of the images in order of importance by the participants. When this had been done further interviews were scheduled and held in the participants own homes.

In the third interview, participants were presented with the photographs and given the following instructions:

These are the pictures you have taken recently. I would like you to put them in order of importance to you. Begin with the one that is most important or meaningful first and so on. This will take you a little time, but there is no hurry.

Once this had been completed they were asked to talk about each photograph, beginning with the first in order. The researcher prompted with open-ended questions, such as:

This is the first picture you have chosen. Please tell me why it is important or meaningful for you?

As each interview progressed, questions were promoted by the discussion around the photograph. These were usually short. For example, in discussion with a participant (Carmen) concerning her move to Coffs Harbour:

D: If you think when you look at the picture of the Harbour, do you remember what you said?

C: Yes I do. I have memories of my childhood living in Burnham on Crouch. I said the boats weren't quite as grand as in Coffs Harbour, but that was a long time ago. And I also said in the interview

swimming in the Crouch and having a good time. Losing a friend, not a friend but somebody, I knew by drowning.

D: Would you say that in this process of moving in you are likening Coffs Harbour to Burnham on Crouch?

The participants' narratives were recorded on a portable digital recorder. Later they were downloaded into a computer and transcribed using language transcription software.

TYPES OF ANALYSIS

Two types of analysis were carried out. One was on the content of the photographs for denotive meanings. The second, connotive meanings were derived by searching for themes in the transcripts.

It was expected that patterns in the classification of the photographs of the participant group would throw light on aspects of migration to Coffs Harbour that had particular meaning for the participants. The results of the study will be presented in two parts. The first will be a quantitative study in which the photographs will be categorized and the number of photographs falling into a category tallied. This will show any trends in types of settings photographed. The second part will attempt to tell a story gained by asking the participants to give meaning to the photographs they shared with the researcher.

Emmison and Smith (2000), and van Leeuwin and Jewitt (2001), both point to the use of semiotic methods of analyzing visual material. They relied heavily on Barthes' (1984) approach (described below). The participants, by virtue of the instructions, had been provoked to create a set of signs that would be amenable to semiotic analysis. Both Barthes and Chandler's methods were chosen because

they are relatively simple and clear, and had the advantage of raising sensitivity to the photographs at various levels, from broad sweep to fine detail. They also helped to fulfill the intention of developing a classificatory system for the photographs.

BARTHES' APPROACH

Barthes' approach to photographs was first to describe their denotive meaning, i.e. what exactly was seen in the photograph. For example, if the photograph was of a shopping bag containing raw material for cooking, then the denotive meaning of the photograph was that it was a sign of the preparation of a meal. This does not fully explain a photograph's meaning. It could be that it was part of an advertising campaign for certain products, or it could be preparation for a special night with a friend, etc. The denotive meaning of a photograph has to be supplemented by the connotive meaning which, according to Barthes, has to be verbal. However, in stating the denotive meaning, Barthes describes tension between what he called the 'studium', and the 'punctum'. He saw some photographs simply as views or vistas concerning some object. These he called the studium. The studium on its own could be quite unchallenging in so far as everything the photographer wanted to express was contained within it. However, there is often an element in a photograph that breaks up this blandness, and creates a question in the mind of the beholder. This he called the 'punctum'. Photograph 3. 1 is an example of this.



Photograph 3.1 Jane's house.

At first sight, this is an unexceptional photograph of the front of a small semi-detached house. To the right is the garage door and to the left the front garden. However, the thing that catches the eye, the punctum, is the slash of light at the top of the photograph, as well as the fact that the house appears to be leaning forward. This is the only really inept photograph in Gemma's album. It provokes the question 'Why?' In the transcript the participant explained that it was taken at Jane's house to where she ran for comfort when quite disturbed by the news of her husband's life-threatening illness. When taking the photograph some months later she still felt the earlier emotions, and that disturbed her photography. The photograph was taken without much care in order to get it over and done with.

CHANDLER'S APPROACH

For semiotic analysis Chandler (2001) recommends the following method of proceeding.

Identification of 'texts'

In this study a photograph will be considered a text. The first step is to identify the text and the purpose of analyzing it. In this case, the photographs have all been elicited by the instructions to the participants. The purpose of the analysis has been set by the project.

Modality

This means the method by which the 'text' was constructed. In this case, all texts were photographs so that the modality of photography for construction applies to all of them.

Paradigmatic analysis

In this case, the photographs can be seen as representing a particular paradigm. For example, the photograph of a house represents the paradigm of 'dwelling', which is exclusive of the paradigm of 'transport' that could be represented by a car. Some photographs were a complex mixture of paradigms. For this study the dominant paradigm has been identified from the participant's response to the picture. In Photograph 3.2 the white building represented was the main feature of the photograph so it was classified as 'dwelling'.



Photograph 3.2 Rocky's Tower.

Syntagmatic structure

This refers to the way in which signs are grouped together to create a text. Photograph 3.2 is a mixture of paradigms that syntagmatically mean urban life. The large white building is in fact a set of dwellings. The cars in front of the building represent the paradigm of 'transport'. The blue fence suggests privacy. When these are put together, the scene could be construed as one of urban living. Barthes, however, made the point that connotative meaning must have a verbal input. In this case, the meaning to the participant was quite different. The builders ran into financial difficulties and put the unfinished building up for sale. Rocky considered this would be a sound investment but hesitated because involvement would spread his finances too thinly. When completed, after breaks in the process, the building was a financial success thus confirming Rocky's judgment. The photograph was a sign of his financial wisdom.

Rhetorical tropes

Such things as metaphors, or metonyms, should be identified in a visual display. A photograph of a house acts as a metaphor for a certain level of wealth. A palm tree in the photograph suggests the romantic tropics. The beach is a metaphor for freedom. One participant said of the beach that it was: “sensuous, playful and also your inhibitions can go because you can romp and play in the water and look a real dag when you come out”.

Inter-textuality

This is a comparison of one photograph with another and the associations between them. In this study a meaningful comparison might be between, say, photographs of different people's houses.

The Semiotic codes

Semiotics codes, and codes generally, tell the interpreter of a text how it should be understood. Leeuwen and Jewett (2001) give examples of semiotic codes in social situations. For example, the angle of regard in a photograph often denotes the power of one of the people in the photograph to the viewer. For example, if one person is looking down on another then that person is in the most dominant position. In Photograph 3.3 the architecture is the code for the Sikh religion.



Photograph 3.3 Sikh Temple.

Chandler's methods will be used to study the photographs using two sets of categories, one for content, and another for settings as shown in tables 3.3 and 3.4.

Chapter 4 consists of a quantitative analysis conducted by tallying the number of photographs assigned to categories as described in the tables 3.3 and 3.4. Results are displayed as bar graphs referring to content and settings. The categories will be examined semiotically and used to recode participants' transcripts.

Table 3.3 Showing the categories of content photographs

Category	Description
1. Self	Photographs in which the participant appears
2. Spouse	Photographs in which the spouse of he participant appears
3. Family	Pictures of the participant’s family – either nuclear or extended
4. Friends	Pictures showing friends of the participant
5. Animals	Pictures showing animals with specific importance – pets, farm or wild animals

Table 3.4 Showing categories of settings

Category	Description
Dwelling	This includes both the exterior of the house and gardens.
Cultural	Photographs of settings or objects associated with aesthetic activities. E.g. art galleries, venues for musical performance, settings in the home where aesthetic objects are displayed e.g. home sound system, graphic arts on the wall, photographs and sculptural objects, ceramics and arts/craft objects, books.
Beach	Beach or harbour settings.
Physical	Settings associated with health such as hospitals, hydrotherapy units and gymnasiums. Sporting locations e.g. golf courses, locations for indoor physical activities and walking venues.
Transport	Family car, public buses or trains, airports, water transport.
Social	Includes settings such as clubs, pubs, restaurants, picnic grounds.
History	Photographs of settings of historical interest. Also photographs of settings from personal past.
Continuity/generativity	Photographs of settings associated with former employment. Photographs of settings in which the participant indicates a desire to ‘hand something on’ to younger generation.
Services	Shopping areas for food and clothing, mechanical or hardware services.
Religion	Settings for religious practice.

CONCLUSION

Photography has been used to provide data and allow participants to describe meaning in their lives. This chapter described the method of sampling and the characteristics of the participants. The rationale for dividing the analysis of results into two parts, quantitative and qualitative, and the definition of categories for quantitative study, were outlined. The results are now presented.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF CATEGORIES OF PHOTOGRAPHS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out the findings on the selected photographs provided by the participants. The photographs are classified by categories partly described by Fiske et al (1987) who carried out a semiotic study of Australian mythology. Barthes gives a relatively simple definition of myths, but then proceeds with an elaborate exploration of the term. Barthes' (2000:109) simple definition is:

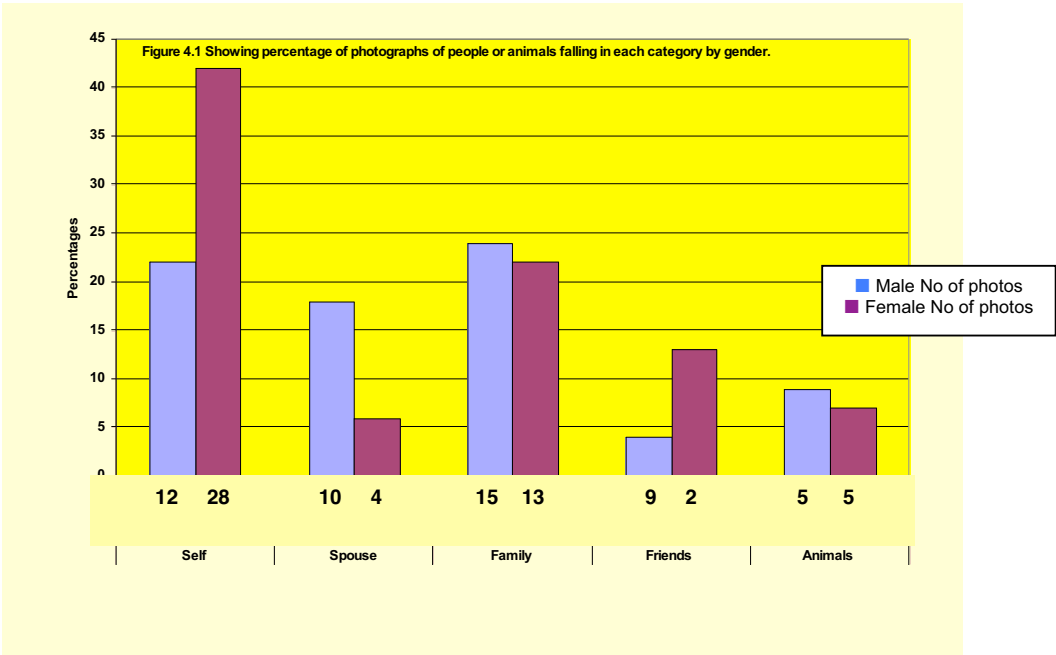
I shall give at the outset a first, very simple answer, which is perfectly consistent with etymology: myth is the type of speech. But what must be firmly established at the start is that a myth is a system of communication that is a message. This allows one to perceive that myth cannot possibly be an object, a concept, or an idea; it is mode of signification, a form.

If one accepts this definition, then the categories used here have something of the same mythological qualities as the work of Fiske and his associates.

It should be noted that not the entire participant group produced photographs for the 'living' content of photographs (eg people) as distinct from 'settings'. There seemed to be an inhibition that made some participants, particularly men, unwilling to present personal photographs, and unwilling to formally ask relatives or friends for permission to show them in the study. It was decided to use whatever personal photographic material that was available, presenting results as percentages of photographs. Figure 4.1 below shows the number of photographs in each category as defined in Chapter 3. It can be seen that women, more frequently than men, presented photographs in which

they themselves appeared, and more men presented photographs of their wives. This difference seems to arise in part from the marital situations of participants. In the spouse category, five of the women had disrupted marital relationships and three, at the time, were living as single people, whereas all men, except even if not married, were living in de facto relationships. This meant that the women would not have anybody to photograph as ‘spouse’ or ‘partner’. In the graph below the number of photographs from males are represented in blue (N=55) and, for females, purple (N=67).

In the interview transcripts there was considerable mention of family. Even a single man such as Guitar, because of his illness, saw himself as highly dependent on his sister-in-law. Four migrants gave nearness to family as one of the main reasons for migrating.

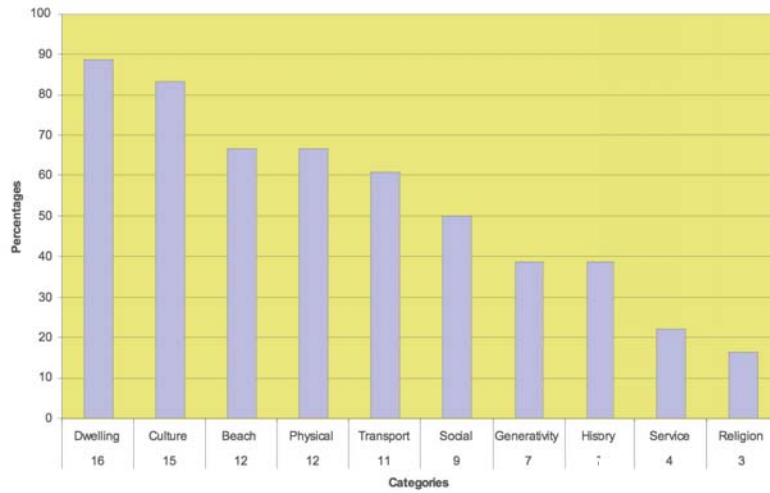


Family bonds were strong and, even if family members were not in Coffs Harbour, close contact was maintained. Kate had nieces in Germany and kept in regular contact by e-mail. All participants kept in contact with their family members. For instance, three of the women had left Coffs Harbour to assist with either the birth of a new grand child or to care for grandchildren in their parents' absences. One, Roy, considered himself the patriarch of his family and travelled from Coffs Harbour to Melbourne or Brisbane sorting out his 'children's problems'. Women showed greater interest in friendships, and included photographs of friends in their albums.

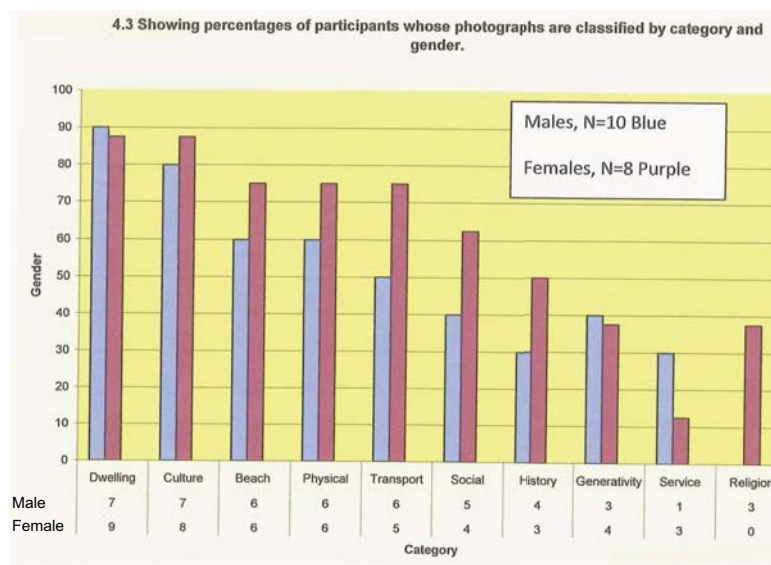
There were a few photographs which included animals. Two women had cats as family pets and one man had a dog. Men who had been farmers, such as Rocky and Mac, included photos of cows or sheep, and another, Guitar, who was particularly interested in wildlife, included a kangaroo that he had protected from dogs. The lack of pets could be explained, to some extent, by the mobile life of migrants. They found that, when travelling, providing for pets that stayed behind was a burden.

Figure 4.2 illustrates the percentage of people whose photographs are classified by a category. In Figure 4.2 the bar graphs were placed in descending order of the percentage of participants whose photographs could be classified by a category.

Figure 4.2 Showing Percentages and number of participants whose photographs are classified by the categories.



All but two people presented photographs of their dwelling because, at the time of acquiring these photographs, George was living in an old caravan and the back of a truck. The other, Elizabeth, possibly collaborated with her husband, Henry, and decided that since he had put in a photograph she would not. This was despite a request that they not collaborate. Figure 4.3 shows the same result by gender.



At the lower end of the distribution, no males presented photographs on religion. All but three males demonstrated no interest in religion in their transcripts, Hiram, who was Jewish, declined to talk about his Judaism, while Rocky talked compulsively about theological issues. George, who claimed Aboriginal heritage, had devised his own theology interweaving his understanding of western Judaic-Christian sources with Aboriginal traditions.

The categories, dwelling, beach, the pub or club (the latter here included under social life) and shopping are major features of Australian life. An important category not included in the Fiske and associates study was 'culture'. Culture appeared quite strongly in the present study. It is suggested the reason for this difference is the change in emphasis on cultural activities over the ensuing 20 years. The advent of the computer, with e-mails, computer games, and digital photography, has brought these aspects of culture to the fore. Television also implicitly focuses on culture and its aesthetics. The main programs and advertisements on television are concerned with housing styles, international food, and holiday travel.

DWELLING

This was the most important category, where all but two participants presented pictures of their dwellings. The important issues associated with 'dwelling' were the issue of control, and whether a dwelling was owned or rented. The affordances of a dwelling are the things that it provides for participants, and include static qualities such as an aspect that provides a vista, a pleasing microclimate, or aesthetic appeal. Most participants expressed some of the following: the convenience of the dwelling, its relationship to shops and services, and the capacity of the backyard

to contain a swimming pool. Other affordances were dynamic i.e. a place of refuge, a place that afforded space for other activities such as craftwork, gardening and entertaining, that is a storage for objects that support the 'self'.

CULTURE

The culture 'category' was used to classify the photographs by four fifths of participants. Of culture, Laura said:

The crux of the problem (living in Coffs Harbour) is that golfing; bowling or bingo playing people are OK but culturally inclined people can't expect to find activities. I suppose cultural people are beginning to break ground.

Gemma comments:

I do miss shows, I miss going to shows. I miss an art show or going to a museum a few times a year. I miss those things. I'm not going to take off to Sydney for it or to go up to Brisbane for it.

Fifteen of the eighteen participants gave similar statements when presenting their photographs. It is interesting to note that all participants pursued cultural activities. The group was divided between those who had some active cultural expression (eg Alf who sang in a choir) and those who appreciated cultural performances (eg Anushka who watched tapes of ballet).

BEACH

The beach category covered two thirds of participants' photographs. In Australian culture the beach is a place of freedom. For example, Felicity on the topic of the beach said:

Sensuous, playful and also all your inhibitions can go because you can romp and play in the water and look real dag when you come out. And not worry (giggles)... Now you're going to say, "Ah, this is a lady who feels she must keep up appearances".

The language here is close to that of Fiske et al (1987) who asserted that the 'beach' has mythological significance, the place where one could let go one's inhibitions.

Piano commented on the beach scenes he had presented:

I just like the beach stuff. I look at the beaches. I walk on the beach. I go and sit. I look out and ponder life's meanings etc. Just looking at the beach and listening to the waves crashing on the shore, it's very restful and good for the soul and all that sort of jazz.

Other participants expressed views similar to Piano's. The beach has a mystical, restorative quality and has the capacity to provoke views on the meaning of life that, perhaps, in part explains the present strong trend for retiring Australians to migrate to seaside cities.

PHYSICAL STATUS

Two thirds of participants had photographs in this category. This figure does not give a true impression of the physical activities of the participants because all but two (Henry and Kate were

both ill during the time of the interviews and are now deceased) were involved in some form of physical activity. Golf was heavily favoured by men and two women. Walking was another activity of choice. Some participants indulged, regularly, in quite long walks. There were signs of physical disability in a number of the participants. These disabilities seemed to be the result of undue activity in an earlier part of their lives. For example, Carmen had arthritis in her back and had to have spinal fusion which was the result, in her opinion, of continuing with her favourite sport for too long, and at too high a level. Tryer had had triple bypass surgery prior to coming to Coffs Harbour and found that he could not walk great distances, although he had been recommended to do so by his cardiologist. Despite their difficulties, the participant group, whether a migrant or resident, were keen on sporting activity and indulged in it regularly.

TRANSPORT

Considering the geographical nature of Coffs Harbour, the importance of transport seems underestimated in that there were slightly less than two thirds of participants whose photographs fell into this category. Except for one participant who produced an airport scene, transport photographs were of the family car. Elizabeth had included the airport because in her childhood it was a fun place to visit. In later life she used air transport when visiting her husband in hospital in Newcastle. Anushka, who was more into walking than riding in a car, nevertheless described her car as “My faithful friend”.

Laura, when queried about the time when she might lose her license, answered:

I'll have to contemplate suicide when I'm that old that I can no longer drive - you're going to be stuck with the bus service which runs during the week, not on weekends, and not during school holidays. When the time comes I'm sure I'll have to sell the dwelling and move somewhere closer to where there is easy access to shops and all facilities and am not forever depending on the bus service.

She gave no suggestion about how she would manage this financially.

SOCIAL

Only half the participants had photographs in the category that included scenes of people socializing, or scenes of places where people gathered for social contact such as clubs, restaurants or U3A classes. Gemma said, of a photograph of the interior of Woolworths:

We gather in Woolworths. We don't do an order any more (that is she doesn't ring in an order to the store and have it delivered). It is packed during Christmas. I always used to think that Cole's was a better place to go because it was less busy. Okay, the Fishermen's Co-op, that is, if you want good fish go to the fishermen's Co-op. I found it important for other reasons. Like when people come to Coffs, particularly during the Festival of Golf, we used to take them to the Deep Sea Fishing club for a meal or to the 'Tide and Pilot' but became disenchanted with both of those. Quite a nice idea is to go and buy one of their snack packs and sit on the sea wall. The sea air is nice, but the seagulls are a pain.

Participants were often visited by relatives or by members of various associations such as golf clubs, Quota and other groups.

GENERATIVITY AND CONTINUITY

Two fifths of participants presented photographs that fitted into this category. Continuity refers to the continuation of life-long work after official retirement. Roy had never actually retired from sign

writing. Many of his signs are to be found in Coffs Harbour. In a generative sense he does free work for service clubs. Viv also has kept contact with educational activities - she was a teacher.

Generativity was indicated by photographs of actions where others were being helped, especially younger people. It should be noted that it is easier to talk about generative acts than to photograph them. Tryer introduced his generativity with a photograph of the boot of his car loaded with equipment for transporting food. He participated in the local 'Meals on Wheels' program, providing meals for people incapable of providing for themselves. Although there were few photographs which could be classified as expressing generativity, there were many more references in the transcripts that could be classified as generative which in one form or another was of concern to all the participants.

HISTORY

Two-fifths of participants presented photographs that were classified as historical. Inevitably, such photographs were mostly from long-term residents who knew of past events. 'History' was taken to mean stories about photographs that had scenes pertaining to earlier times in Coffs Harbour, or in the participant's life. The photographic task of the study, by its nature, limited photographs to Coffs Harbour district. Henry, despite a printed description of the study and verbal instructions, persisted with the notion that he was participating in an historical study so took few photos of the environment. He did however, present many photographs of the commercial past when timber felling and fishing, and their supportive infrastructures, were the main source of prosperity. In speaking of the past, Henry gave the impression of talking about personal experiences although some of the events discussed had happened long before he was born.

Guitar, who was from the seventh generation of people who settled the region, also presented historical material. One of his photographs was of the graves of the original settlers, his great, great grandparents. Guitar had, for a time before his illness made activity too difficult, kept a small museum in the under part of his brother's house. Guitar was greatly concerned with preserving the past.

SERVICES

Less than a quarter of the participants had photographs which fitted into this category. Services refer to places where food, hardware or other commodities are sold. Gemma actually included a photograph of a supermarket and said: "I'm a hunter and gatherer". Services appear to be taken for granted so did not feature in the photos of most people. One of the aspects of super markets was their accessibility. Could they be reached on foot and what was the parking like?

Two men expressed enthusiasm for shopping. Hiram spoke of his shopping:

Yes that's Mother Nature (referring to a greengrocer). I go to Mother Nature once a week sometimes twice, because we're vegetarians and I find they have a remarkably good range of fruit and veggies at extremely good prices.

He further commented:

Ah, I almost forgot. One of the buildings I frequent regularly is Coffs Music Centre in the Palm Centre in the middle of town, because the proprietor John is very, very helpful and I have been dealing with them for five years. I have bought a larger number of CDs of the Naxos label, which were used to prepare programmes for our music group.

Piano was also an enthusiastic shopper, largely because he has plenty of money and was not concerned with saving. He is, however, prone to buying articles such as pianos rather than foodstuffs.

Elizabeth, a resident since early childhood, brought up the issue of local loyalties. Traditionally Coffs Harbour was divided between 'Top Town' on the highway and the 'Jetty' by the sea, separated by two kilometres. The two halves competed in a number of ways such as in sport, industry and commerce. Elizabeth, a 'Top Town girl', expressed some regrets that the only supermarket she could reach on foot had closed, and the only really good shops were in the 'Plaza' (a supermarket built in top-town) which had to be reached by car. The Plaza's advantage was good parking, as distinct from the other part of Top Town that had a difficult high rise parking station. She expressed a sense of mild guilt when she shopped at the Plaza, not the main part of Top Town. Migrant participants were largely unaware of such local differences.

RELIGION

It is not easy to photograph all aspects of a person's life. Even when some sign for the meaning that the person is trying to convey is photographed, it provides only a denotive meaning which requires more connotive information to make the meaning clear. This was demonstrated in the discussion of Figure 2. The concept of religion, for example, can be conveyed with photographs of objects of known religious significance, such as a church, or documents such as the Bible, or ritual objects. Neither George Rocky or Viv presented photographs that could be described as religious, but when stimulated with a question or two held forth at great length on religious issues.

Religion was the least represented category by photographs of places of worship. Like generativity, it required additional verbal explanation. Viv who made a strong claim for her spirituality, did not present any photographs of religious sites. Neither did either Rocky or George who both spoke at length about religion. There was an interesting parallel between the ways in which participants spoke of the beach, and the few that spoke of religion. The latter described their religious experiences in much the same way as those describing their experiences of the beach: as an emotional restorative of calm and a sense of well-being, rather than ritual acts performed in the church of an orthodox faith.

DISCUSSION

The differences in the size of contributions to different categories needs further discussion. As has been noted above, in the discussion of generativity, some things of importance are not necessarily able to be photographed. For example, social networks can be illustrated verbally, but not easily photographed. 'Dwelling' and 'culture' are somewhat artificial divisions. Dwellings, their shape and use, are inevitably part of culture. Both one's dwelling and one's culture are signs of self worth.

The interest in ideas and activities associated with these categories is reinforced by what Parmentier (1994) has termed 'semiotic regimentation', brought about by the advertising industry using a plethora of images that act as signs for self worth. Commercial television is replete with programs on mortgages, buying or building homes, and domestic paraphernalia.

The forms of houses with their double carports is virtually a visual trope, and elaborate landscaping (including, for some reason, the palm tree as another trope i.e. a metaphor for the romantic tropics)

proclaim the wealth of the owner. A trope is a figure of speech or perhaps a cliché. Those participants who were long-term residents did not have these tropes. Their houses were less modern and showy and their cultural expressions not as expensive or extensive. Henry, for example, had built his own home when he first married, and had lived in it for fifty years. He was quite wealthy and owned several properties. Guitar and Mac live in houses built late in the nineteenth century. Long-term residents are much more conservative in their taste in domestic architecture which for them is dictated by the past.

‘Culture’ does not appear in Fiske et al (1987) ‘The Myths of Oz’, which was published in 1987. Since that time there has been an enormous growth in the availability of information. National television programs, as a result of consultation in the 80s, cover a vast range of cultural issues - more so than in the 70s and 80s. It is therefore not surprising that aspects of virtual culture, such as the personal computer and the internet, which help people keep in contact with their families, receive no mention in ‘The Myths of Oz’ Fiske et al (1987).

Transport and physical health facilitate the effort necessary for the migrant to construct an identity in a new environment. The Coffs Harbour city population is spread out in small pockets that are scattered over a wide geographical area, with many services (retail, health, maintenance for vehicles) located in a small number of malls and industrial estates. Relatively large distances have to be travelled for necessities. Recreational facilities, golf courses, bowling greens, and tennis courts, and venues for social activities are widespread. In the absence of adequate public transport it is necessary to own a vehicle. Vehicle ownership brings extra stress for people in the latter part of the lifecycle. As well as the expense of keeping and maintaining a vehicle, there is the threat to its continued use such as mandatory medical checks after seventy five, and after eighty five, driving tests. Because

many of the migrants travel to their children, who often do not live in Coffs Harbour or nearby towns, both personal and public transport is necessary.

CONCLUSION

By having participants produce their own albums of photographs it was found that the photographs, related to important issues in the person's past and quickly got to issues which, in some cases, led to strong emotions and life review opportunities. Further analysis of the content of transcripts is now carried out in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 5

PORTRAITS

INTRODUCTION

Ranzijin and Grbich (2001) note the contributions small case studies can make on shedding light on the lives of older people. They comment:

To simply list an inventory of productive activities trivialises the nature and depth of involvement. There is a need for further study into the relationship of older adults to their larger social network, by means of which older adults are able to contribute in useful and meaningful ways. (2001:2)

de LaRue (2001), in her doctoral thesis, successfully examined the meaning of home for elderly rural women, and used photographs of the women's homes as an anchor point for her interviews. She found that the photographs provided a good anchor point in facilitating the discussion and highlighting meaning behind the stories told to her.

In this chapter, two 'portraits' are presented to illustrate the issues that older people can face when migrating in later life. Roy, an Australian-born male in his mid 60s, and Carmen, an English woman in her early 60s, were chosen as examples from both genders to demonstrate the way in which people manage their lives after migration. Photographs are used to evoke the developmental history of each person prior to migration, and their responses to migration.

Roy

Roy, while running his own business, as well as being incumbent as the Mayor of a Melbourne municipality, fantasised about migration over a number of years. He later planned his migration with expectations built upon years of experience in visiting other localities. He went on to explain the roles, played by his wife and himself, and the significance they had in motivating migration. His wife managed the administrative side of the business, while Roy carried out the main task of sign writing. Of their roles he maintained:

She was a partner in the firm. We always had access to each other's assets all our life. She was the accounts section and in all books (sic). I was doing all the planning, designing and quoting. I was collecting the money which was the hard part, especially in the sign business, because you were the last in before the business opened and you, if you didn't watch out, you'd be the last to get paid.

Emerging evidence of physical infirmity, particularly his wife's, made him consider migration seriously. He explained:

At that time we were both under a lot of stress. I tended to enjoy the stress when I was a councillor and mayor of the city and running my own business and employing about six. One of the things that made us sell up and retire a lot earlier was that she (his wife) had a cerebral haemorrhage. That could have been brought about by stress, who knows? Then I came to Coffs Harbour because I didn't think I was under stress-we'll rephrase that-because I was under stress I know, but I didn't think it was doing any harm. So I didn't have any idea of less stress.

The above sentence contains a number of paradoxical statements similar to those found in the interviews of the other participants. There appears to be a strong tendency to make these paradoxical statements. In catastrophe theory, postulated by both Thom (1975) and Zeeman (1980), this is a hysteresis cycle; one of the five aspects of a bipolar catastrophe in which there are two opposing control parameters. In this case, it involves a participant making a statement which is then

contradicted by another statement opposite to the first. In Roy's case, conflict seems to be between two images of himself.

Later he described his position more fully when talking about the wisdom of medical check-ups. He goes on:

I don't think I've got a great concern with health maintenance. I think it's because I'm so practical.... So it doesn't worry me, my health as such.

The above sentence contains a form of denial which was commented on above. It might be added that one conflict seems to be between his macho image of himself and his recognition of the fact that he can no longer perform at the pace that he maintained before retirement. The hysteresis behaviour is some indication that he has not resolved some of these issues.

Roy's comment below followed my comment:

D.McK: You contrast this with how most blokes, a lot of blokes, just don't go near a doctor?

R: Yes that's an interesting point. To me they are unwise. I don't know, having been in service clubs like Rotary and Lions, its complacency. I think why don't they go? Some of it is they are frightened that they might have some ailment and might find their cholesterol was too high and that they can't eat a piece of steak every night. Or they have a huge beer pot and they know they will be told not to drink so much beer.

D.McK: you are making the point that you are different. You depict yourself as a practical competent sort of person.

R: It is difficult to find the right words.

He goes on:

Yes, it's an intelligence sort of thing. I think professional people would be more likely to do what I'm doing; whereas your worker, tradesmen mightn't. I'm thinking it's an intelligence thing, just being reasonably intelligent about it.

In his first response to the question, he ascribes complacency about health, and then goes on further to change from complacency to fear of finding out what they (other men) don't want to know. In the last comment Roy exposes another conflict i.e. educated versus uneducated. He contrasts worker/tradesmen with professional people. He appears to be concerned about not belonging to an educated class.

In talking of his health checks, he expanded on his lifestyle:

I did it before I came up here. The last time was four years ago. I did it when I got to the council because I had the turn (sic). You have to understand the lifestyle. I worked in my office with two phones and fax phones and the front counter, and people would come in when both phones were ringing and I would have maybe 10 minutes in which I would be chairing a meeting at the Town Hall --which if you didn't break any speed records was about 15 minutes by the time you parked in the Mayor's spot then I would be chairing a meeting. It might be that the Country Roads Board was negotiating compensation. (Or if the phone if it rang before I left) I'd say, 'I'm not answering anyone', but that might be someone very important. So I may talk to them then say I have got to go and I'll come and see you. Then I'd jump in my car and roar up to the Town Hall, coming in flushed, red-faced, stressed, and then settle down to get on with the meeting and, at the end of the day, thinking nothing of it.

After another day like that I went down to the neighbourhood meeting and had a turn in a house – got hot and cold. I thought “hello I am having a *bit* (my italics) of a heart turn”. As it turned out I don't think it was so. That was the first time I had it checked out. That was 10 years ago.

It will be noted here his hesitation in owning stress. Even when he suspects he's having a heart attack, it is 'a bit of' a heart attack. 'A bit of' tends to take away some of the seriousness of the attack.

Although he had retired, according to him for his wife's sake, he explained:

Kay and I never liked the weather in Victoria. We looked throughout Victoria for another place to the north of the divide. We went from one side to the other but found, during the winter time, it was just as cold as Melbourne wherever we went. We use to travel to Bateman's Bay and Narooma every year. We looked seriously at going there because it was close to Melbourne, and close to children, as well as Wangaratta and Murray (sic). There is no life there and certainly no culture. We went all the way to Noosa and drove back, stopping along the way at every little seaside village. Nothing quite suited until we drove into Korora Bay in Coffs Harbour. The road we drove down was "Sandy Beach". We looked out and saw two islands which looked very much like Hawaii. It was so perfect we decided we should stay there. You don't make decisions on your permanent home in a holiday place because when you get back to normal lifestyle, where you live permanently, sometimes it disappoints people. We thought about it for quite some time but in the end we were determined. We took photographs all round that particular area. We left word with agents quite deliberately, so we deliberately decided we intended to live in a particular precinct in a particular town, Korora Bay, Coffs Harbour.

The first two photographs (5.1 & 5.2 below) presented in interview were of his house and yard. The house had been built for a number of years, and extensively remodelled by Roy, who said of the house: 'It has most things that we wanted. We have spent more time on it'. The next scene is the garden. Instead of having lawn mowing exercise, it has been built into a lush tropical garden.



Photographs 5.1 and 5.2 Showing Roy's house and backyard.



Roy retained the equipment from his sign writing business and hoped to find some similar business on retirement in Coffs Harbour, but not enough to disturb his golf. He found, however, that his skills were very much in demand and he had to make a conscious effort to turn away clients.

His choice of sign writing as a role demonstrates his attitudes and reveals a conflict between his desire to be an artist and his need to earn money. He explains his life-work choice of sign writing:

I wanted to be an artist or a graphic designer. Coming from a family of seven children there was not the funding to put myself through a course. The closest thing to art was sign writing. I wonder whether I could have got off on a different track. I was a frustrated artist so I went to the National Gallery night school during the week.

Roy, when he was about to retire, had fantasised about the possibility of being offered a highly paid position in some firm. Laughingly he pointed out that no one made him such an offer. After contemplating the impossibility of finding such a job he said:

I drifted back into doing signs. By the time I started in Coffs Harbour it was all computerised so it was just a matter of setting up in a spare room with a computer and a plotter and all the software and creating signs again. So I was very like a carpenter having his own little woodworking hobby.



Photograph 5.3 Roy's home workstation where he designs and creates signs.

The word 'hobby' was queried. Roy replied, "Yes it felt like a hobby. I still enjoy doing the signage until I get too much work then I stopped quoting for it." I then made the comment: "it's pretty important at our age to keep your hand in". Roy went on:

Yes there is a generation thing there. My generation, our generation, then there is the baby boomers. If they want something they just go out to borrow. It was my upbringing such that what capital you had you conserved and lived off the interest. Even at the age of 65, shares are of concern. So any hobbies that can lessen the impact can make one much happier. It's very important I think.

Roy has many activities that he participated in, in Melbourne, and continued with when he came to Coffs Harbour. These were golf, fishing, shooting, care for his dog, culture in the form of attending opera and ballet, and graphic arts. To keep himself stimulated Roy has many fallback positions. He was asked, "You don't have any worries about money?"

R: No, I've never really worried about money. If ever I wanted money I would just go out and make some. I've never worried about money even when I was running my own business. I always felt you can run the business and the money looks after itself.

Despite such protestations Roy, in everyday conversation, will bring up his involvement with the stock exchange and the elaborate amount of work he does to keep informed to make adequate decisions on the share market. In retirement he keeps his eye on the stock exchange and daily makes sales or purchases depending on his reading of the market. Now he is sufficiently affluent not work so hard, but does so in order to be able to finance his children, now all adults, in their projects thus ensuring his continuing role as a patriarch.

When considering Roy's present state he seems to be in the position described by Kerr and Apter (1991), in writing on adult play, which points to two phases of activity which they called 'telic' and 'paratelic'. Work is goal directed which is said to be telic, and play indulged in more for its own sake

is paratelic. However, there comes a point in time when activity is not directed to a goal but the enjoyment of the activity. Roy described his present position:

This is a challenge to me at the moment, not making money and not trying to create a new business, trying not to feel my age. It is simply to beat the golf course (laughs). My ambition over the last three years is to bring my handicap down from 21 to 14. I am down to 16. It's taken three long years to get there and a lot of lessons, close to a thousand dollars worth or even more of professional teaching on how to swing the golf club in the appropriate way.

Golf has ceased to be something played just for the fun of it and has taken on the seriousness of a business. He plays three days a week, working hard, as in the photograph 5.4 where he is trying to get out of an awkward golfing position.



Photograph 5.4. Roy at play or work?

Baltes (1997), and Freund and Baltes (1998), see selection, optimisation, and compensation as desirable strategies in ageing. These have been observed by Roy who, until recently, would go deep sea fishing. He had bought a powerboat to facilitate his deep-sea fishing around Narooma on the south coast of NSW. He continued on this activity when he came to Coffs Harbour. Ultimately he

came to a point where he found that the work of fishing out at sea from a small boat was too hard, so he sold his boat and concentrated heavily on golf. He insists that he has no regrets. He was wondering what he would do when he could no longer play golf and speculated on the possibility of going back to art. Roy is good at making selections of activities and optimising them. He has compensated for the loss of fishing with golf. The issue of life activities led him back to talking about his years in politics. He detailed the activities of the latter part of his life in Melbourne. He described his methods of electioneering that provoked my comment ‘determination like that requires a lot of thrust’. He referred to ‘thrust’ as energy:

Yeah, I have plenty of that, a lot of energy and a lot of thrust. I have enormous energy it has been said. When other advocates have been waning because it’s five and the lights are failing and they say I’ve done enough for the day, I would only be halfway through.

Towards the end of his first interview Roy was relaxed enough to begin to talk about his personal life as a child. To the final question by the researcher: “You are protective and friendly; you look after other people and your family”. His characteristically oblique reply was: “Yeah! I know those, one of those things. I don’t - I don’t want to go there and find out”.

After the interview had closed, he lingered to have a drink and clearly could not let go of some of the ideas, although he had said he didn’t want to pursue my question. In the intervening three years, from time to time, he would come back to a discussion of his first interview, especially with regard to his early life. As a prelude to launching into this description of his early life, he had said in interview:

I’d love to have done psychology. It really fascinates me the way everyone reacts, the way people react, the way people think. Because they’ve all been brought up in different environments, everyone is different. Take a family of seven like my family; they are all different. My three children are all different. It’s fascinating to know quite how different and what made them different. Whether there is a thread through it all.

When he was asked would he like to elaborate he took my comment as meaning “I would like you to elaborate”. This possibly means that he was becoming anxious as the feelings of the earlier part of his life began to emerge. He displaced the responsibility for this emergence onto me.

“(Laughing nervously) I’ll bet you would. I think this is going pretty deep into early childhood. My elder brother and I...our mother died when I was 14 months and he was about 28 months and then Dad remarried. I have five stepbrothers and a sister. That was quite a happy family for the time, we had nothing; it was a struggle. We didn’t know it was a struggle as that was all we had known. I suppose as an amateur psychologist I might say, at one stage, I might have felt abandoned. I don’t know – interesting? So, whether trusts or mistrust has been there all my life, who knows?”

For years I never... my brother is the same never...oh, a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush was a very valid thought. You never had it until you had it in your hand. If someone promised to give you something it meant nothing till you had it.

According to Roy, he and his elder brother were separated for about 14 months during which time he did not know what had happened to his brother. But he went on:

I don’t know what happened to me. We had a grandmother, a pretty hard old grandmother I can’t remember, being too young at that stage. I have no memories at all. I don’t know... that was the era we had no expectations. You didn’t think you should have received this or that and you didn’t even ask for anything. You just went without it.

The comment was made: “You make yourself sound pretty passive. The impression I have of you is that you have always been proactive”. Again he responded obliquely:

I think my older brother probably got knocked around by our real mother dying. I was virtually leader of the family when stepmother and father were not there. Lost contact with my older brother at times; that’s how it was. So that trust in yourself and confidence in yourself was learned in childhood. Wherever I went – I went into National Service – it was inevitable that I should end up a corporal or somebody like that, and that I did. I was a sergeant.

Although he had produced material which possibly indicated severe trauma through childhood, at the time of interview Roy indicated that he did not want to probe his thoughts in this region. Over a

period of time, about three years, Roy and the researcher met socially, and on each occasion what appeared to be unfinished parts of the interview came up. In one telephone conversation, (it is difficult to give a verbatim account), he first mentioned his mother's death and related this to his stepmother's demise. This had occurred shortly after his round Australia trip that he had made in 1995, prior to coming to Coffs. The last time he met with her he was aware that they had a mutual, unspoken awareness of her impending death that nobody else in the family seemed to have. He was strongly attached to his stepmother and said:

She was going into hospital for a heart operation at the age of 83. Although we did not put it into words we both knew she was likely to die. She did.

From this point in the interview he went on to recount a traumatic incident when he was in third class. His stepmother was hospitalised for difficulties with her pregnancy. Of his father he said: "He was a hard father."

His father was hard enough to place Roy and his brother in a welfare home for some months. Roy described the home: "In the home there was no kindness from the staff. Any help or comfort came from other inmates." He recounted a memory, shortly after being placed in the home, of standing at one of the building's large windows looking back at the lights of Melbourne and crying with despair.

From the nature of the communication it is not possible to trace his development in any detail. Therefore it is not possible to say how exactly he was transformed from this child, who felt abandoned, to the patriarch of his family group. He commented on his extended family, with some regret:

Since I left Melbourne they're breaking up. I used to be the patriarch of the family. We use to go to barbecues and all get together. Since we left, unfortunately, they are breaking up. They'd say, 'I haven't seen so and so or they don't invite me to get their dinner parties'. If I were there the family would still stay together. Since we left, unfortunately, they are breaking up. That's important to me.

In this paragraph Roy has expressed his main regret for the migration. He is still close to his own family – a son and two daughters. Like most modern families, however, they are scattered over the continent. Nevertheless, Roy will head off to Brisbane to paint the interior of his daughter's house. He has invested money with a view to helping his son with a business project involving a Chinese connection.

The generative and competitive sides of Roy's personality have been expressed in his municipal work, and occasionally he does free signage for groups in the community to raise money for some particular worthy project. Roy likes to lay emphasis on his practicality. When discussing his health, he said he took care of it because he was so practical, saying:

I am just so practical with my car. My car needs servicing. I think 'am I as important as this vehicle?' I should get myself serviced too.

Once he had asserted his practical attitudes he went on to demonstrate how they could be used generatively:

To my mind I'm not too practical; to other people it's annoying. If people want to go in a certain direction, and they have convinced themselves of that direction, say that in the middle of the city they wanted to build an urban farm, that means having pigs and cows and sheep and growing crops, all in an area close to the golf course, I would resist them. I upset a lot of people in such a situation.

I saved the ratepayers a lot of money because I stopped it...once I have made a decision that's it. I've done my homework, and made the wrong decision, ah, but hey, I have done everything I could!

He goes on to describe a number of situations where his practical decision-making has been used for the benefit of others. On a recent project where he helped people he explained:

I'm interested, psychologically, why some people help other people to do something for nothing. I got involved with a developer who wanted to put up a two-storey unit that was really equivalent to a four-storey unit on an ordinary sized block of land. I helped an old couple that I have been quite friendly with, but not to the extent of being friends, who have always had a fear that some developments would block their view. All their nightmares came to fruition when they saw the plans of this one. They came in and saw me knowing I'd been on council. So I said I'd help them.

I know before I start I am in for hours and hours of work; hours that are not going to get compensation for – not even thinking of getting compensation for. So having taken it on my makeup – the ego probably – I can't lose. I've got to win. At the same time I'm acutely aware the applicant is within his rights to go with what he's got. I am empowered to do what is fair.

The reason was that I wanted to help the old couple. It was 100% to help those people. It's a fair thing. I know how to make it a fair thing.

After some long descriptions of his helping of other people he was asked: "When you do something like this, do you see it as an expression of yourself, or do you just do it?" "To this he made a fairly lengthy reply:

A bit of both – probably more just do things. I look at things and say, "Is it right?" If I believe something is right I think my moral values are as good as, if not better than, anybody else's. This is also a problem. I also believe values and rights differ.

Once I made a decision on some moral code I'll stick with it, come hell or high water. A politician in a party I would never have been. I would have been an independent like Ted Mack (a noted Australian independent politician). I just couldn't stand following the party line if it went against my beliefs. I couldn't live with it. To a certain extent I used to have an extremely high sense of moral outrage that has faded with age.

He was queried on the nature of his moral outrage and replied:

Ah! Not at all physical: If someone was bullying somebody I go out of my way to help them or stop the bullying. If someone very articulate – an academic say – putting down someone in front of other

people that is I would take enormous delight in putting him down in front of other people – which I've done and taken great delight. That is, I suppose, another aspect of my make up that people have said that I am my very best friend and my very worst enemy. They say that to other people and it got back to me.

Here again he sees himself as the protector of underdogs coping with bureaucratic agencies. As Roy has pointed out, one can encounter a fair amount of displeasure from people you are trying to help.

He said:

It's an interesting psychological insight on how I work and how, at the end of the day, the applicants will be disliked, and the guide that helped them won't be all that popular either. It's a no-win situation. Why did I get involved just helping someone? I'd do it again knowing I'd not make everyone happy, and more often people who will know will not be enamoured of me. It doesn't worry me or stop me. No one likes being disliked but I am not going to lose any sleep over it.

The issues that emerge from Roy's interview show he has strong impulses to help others, has a moral code of his own, sees himself as different from others and highly values his own independence. He finds it difficult to answer directly when questioned about himself, and uses a technique of robbing his statements of the strength of what he does say. For example, he had a *bit* of a heart turn; the work he does now is a *hobby* - demoted from being real work. A highly valued role that he brought from Melbourne is that of patriarch in his family. To some extent he sees this role slipping away from him in that he can no longer hold the family together. He uses the modal 'might' to soften the strength of some of the things he says; for example 'I *might* say I felt abandoned'. When asked a direct question about himself he will make an oblique reply, such as by talking about his brother who was in the same situation as him.

Roy's assertion of his practicality is in part to avoid fantasy, most of which is considered impractical. The assertion of practicality prevents flights of fancy which may lead to the emergence of uncomfortable memories and feelings. Even so, he has some compulsion to examine his inner self.

This comes out in his professed interest in psychology. He has come to grips with the misfortunes of his life through his capacity to marshal his energies and concentrate intensively on whatever he is trying to achieve. This can be observed in his approaches to tasks about the house. These are all performed at the double, forcing out any opportunity for fantasies to have room for expression. Roy's current interest in golf is approached with the same intensity. It must be noted, however, that he has practised so much that, at one stage, he was suffering from repeated stress injuries in his arms. Nevertheless, he has also won a few tournaments with valuable prizes. He refuses to fully acknowledge he is under stress at times. Despite these characteristics, he is a highly skilled and caring individual who appears to be enjoying life to the full. His next developmental task will be for him to learn how to cope as his energies diminish. It is interesting that recently he has been talking about taking up art again, and this could be a solution for him when he no longer has the capacity for the skills of golf. Intellectual pursuits are a possibility because he has clearly demonstrated intelligence. He has some scarcely explored issues with study. He asserts he has a bad memory and always did poorly at school. He says he just got through. This condition could have been derived from the effects of a disturbed early childhood. His general groping for knowledge of psychology could suggest a satisfying direction he could take in constructing a role for the latter part of his life. That is, he could reconstruct his role of patriarch by becoming the wise one who is knowledgeable about family history and psychology, and gives advice rather than being the one who takes action.

Carmen

It became clear that the impetus for Carmen's migration found its beginnings in the breakdown of her first marriage. The sequence was:

Separation from her first husband took place after a turbulent early marriage.

She bonded closely with her sons.

Remarriage – she met her second husband at a Badminton club where they frequently partnered each other in doubles.

Her sons wanted to travel and eventually chose to migrate to Australia where their father had migrated previously.

Carmen frequently travelled from England to Australia to visit her sons and their families. At that time she was opened to the suggestion of a move to Australia.

Carmen and her husband migrated to Wollongong.

Troubles emerged in the form of family tensions between Carmen and her daughters-in-law.

After 10 years in Wollongong she migrated to Coffs Harbour for her husband's work. She now enjoys living at Coffs Harbour.

Carmen began to have marital problems when she became pregnant in the first year of her first year marriage. She explained:

During that time, when I was six months pregnant, he had an affair. I forgave him. I said, "Well okay, maybe I do look a bit like an elephant". But I couldn't understand the second time that he had an affair because I always tried to keep myself looking nice. I thought I was fairly attractive and had a nice personality. The point was I think I didn't like going to clubs and pubs. I was more of a stay at home person. I'd rather have a family get-together at home than go to a club or a pub. I think perhaps I was a little bit boring for him.

She further commented:

My first husband decided I wasn't interesting enough I think. I was a bit of a stay at home person. I had my children and I guess I'd made the children my life and forgot to be a wife. I have to say that.

She reflected about the end of that marriage by saying:

Well, I think the straw that broke the camel's back was that he had an affair with my best friend. And that was the last straw. I can remember, and I do remember the day it happened, that I found out. I got in my car and went to her house. I got hold of her, practically by the scruff of the neck and her arm, and actually I dragged her into my car. I took her up to my house and sat her on the settee next to my husband and I said, "Now what have you got to say?" My husband said, "I don't love her, I only want you." I said, "I don't want you anymore." I just wanted really to embarrass them both. That's why I did what I did. I felt good after I did it because I'd been a bit of a doormat for sometime... I just felt good that I'd done that. He left after that and I was a pleased about it.

The fact that she had been the sole parent was the reason she gave for close bonding with her two sons. She also introduces her second husband, Ralph, in the same statement:

My two sons, they grew up together without a father for a long time until Ralph came on the scene. And then they went off to America together and had a really great time, looking after each other for a whole year. They came to Australia and really watched out for one another, and cared about each other, but when they got married things have changed a little. The two girls didn't really click with each other and they have become rather estranged at this moment. I'm doing my best to reunite them so to speak (laughs). You know there are only two of them and I won't be around forever. I just want all the children to get to know each other, you know.

Carmen's elder son and his wife have jobs which take them overseas, and this gives her an opportunity to baby-sit her grand children. This she does with alacrity:

It was great fun. It is nice to have them to myself for a whole week. It was quite amusing in the morning. They would scramble into bed with me the whole three of them and have a spelling competition because they all enjoy spelling.

Her view of the grandchildren is:

They do form as big a part of my life as my daughters-in-law will allow. We always had difficulties from when my son got married. We say we had difficulties right from the word go, but I think it is improving. I always thought it was something wrong with me but there were difficulties in that we were so different from the start.

Of her elder son's mother-in-law it was her opinion that:

The day I was introduced to her, she took an instant dislike to me and it has been said that she doesn't like English people. I'm English and her daughter married an English man! Early on I took everything so personally but now I look at it and think, "Well I haven't got a problem with her really. She's got a problem with me and she's the one who has to deal with it". I think it is working because I'm not so sensitive about it and it doesn't really hurt me anymore.

Unlike most of the other participants, Carmen had little time to fantasise about Coffs Harbour of which she knew scarcely anything. She described the sudden way in which her husband introduced the topic:

We were having Christmas dinner with one of my sons and his wife when my husband announced he had a job in Coffs Harbour that he had to take up in a fortnight.

She had no strategy for how she was to fit in or whether she would stay. She said:

I came to Coffs Harbour kicking and screaming, actually. I did not want to leave Wollongong where I lived. My family was near. I had a son in Wollongong, and a son in Sydney who I wanted to be near. My husband had a job opportunity in Coffs Harbour so we came. Now I am here I just love it. It has opened future horizons for my life, changed my whole life coming to Coffs Harbour, because I think it's really because when I lived in Wollongong I was just happy to have my family around me and not to worry too much about having a social life for myself.

She listed a couple of activities she had in Wollongong, such as delivering pamphlets, that were not a really satisfying. Quilting she had found much more satisfactory. She explained how she adjusted to Coffs Harbour:

So when I finally came to Coffs Harbour, begrudgingly, I started to enjoy it. When we first came here we rented a house for six months because I just wanted to get the feel of Coffs Harbour, and I really wasn't sure whether I could stay away from my family. So we rented for six months and then I really enjoyed it immensely. During the first six months, or during the first two weeks, I said to myself that I must do something. I just can't sit at home waiting for a telephone call from my family or something like that. I actually went to the Neighbourhood Centre and Volunteers' Office to find out whether there was any work I could do. I also went to the Lifeline Office. I had been transferred from the Wollongong Lifeline office to Coffs Harbour Lifeline Office.



Photograph 5.5 Neighbourhood Centre where Carmen worked for a number of years.



Photograph 5.6. Lifeline Headquarters Coffs Harbour.

It can be seen that, although Carmen was disappointed to leave Wollongong, she adopted a strong proactive attitude to her situation and saw how it could mesh in with her world view. She engaged the generative side of her makeup, and her maternal compassion, and found outlets for these drives in Coffs Harbour. She also reflected on the similarities between Coffs Harbour and Burnham on Crouch, where she grew up, to help adjust to Coffs Harbour. After digressions she was brought back to look at the photographs she had produced. The importance of the photograph of the Marina was explained:

The photographs – it's the marina. I've chosen Coffs Harbour Marina because it also evoked memories of my childhood. I grew up in a small town in England which had a river. There were always boats and two marinas and several yacht clubs. So when I first came to view Coffs Harbour and I thought, yes, I think I'll be able to live here (laughs).



Photograph 5.7 Coffs Harbour Marina.

She described some of her memories thus:

We used to swim in the River Crouch in Essex. In the summer holidays we would dive off the side swimming, and also on Sunday afternoons going for a picnic with my parents. We used to walk along the riverbank and sit down with our picnic, and just sit there with the picnic on the riverbank with Mastriges Digestif biscuits and some homemade lemonade. I had the same sort of feeling, and, I still do looking at the picture of the marina. I had the same sort of feeling and I think I will... it's

very much like that with all the boats and though perhaps the boats were not quite as grand as down at the Marina. That's how it feels now.

It was possible to interview Carmen twice. The second interview, however, did not cover new ground but went deeply into what she had already examined.

Carmen was fortunate in that, after her divorce, her husband gave her generous maintenance, and she in turn made sure that the boys saw their father and kept in contact with him.

Before her first marriage she had worked as a book-keeper. She explains:

Yes, and then when I got married I gave it up. I didn't work for several years and then I decided that I wanted to get a degree because I had left school to go into this job. Coming from a big family, it was a matter of going to work to earn some money. The boys got the education and the girls went out to work because my parents thought the boys are going to have to be the breadwinners all their lives, and girls will eventually get married and that's the way they thought at that time but it's so different now, isn't it?

So when I was about 28 or 30 I decided to go and get my degree. I first of all studied with the Open University because I had children. And now I was is a bit tied to the home with them and then I decided to go to the University of Essex. Got my first credit at the University of Essex, which was still affiliated with the Open University, and I did a B.A. in History of Art. After that I worked as a manager in a store. I was a manager of a department in a large store. I worked there in what was called the Royal Doulton room. And then I went to work at Harrods in London. I was headhunted to go to into Harrods to sort out some problems. I left that because the traffic got so bad going to London. I became a medical secretary and I did that until I came to Australia. I was very fortunate. I was only here two weeks and I walked straight into a job as secretary at an optometrist's. I stayed there a little while and then I did the course at TAFE in fashion and design. I was top student. Then, I was walking in Grace Bros one day and thought, "Oh I need a job". I went up to the personnel department and got the job in Grace Bros in their China Department and then ladies fashions.

As she recounted these details Carmen presented a picture of assurance and self-confidence. She said of herself that she was a perfectionist. She had won prizes for her work in quilting. She could never let a crooked seam pass muster and was quite prepared to unpick work to correct errors. In Coff's

Harbour she joined the U3A and went to French and Art classes. She said she hoped to be able to speak and read French fluently.



Photograph 5.8 The Community Village where U3A classes are held.



Photograph 5.9 Gym that Carmen joined.

One of the first actions when coming to Coffs Harbour was to join a gymnasium. When queried on the extent of her physical activities she replied:

Yes, these physical activities I've always done from early – as long as I can remember. I used to be a runner at school. I used to do the hundred metres, long jump, and the high jump. I was actually a champion in Essex for that. I also played netball for a number of years for a league in the area. The sport I played most was badminton and represented Essex, my county, a few times. I represented the

town a few times and was quite successful. My mixed partner in badminton was my husband, and I played ladies doubles as well and had various partners. That's how I actually met my second husband playing badminton. When we first met he was 22 and I was 32. I'm 10 years older, as you can work it out.

She went on:

When I first met him I thought, "My God. Who is that young chap? He keeps wanting to play doubles with me. I didn't want to play with him. Our friendship grew and we got married a couple of years later. I played the badminton at a very high standard until I was about 48. Unfortunately it has left me with a lot of arthritis in my spine. I've already had spinal surgery to correct this. I had spinal fusion of the vertebrae in L4 four and L5. It was very successful at the time that was 12 years ago. I'm afraid the arthritis is setting in and gives me some pain if I don't have medication. I have been too athletic all my life from an early age.

It can be seen that, as a person in her own right, Carmen has been quite successful. Her sisters, she had four, considered her different. Her sisters always considered her their mother's favourite:

They always thought I was a little more competent than I actually thought I was, and they were always asking me to do this or that for them which I did. I always felt they expected more of me than I could offer. Maybe I gave that air of confidence which I didn't feel inside at the time.

Her main problems lie in the area of family. It would appear that there is a distance between her expectations of how family should behave, learnt from her own family, and how people in families generally behave- particularly mothers-in-law. In relation to her own mother, Carmen explained:

I think my mother had more time for me than she had to the others. We used to sit and talk more. She instilled in me the things she would like to have done. In being born in 1900 girls just didn't do that sort of thing. It was long dresses and long bloomers and things like that. You know, lace pinafores and things. You know girls just didn't do that... so I think she was very supportive of my sporting activities. She never missed a sporting day. I think maybe my sisters missed out on that closeness. I don't think they were as close to my mother as I was...I think my mother loved music. We had this collection, a very old collection of records that we used to play, because it was just the two of us at home, and my father of course, and we had more time to listen to music and talk.

My mother was 78 and my father was 80 when they died, and they didn't have a very good social life. They just lived at home. Their social life was home. I am one of a very large family. I am one of

13 children but their life was their family and their home. They didn't really need a social life. I was thinking of my mother. Not once in her life did she go to the hairdresser, never had the hairdresser.

Carmen presented a photograph of her own garden and described the memories that it evoked:

I also show my garden because it brings back memories. I've always loved gardens. I was so influenced with mine by my parents. Both loved the garden. My father was a great gardener, vegetables as well as flowers. However when I'm in the garden I often think of them, I think, I wonder, whether my mum or dad would like this garden. They were such a strong influence on me.



Photograph 5.10 Carmen's garden.

Whenever she talked of her parents together Carmen used strong adjectives. They were 'superb' parents or 'fantastic' grandparents. It seemed the adjectives were perhaps a defence against something which she did not wish to mention. It was put to her that in the light of some of the things she had told me it was difficult to understand how family life could be so fantastic because her father had been in the World War I battle of the Somme, one of the bloodiest battles of that war which severely psychologically damaged those who participated in it. How could any participant be left unscathed? The reply was:

These were little things that happened. It didn't spoil the closeness, or the greatness, or just the camaraderie than brothers and sisters had and they were just little things that we accepted. *Especially with my dad being on at the Somme and sort of sometimes not being quite with it, going into a world*

of his own because of his suffering. We understood that, although we didn't talk about it. We thought that's what it was.

The italicised part was quite a telling statement as it suggests that there was some disruption of the friendly atmosphere with respect to the father. Possibly there was a barrier which prevented Carmen from fully developing empathy with her father. There followed some mild reactive anger with me.

She snapped:

As you say, you're being a bit of a cynic, 'saying how family can be that great'. Well it just was. Don't think we didn't have disagreements, but they weren't negative disagreements. They were disagreements over who was cheating at cards (laughs), you know, Scrabble or things like that.

This was the only time I've ever seen her annoyed, possibly lending some credence to the idea that there was family tension she didn't want to reveal. When she was asked how she felt about the interviews she replied:

I didn't really quite get it. Now I know what you are trying to get, hoping to arrive at, what to achieve and I think it's sort of...since you have been asking me about home and how that picture of Coffs Harbour invokes my memories of home. It does (long pause) it makes me understand too, why I hadn't really thought about it as much until you've been asking me about it. Why do I feel so at home here? I think it's that feeling that it's so much like home.

Later, in reflecting on Coffs Harbour, Carmen said:

Actually coming to Coffs Harbour, it didn't take me long to feel actually at home. I thought it felt very English. The people all were caring and kinder than the ones I found in Wollongong and Sydney. They have much more time for you. They listened and accepted. As I said in the earlier interview, it didn't take long for me to feel at home and find plenty to interest me.

Carmen has no difficulty in competing in the adult world, and by her own account she has done this successfully. She has successfully made the transition of from Wollongong to Coffs Harbour, finding the latter more to her taste. When questioned about her present marriage Carman said:

Oh yes, yes we've been together for over 30 years now. We niggle each other sometimes obviously, but no, although he is 10 years younger than me we get on very well. We have the same principles of life.

Sometime later in an ordinary conversation Carmen gave indications that she did have some minor problems with her marriage, but then did not proceed to explain what they were other than she thought it was something to do with the age difference. Her initial migration to Australia was brought about in part by her husband's irritation with her being overseas for long spells. The second migration from Wollongong to Coffs Harbour was brought about by her husband without any prior discussion, and in a time frame that did not permit it. It seems reasonable to speculate that the second move was prompted by her husband's attempt to escape from family tensions that had been generating in Wollongong.

When not concerned with family matters, Carmen has demonstrated herself to be a highly efficient well organised person in both occupation and recreation. The difficulty in her life arises from her attempts at constructing family life. She was both part of a large family group and apparently the favoured last child. In the part of the transcripts quoted, she frequently laid emphasis on companionship and comradeship when speaking of her family of origin, and appears to have transferred this notion of comradeship very easily into her social life in which she belongs to many groups. Her mother, and her mother's way of life with her family, seems to have been the guiding template for own. There is the unexplored area of the relationship to her father who, according to her, lived in a world of his own from time to time. This could be significant for her relationship with men.

It was not clear what guided her choice of her first husband. In conversation she said of herself:

I have never been in love. Even with my present husband, I like him and respect him but have never had the feelings that you are supposed to have when you are in love.

As was shown, one brief attempt to introduce her relationship with her father into the discussion was met with irritation that suggested some complexity. It was felt that it would have been unethical to open up this field as Carmen was leading an apparently well-balanced life. In terms of this study there was no sanction for intensive probing which could have created ongoing tension. Carmen did though; raise the issue of her feelings for her first husband who had recently contacted her to say he was dying of liver cancer. She was perplexed by the strength of her own emotions, following the contact, which she categorised as compassion. She was nevertheless disturbed by their strength. Again she did not proceed with any further explanation of this.

Carmen's perception of her own importance in her sons' lives is related to the tensions she has with her daughters-in-law. As a Life Line counsellor she claims to have heard many stories of women who have been cut out of their son's lives by their daughters-in-law. She said:

I think this mother-in-law thing in Australia is very strong; I don't like your attitude to mothers-in-law (meaning Australians). The mothers of sons have a very difficult time in this country that I discovered when I was working for Lifeline Counselling.

...Daughters always go home to their mothers for birthdays, Christmas, anniversaries they always go, well ninety nine per cent of the time to the wives places. The son's mother gets left out absolutely completely.

She went on:

Anything; birthdays, at Christmas she is absolutely cut out of his life. I don't know. Actually on the train, a few weeks ago, I travelled from Sydney to Coffs Harbour with a lady who was a very intelligent lady, who is a solicitor, a very lovely lady, who has three sons, the eldest married – she was always very close to them – got married and now she's been cut out of his life absolutely. She doesn't get invited.

She did not speculate, and apparently did not query further about the situation, possibly because of a sense of appropriateness of doing so at the time.

Carmen's problem with her extended family, although she is familiar with psychological processes which could help, is derived from her own parents model of how families should operate. This model was built up in a different time, post-World War II, in a relatively untouched English town. She is trying to apply it in the twenty first century cultural heterogeneity of East Coast Australian provincial cities. Her contrast between Coffs Harbour and Wollongong, to some extent, recognizes this issue, as she sees Coffs Harbour as being more English. Moreover her parents were living at a time before families were spread across the globe, a characteristic which puts demands upon personal time.

Her clinging to the maternal role can be explained, by her own account, through her favoured upbringing, which brought her into close relationship with her mother who obviously encouraged competitiveness. This could explain some of her difficulties with her daughters-in-law who would not necessarily be conscious of being in competition.

Carmen's relationship to men is complex. The explanation of the fact that she said she has never been in love could lie in her relationship with her father, whom she said was in a world of his own from time to time i.e. withdrawn. This would have resulted in difficulties in empathizing with him and hence learning to empathise with men. She has not been able to let go of her younger son but appears to project onto him her own perception that he needs her, thus impeded further growth to the independence that he achieved by coming to Australia, and marrying. The protective feelings that she has for her sons, as she said in interview, were the result of being sole parent. They could also be held in place by unresolved guilt about separating the boys from their father. Recently, in an out-of-

interview remark, she commented that her elder son, with whom she does not get on so well, blames her for this separation.

CONCLUSION

Roy's and Carmen's interviews, although carried out with people who grew up in very different environments, and in different family circumstances, represent the common themes found in all the interviews of this group of participants. There is a strong theme of the effects of the past in the present. Failure to recognize this can be a source of stress. People, to the end of the lifespan, have practised their concept of self over many years, and then find that aspects of what they took for granted in daily life no longer hold true.

In the two portraits presented here, there was a strong impulse to care for the family members, even though they had matured and had families of their own. The consequences of such action need not necessarily be good. For example, Carmen's desire to give support to her younger son, because she felt he was such a sensitive boy, could be perceived by his wife as intruding on her role. Roy expressed unhappiness at the lessening of his role as patriarch of his family. Inevitably, clinging to this role would create tensions. Roy's personal development and comfort has depended upon his capacity to control so he is reluctant to let go of the patriarchal role.

In conclusion, both participants demonstrated a good capacity to adjust to their new environments. Carmen, in particular, who did not have the benefit of long-term fantasy about her life in the new environment, when also plucked from the grandmotherly role soon began to plan a set of roles for

herself, and found that she enjoyed the freedom. Neither of these people conformed to the baby boomer stereotypes often promoted in the press. Neither had completely solved the process of developing post retirement roles because this would require a more conscious response, and the detailed awareness of the processes of retirement. Knowledge of such processes is as yet not part of the cultural background of Australian society.

CHAPTER 6

MIGRATION: THE FANTASY AND THE LIVED EXPERIENCE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the issues associated with how the informants experienced migration in the context of their lives. A model of the migration process will be presented, and participants' activities related to culture, gender, generativity, roles suitable for retired people, and the adjustment to the ageing process, discussed.

Migrants usually hold a fantasy about how and where one would like to live, either before or when one retires. These fantasies are called 'stable state fantasies' by Schön (2007), who pointed to the persistent human belief that either there were the 'good old days' that will return or that there it is a 'golden age' yet to come. These fantasies are followed by an iterative process, such as, frequently visiting likely localities as holiday destinations, or the development of more concrete plans based on intentional exploration. For example, some of the statements by participants were:

We came several times when the boys were young. We would come camping in caravan parks. We had a lovely time and I had a good feeling about Coffs Harbour. We had so many enjoyable times. However I discovered that coming to a place for holidays is a lot different from settling down. Actually I found it totally stultifying, unstimulating, boring and frustrating. (Laura)

Piano described his migration in terms of practical details:

I studied the climatic conditions of various parts of Australia because I knew that when I wanted to retire I didn't want live in Melbourne, because of the cold, and I hated the cold weather. I really detest the cold weather. That was the reason I left England in the first place many, many years before that.

I studied the mid-North Coast and they came to the conclusion that the area between Port Macquarie and Coffs Harbour had the best climate in Australia for European type people. And it was always in the back of my mind to retire here one day when the situation eventually came. I bought a unit here actually, probably seven or eight years ago. We used to commute up from Melbourne three times a year to stay in the unit and enjoyed Coffs Harbour.

Tryer, in his description of his pre-retirement thinking, revealed a thought out strategy:

I guess we've always planned to take a seaside place to retire. And another attitude that I had was that you needed...the place you're all going to retire to you needed to get there before you were too old. Because I felt if you come and join in the community as a younger person, actually because you are still productive you're welcome, rather than coming as a retiree who doesn't have quite so much to offer as far as making friends and things.

The bifurcating effects of retirement, as discussed in Chapter 2, give the retiree relative freedom to choose where they live. The intention of taking up this freedom results first in a discussion between spouses or significant others, and ends with a concrete decision to move to a new location. Once the decision to migrate has been made, there ensues a period in which many finite decisions are made to facilitate the transition – the concrete details of moving, such as what to do about temporary accommodation and storage of furniture, amongst other things. Once the new dwelling has been acquired, the relative pressures of the move eases and is followed by the process of shaping the new dwelling to the personal tastes. This gives a strong sense of purpose, but it can subside in a relatively short time. When these initial stages of settling in pass, the new migrant is then faced with how to find personal stimulation and support from whatever affordances the new locality presents. The migrant is now in a position to test their pre-migration fantasies against the reality of their destination. While the early stages of migration are fairly concrete and structured, the latter stages of settling in is when personal adjustment has to take place. This involves a reconstruction of lifestyles

in which satisfaction will depend heavily on how each individual views his or her world, and also their financial security.

THE MIGRATION FANTASY

Oettingen (1996) (1997:353) has made the point that:

Based on the theory of thinking about the future it is demonstrated how important it is when predicting motivation and action to differentiate between expectancy judgements and free fantasies. Thinking about the future in terms of positive expectancy judgements fosters motivation and action, whereas positiveness in spontaneous fantasies about the future is a drawback. However, this detrimental effect can be stopped if free positive fantasies are mentally contrasted with reflections on the contradictory negative reality.

She makes a distinction between future fantasy and expectancy judgements. Oettingen explains:

We distinguish between two kinds of thinking about the future: *expectancy judgements*, which are based on past facts and extrapolate them to the future, and free fantasies, which paint future events in front of the mind's eye independent of their actual probability of occurrence. Accordingly, positive expectations are judgements that desired future events will occur in the future with a high probability of success, whereas positive fantasies are mere thoughts and mental images about the desired future events themselves. (p.358)

The migration fantasy can develop over quite long periods of time but does not become an expectation until some crucial event, such as retirement, or a job opportunity, or freedom from mortgage debt, permits them to be considered for action. Piano, for example, had been coming to Coffs Harbour for 'about twenty years'; Laura 'vacationed for many years' with her second husband'; while possibly the shortest pre-migration contact, a fortnight, was had by Carmen. In general, the fantasies entertained are based on the belief that life in Coffs Harbour would lack the uncomfortable winter weather of southern capitals, but would have plenty of recreational facilities, especially golf;

land and housing costs would be less; and being near relatives would be helpful. Some of these assumed conditions, however, were prone to change. In the last 10 years, land prices which were relatively lower than the cities have crept up. Adult children are also prone to migration for job opportunities, and can be spread across the Australian continent, or even the world, leaving very suddenly.

Two of the participants in the study had begun their life in Coffs Harbour, pursuing the fantasy of a small plot of land, a hobby farm, on which one could keep a few animals, grow vegetables organically, or grow fruit. Hiram had bought a house built on the edge of a piece of wetland.



Photograph 6.1 Hiram's hobby farm showing the wetland.

He converted the wetland to a lake, around which he created a garden containing ornamental trees and fruit trees among which he distributed commercially produced sculptures of one sort or another.

He said of his photographs:

I'm putting in 'Garden Mania' because it is a local site that has a lot of very interesting artefacts for the garden, besides mowers and that. You've got pots and statues and things like that and we have bought quite a few of them.

Tryer had a similar idea and successfully grew fruit and vegetables in abundance, which produced the following comment:

When we first came to Coffs we lived up on the hill there but it had an acre of ground. It was the ex banana ground. It had avocado trees and paw paws and all sorts of things. It was a lovely place, but it had a fair bit of lawn that needed to be mown as well. I sat on the mower, which was good fun for a while, but if we went away for any length of time we come back to a lawn there.

And these avocado things like you'd say to people: "Would you like some avocados?" They'd say: "yes thanks,", "When are you bringing them down?" What I meant was to have them to come up and get some. But after a period of time you think, 'We've had enough of this now. We've just got to get out'.

Moreover, as Tryer and his wife pursued overseas tourism, they found that each time they returned they were confronted with a large amount of work tidying up their hobby farm. Both Hiram and Tryer persisted for a few years but, when their physical energy diminished, they migrated to dwellings closer to the centre of the city and its facilities. Tryer went to the extent of buying a luxury unit for which the only work required was to mow the nature strip, something done by the body corporate. These two were fortunate in that they had resources that permitted them to move to more manageable dwellings when they found their fantasies no longer tenable.

Not considered in the fantasy of migration, along with the grand house or the four acre block, was the steady attrition of physical capacity that increasingly required proximity to a variety of services. This can result in a second local migration to more convenient dwellings. For example, in his late 70s Hiram sold his hobby farm and moved closer into the city where he is just a short drive from all services.

Migration in this sample, to a large extent, was dictated by male wishes, although the men often described it as a joint decision. All the men mentioned above subscribe to the notion of equity in decision-making. The women, however, described their moves differently. Carmen was forced by her husband to migrate, on short notice, as he had a job opportunity in the district. Gemma migrated because her husband wanted to be part of the golfing scene in Coffs Harbour, as this activity was less expensive outside major city locations. Felicity and Kate seemed to have come with genuine agreement between them and their spouses, although Kate separated from her husband a few years after migration. Laura's migration from Sydney was forced because the area afforded some low-cost housing, as well as proximity to her sister. Anushka was persuaded to leave Melbourne prior to marriage to her third husband who lived at Minnie Waters (a small village to the north of Coffs Harbour). She did this gladly. When her husband died, Anushka moved to a bungalow in a denser housing complex close to the city centre. There are a number of such complexes of denser housing in Coffs Harbour which may not be designated 'retirement estate' but which nevertheless attract retired people.

FINDING A HOUSE

Only one of the migrants, Carmen, had little time to do any prior exploration. The rest of the participants had either been coming to Coffs Harbour as a holiday resort over a lengthy period of time, had discovered it after researching climate, or made a deliberate search for a place that felt right. As was shown in Chapter 4, a dwelling was of primary importance. One's dwelling can be a sign for the self, and a receptacle for signs of self, as Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981)

have asserted. Satisfaction with a dwelling constitutes one of a number of dimensions along which the satisfaction with the migration can be judged.

Two women, Laura and Carmen, were at the negative end of the dimension of satisfaction. They were forced by circumstances, to accept dwellings that did not satisfy either their image of a house or their specific needs. Their dwellings were forced upon them by the activities of their husbands. Laura came because she had been embezzled of her life savings by her third husband. She had been through a series of battles to force her bank to refund some of the money that he had taken as a result of their negligence. She had just sufficient money to buy an on-site caravan. She explains:

The van was very cheap at the time but it took all the money I had. I have never lived in anything small before and I still feel very much a tourist in the van. My former life was in the normal sort of home with the backyard, gardens and lawns and things. I find this still, after five years, very foreign. I am not happy or comfortable here. It's just small or restrictive and close proximity to other people that at times can be very intrusive.

Not long after arriving, Carmen and her husband bought a house discovered by a colleague of the husband. Despite her misgivings, they bought the house because it was a bargain and presented exceptionally well in a favoured area. Carmen said of Coffs Harbour:

I came to Coffs Harbour kicking and screaming actually. I did not want to leave Wollongong, where I lived. My family was near and I had a son in Wollongong, and a son in Sydney whom I wanted to be near. My husband had the opportunity for a job in Coffs Harbour, so we came.

Later, of the house, she went on to observe:

I think it's too big. Your house is your home wherever you are. It's not this particular house that I say is my sanctuary but many houses were my home and used to be my sanctuary—wherever it was or whatever size it was. At the moment this is too big. It has five bedrooms and three bathrooms, a sitting room, two dining rooms plus a normal kitchen and laundry. It is much too big for two people. Especially as I'm getting on in years and I don't like housework.



Photograph 6.2 Carmen's house.

These two women have laid out some of the criteria for a dwelling. Laura's 'normal sort of home' conforms to Fiske et al (1987) 'Myths of Oz', one of which is the house and garden on a quarter acre block. She does add privacy as an important function of one's home. Carmen adds to these criteria by introducing the ideas of sanctuary, and suitable size for the physical capacities of the home's occupants. Both these women had, in Heckhausen and Schulz (1995) terms, lost primary control to make decisions and had critically curtailed their sense of well-being, thus they express dissatisfaction. Carmen had marshalled her capacity for secondary control and came to enjoy Coffs Harbour, while Laura had not advanced this far and loss of primary control still rankled. Their choices and satisfactions were further dictated by their economic status, and by 'semiotic regimentation'. Parmentier (1994) proposes the meaning that style and location of housing acts as signs of status that can lead to satisfaction, and is an inducement to buy a particular house. Laura's 'house' (photograph 6.3), a caravan, symbolises impermanence on land owned by the caravan park.



Photograph 6.3 Laura's home in a caravan park. This looks like a small house but is in fact an on-site caravan. The garden that Laura prizes so much belies the mobility of a caravan. To the right of the main building is an extension which takes away some of the cramped feeling of a caravan. The style of the dwelling indicates a degree of poverty.

Sharply in contrast with these two women's dissatisfactions are Piano's descriptions of his acquisition of a house (Photograph 6.4). He had been coming to Coffs Harbour from Melbourne for more than 30 years and he had initially bought a unit in Coffs Harbour as a holiday home. He detailed his decision:

Well, as I said, I had a unit here for many years. I was retired at the time anyway. Every time I came up I would get the Saturday morning real estate guide and go looking around at houses in Coffs Harbour. I would look at a few and dismissed the lot of them as too expensive or not quite what I wanted etc. Then one day I went to look at a particular house that was advertised in the paper. It was really good. It looked superb in print. When I actually got there it was all sales talk. It wasn't nearly as good as the paper described. However the agent who was there said, "What are you looking for?" I said I wanted a reasonably spacious home, but not huge, with a nice view "I don't want to be on the beach, although I love the beach. I don't want to be on the beach because of the salt water problems. I don't want to be too far from town." She said, "I may have a place for you to go and have a look at." It had just come on the market. I came here and fell in love with the place immediately.

This was a free choice of a single man with plenty of money, and who had made friends in the locality over a number of years. Piano had a clear-cut notion of what he wanted in a house and where he wanted 'the house'. He expressed considerable pleasure in owning his house.



Photograph 6.4 Piano's house in western part of Coffs Harbour. Although this is not a large house it indicates a degree of affluence by having a double carport on the right and being built on a fairly steep slope. This gives the building a view along the full length of the valley, adding value to the house. Although the pathway looks too steep for a person whose physical capacity will slowly diminish, it is possible to drive up nearly to the front door.

Gemma and Felicity both expressed satisfaction with their respective houses. For Gemma the smallness of her house was an advantage because it would be easy to keep in order, and she should be able to go on living there independently for quite a long time. Her husband was suffering from cancer of the bladder and not expected to live, and they had no children, so they had to plan for Gemma's widowhood.

Felicity and her husband bought a house in Coffs Harbour because their daughter lived in Coffs Harbour. Also, nearby there was a nursing home that was considered excellent. Felicity's mother, aged 90, had begun 'to dement' and was difficult to manage. By being near the nursing home Felicity felt that she could visit easily and not feel guilty of 'disposing' of her mother. She and her husband felt that it was a good buy and settled in happily. When discussing how she found her house she noted:

We almost fluked it! We looked at about 10 properties all up and inadvertently came across this one. Our daughter accompanied us looking at it. We liked the neighbourhood, like the level block, and we

liked the gardens. We liked the spaciousness, we liked the price, we liked the time we could settle our affairs down south. So we thought, “Let’s go for it.”

Finally, it should be said that there were instances of internal migration. Some of the participants had moved, sometimes more than once, from the first house in which they had settled in Coffs Harbour. These internal migrations were motivated by illness, for example, or a desire to escape from threats to their personal control by the interferences of Bodies Corporate. Alf had moved twice in five years. While living in a three storey unit he had an aggressive bout of non-Hodgkinson’s lymphoma which caused unconsciousness by a swelling that constricted an artery, and necessitated his removal by ambulance. It had been extremely difficult to move him because of difficult access, so later when he had recovered he searched for a more accessible house. The second move was prompted by disagreements with Body Corporate members. This interference with Alf’s and his wife’s sense of autonomy they both found intolerable. Hiram’s and Tryer’s moves have been recounted earlier. Gemma and her husband had moved twice since coming to Coffs Harbour, downsizing each time to smaller more manageable dwellings.



Photograph 6.5 Gemma’s ‘tiny back yard’.

Gemma said of her first photograph:

This is my tiny backyard. In April of last year, after Chad's illness, and my fracturing of an ankle, the other place was too big. So we looked for a place that we could handle. If anything happens to Chad I could live in this place quite happily by myself.

Migrants clearly defined their lifestyle, and their contemplation of their lifespan, in their approach to their dwellings. Their well-being, in part, was defined by the quality of their house. They showed concern for the diminution in their physical capacities e.g. Tryer and Hiram abandoned the hobby farm fantasy when they became aware of their inability to cope with the work. Carmen recognized the size of her house as a drain on her physical capacities. Alf and Gemma reconsidered their dwellings' suitability in the light of near death experiences. All participants saw their dwellings as essential insurance for their continuing independence, their most valued asset. So fiercely did Kate value her independence that she told all the people she ever met that she would suicide when she could no longer cope by herself. This she did.

THE SETTLING IN AND CONSTRUCTING OF A LIFESTYLE

Finding and moving into the new house is a finite process that, when completed, leaves the migrant with the need to find cognitive, social, and physical stimulation. Like the migration itself, the construction of a lifestyle was strongly conditioned by gender issues.

When asked to give themselves pseudonyms, two of men selected the names of musical instruments with which they had years of experience. Piano and Guitar, by taking such pseudonyms, demonstrated the instrumentality of their thinking. Male transcripts were characterised by the participants describing roles which were important in earlier parts of their lives, roles in which they had excelled. Females were more descriptive of relationships, especially with family or friends.

Males to a large extent were the main motivators of the respective migrations. Examination of the transcripts show that six of the men (five migrants, one long-term resident) and one woman, had either been senior executives in large businesses or had run and managed their own businesses, for many years during their working lives. Alf, Piano and Tryer had been senior executives in international businesses. Henry, Rocky and Roy had been, to some extent, 'old-fashioned capitalists' who had invested their own money in their business, and had accepted the outcomes of their own decisions and the hard work that goes with it. Anushka was the only woman who had run her own business, which had been a child minding facility.

THE MALE STORY

The men had a number of points of similarity. None had undertaken conventional study in a degree course at a university. Tertiary like qualifications had been gained on the job or through workshops and in-service training. They all came from humble backgrounds, their fathers being tradesmen or unskilled workers, and their mothers worked at home to manage the household. Although their parents had experienced the Depression, and had struggled financially, the sons were relatively financially secure, having worked their way up from the lowest rungs of the employment ladder. All these men saw themselves as being radically different from their siblings, or contemporaries, in their desire for new experiences and new learning. All expressed the opinion that they had a high level of energy and persistence that made them different. Their statements about themselves will be examined, firstly Alf, Piano and Tryer, all of whom had worked internationally.

Alf

Alf had joined the R.A.F during World II but had just completed his training when it ended. He remained in the R.A.F. till he was in his late twenties but saw no fighting. He described himself:

I don't want to shoot a line here but I qualified as a pilot and became a fighter pilot. And whether I am entitled to or not to express the view, but generally felt that if you were a pretty average pilot you look likely to be assigned transport command (sic). If you were a bit better you would get into bomber command. And if you are absolutely the top rate fellow, a top gun, you'd go the fighter command. I have always blown myself up as one of those super duper people who used to get their objectives. And I did fly the very first jets.

He says of himself in later life:

I was fairly well known. I was Mr Retailing on British television you know...I have never in my life, after I first applied for a job to go to 'S' after I left the air force, I've never made an application. I've always been headhunted.

When he had resigned from S's (a major retailing store) he chose a CEO position from among stores in South Africa, Scotland, one in Adelaide, and then Sydney. He went to Adelaide and then to Sydney. His final employment was in Singapore. From there he retired to Sydney, and then to Coffs Harbour to be near his son's family.

Piano

Piano, also an Englishman, had, according to himself, when aged 16 sought adventure by joining the Merchant Navy shortly after World War II had ended. This was done much to his parents' dismay. He summed up the situation by saying: "Piano wanted to do what Piano wanted to do, so he did it."

After a two-year period of national service in his early twenties, he went to night school to learn about business and commercial activity. He remarked:

So I had my six or seven years of slightly wild living and was a beginning to see that you couldn't go on living like that for the rest of your life. You have to do something with it.

He then began a campaign of self-improvement and seeking promotion. He became interested in computing and went to computer courses and learnt programming, ultimately becoming the I.T. manager of an aircraft component manufacturing firm. He sees himself as always wanting adventure and new experiences. He said of himself; "I was an enthusiastic worker".

Of the migrant men, Piano was the only one who had been divorced. He waxed lyrical over the sexual opportunities for single men retired and with money, commenting:

Actually, you probably get more when you're single than when you're married. I was told when I was about ... when I was a teenager, anyway, by old uncle of mine. He said, "Piano if you can remain healthy and reasonably wealthy once you're retired you're on your own, the world is your oyster because it is probably five women to every man and if you've got what it takes, you just cannot go wrong."

Piano had a much more forthright view of ageing:

I think its playtime now. That's my view. I really don't give a stuff who is blowing up whom in the world or who is suffering earthquakes ... I just do my thing and let the rest of the world get on with whatever they are doing.

The impression is of someone who is bent on a hedonistic lifestyle, but this is contradicted in a number of places in the transcript. When asked: 'Do you see the aged being consultants to youth?' he replied:

Yes, very much so, if I'm asked. I'm not going out of my way to try and convert any younger people to my way of thinking because in many ways my way of thinking is outdated anyway. All I can offer is technical advice about computing or music and, if asked, would give an opinion on the emotional and social issues. But I wouldn't force anybody...just the benefit of my experience.

Like Alf, there are contradictions in his statements. He says he does not give ‘a stuff’ but he is in fact making many social contributions such as running computing classes for seniors and makes no charge. The point is, that although retired, he is still making available his knowledge and still demonstrating his musical skills by taking his keyboard to social gatherings, and he keeps teaching keyboard techniques. It would appear that retirement has meant that he could work as he pleases but not that he would do no work at all. So he has built a constructive work style yet is in himself conflicted.

Tryer

Tryer had to begin work at the age of 14 because of his father’s illnesses. He began in a nationwide stock and station agency as a junior clerk. He learned accounting on the job:

It was on-the-job bookkeeping you know those old hand written ledgers and things like that. Actually it was a very good system, I realise now. They taught us well and were very competent book-keepers, you know.

Tryer left the accountancy job and, with his brother, bought a service station just at the time when international oil companies were taking over and forcing each service station to sell only their petrol. Although Tryer and his brother worked hard, they could not prosper, so Tryer went back to accounting but continued to look for other opportunities. He had done a considerable amount of work on committees in of the country districts of western New South Wales. He described his employment as a patchwork of committees:

I had all these bore water trusts and I became the secretary of all those, as well as the other two things (Pasture Protection Boards). At that stage I was in Rotary, I was secretary of the Show Society, and I was secretary of the bowling club. I used to play bowls, so there was a bit of everything.

He continued explaining his needs to change: “I thought I’d like to get a job in the city now for the schooling of the children”. He became a relief manager with a Totalisator Company in the hope of being closer to his family. This work he described:

The company had operations in every state in Australia and when their managers used to go on holidays the relief manager would go out. So I went as a relief manager in Perth and Adelaide. When the Adelaide manager was transferred to Melbourne, this was the biggest operation, they appointed me to Adelaide. So I had five years in Adelaide, which was a great place to bring up children and was also a very good job.

The work he felt was quite interesting but very stressful. He was expected, at a moment’s notice, to fly to where distant countries’ race meetings were being held – even to Iraq before the war. The stress of this work, and the desire to be with his children, compelled him to retire at the age of fifty five. Prior to retirement, it was necessary for him to have heart surgery. When he came to Coffs Harbour he assisted his son and daughter-in-law in a news agency and then helped them to buy and manage a liquor store. From time to time he assists with the accountancy work required by the liquor store.

Tryer had retirement forced upon him by the stress of his job and the condition of his heart. He nevertheless gave many instances of wanting to work – to feel that he is of some use. Although he was partner with his son in a liquor store he explained:

Adrian (his son) and I always said that he was a manager and I was more or less the support. You know, as far as I did the accounts and things like that... I don’t do any work apart from that.

He expressed the view that he liked to think that he was able to help his son and daughter-in-law go on holidays without worrying about getting people to look after the store. Talking about his work at the bottle shop he said:

Also, of course, you take real pleasure in helping as much as from the bottle shop. They've got MYOB accounting which actually I had initiated. And then they talked about putting someone on wages so I said "well let me try first to see how it goes." So you learn of it that way.

In talking of a photograph of the bottle shop he used the word 'token'. When he was asked what it meant in this context he said:

A token interest? I go there... once again I suppose it's a compliment to Adrian and Rose that they allow me to think that I'm helping by going down there once a week. I pay a few cheques, do deposits and more or less keep my hand in. They leave a couple of jobs for me to do. But I don't know whether they do it because they want to be... or they think that it makes me feel good to do it, so in any case I do it and I do feel good, because I feel that if they go away for a weekend or a week or something like that I go each day and do these things like bank the money, balance the books and things like that. And they tell me... and I do know how if you go away and a few jobs always pile up. It spoils a holiday because you come back and you think I got all this rubbish to catch up with a -so at least I keep a few things up-to-date.

Later he spoke with touching gratitude, for being permitted by his children to do the amount of work he does:

Once I said whether they were doing it just out of kindness to me or whether they were... I think they do consider me a genuine support at times.

The second set of men, Henry, Rocky and Roy all had work experience in Australia and worked in businesses they had started.

Henry

Henry had acquired a trade certificate in automotive engineering. He worked for a salary but found that this did not provide enough money to finance the house he was building, so he worked as a fisherman on its father's boat as well (despite a strong tendency to seasickness). He became inured to working long hours and, while his main income was derived from fishing, he began an automotive repair shop in his backyard, and finally opening an engineering shop. His driving nature and

preoccupation with his difference from his siblings is illustrated in an excerpt from a remembered conversation he had with his father:

H: Well, I said to my old dad before he passed away. I was talking to him one day sitting on the edge of the bed. I said, “You know that our family could have had the same opportunities as I’ve had.”

Dad: Oh, I don’t know.

H: Why haven’t they done as well as I have?

Dad: Well son, you know it’s one of those things, whether you’ve got the energy or the strength whatever it is, to do it.

Later he said:

I even had one of my brothers working for me in the engineering; he was quite a good tradesman too. He wouldn’t do a job the way I wanted him to. I just walked up to him and said, ‘Righto mate just piss off. Come back this afternoon and pick up your wages’. We didn’t talk for years.

Despite his hard-driving nature, Henry was forced into bankruptcy through no fault of his own. He could not pay his debts because his debtors did not pay him. This was obviously a key issue in his life and was revealed in a surprising flood of tears from a man who presented himself as forceful and tough. He was able to begin again and has only recently died, leaving a considerable fortune.

Henry had only recently (i.e. within three years prior to the interview) finally retired from running his successful service station. He said he found great difficulty in letting go of the service station but his health had forced retirement upon him. He said:

When I retired the first 12 months were difficult. I couldn’t sleep. Everything seemed to get on top of me when I was working for Lifeline. I was doing 30 hours a week. Then I said I didn’t retire to do this sort of thing so I gave it away and just settled down. I *potter* around the orchids. I’m a director of

Lifeline. I have been in Lions 30 or 40 years. My life experience, Don, hasn't been all cherries and pretty things I can tell you that it has been well and truly worth it. I've had a great life.

This contrasts with what he said about Coffs Harbour later in the interview:

I love this place. And it's been good to me in lots of ways. You know when I was down, by God people can be hard and they can be terribly nasty. I thought I put a lot into this town but, gee whiz, the way some of them treated me was tough...

When talking in this vein he came close to tears. At the time of the interview Henry had been subjected to protracted illness. He spoke with rambling intensity. From early life he was prepared to work hard and his bankruptcy had scarred him badly. He seemed to be relieved in talking about it.

Rocky

Rocky was a farmer who, even when retired, could talk about only four topics; his farming life, religion, and his own business sense, and his family, although family was mentioned only occasionally. He began his working life as a dairy farmer which meant long hours of relentless work.

He reflected:

I always had so much to occupy my mind. When you are a farmer you are on call practically 24 hours a day and your whole life is your farming. Well, virtually, the farmer is God. You have a cull to make every year and the farmer is the one who decides who goes on, who stays, with no sentiment whatsoever. If you have a dog and the dog doesn't work the dog has got to go because it's simple economics. I used to go to bed at night and was still doing it--working out what you're going to do the next day, and not only working out what is going to be done but what you're going to do when something untoward happens in the world.

In further describing the role of the farmer he quoted a neighbour:

As one neighbour once said, the trouble with being your own boss and working on your own is that everything you do is right. Just that you've got nobody there to point out you could have made the job easier. What you're doing is right and you've got nobody to tell you it's wrong.

Such was the pressure of farming in Rocky's mind, in the middle of describing his first photograph which was his Coffs Harbour house, in the second sentence he switched to farming:

It was nice to pick a house in a quiet street. Coming off the land, well Rhonda (his wife) was brought up on the land before she went nursing, and I have been on the land ever since I was 15.

After 30 years he left dairying, moved west, and took up wheat and wool. He spoke of his farms in terms reminiscent of an artist discussing painting. That is, he has a strong aesthetic perspective on how farms should look and work in a balanced fashion. It took very little to swing him from farming to a discussion of religion. He obsessively writes letters to the editors of newspapers, attacking the churches for not doing their best to bring proper religion to people. At the moment he has taken up speculation on the stock market as a hobby.

Although he had come to recognize that farming was increasingly difficult for him physically, even in retirement, he still thought about it quite a bit. His wife had attempted to steer him into other activities such as attending U3A classes. His main compensation for the loss of farming was his desire to exercise what he considered to be his business acumen, and he was seeking to learn how to make investments on the Stock Exchange--positive fantasy rather than positive expectation. Like the other men in this group he missed his life role, in this instance as an agricultural businessman. He also consoled himself by writing letters to the local press, criticising the present function of the church (he is a practising Anglican). Apparently this obsession annoys both his wife and family members with whom he comes in contact.

Roy

Roy, the last of this group of men, has been discussed at length in the intensive study. Roy's mention of his 'hard old grandmother' is then followed by 'I was too young at that stage' – '*I have no memories of her all*' (how did he know she was hard). This is an example of conflict in thought that will be discussed further in chapter 7. He has never really stopped working at his lifelong profession of sign writing. He explained:

I drifted back into doing signs. By the time I started in Coffs Harbour because it was all computerised. It was just a matter of setting up a spare room with a computer and a plotter and all the software and creating signs again. So I was like, very like, a carpenter having his own little woodworking hobby.



Photograph 6.6 Roy working at his 'hobby'. He is preparing to put a large sign on the wall.

Photograph 6.6 suggests that this is more than a hobby. Calling it such is an example of diminishing the importance of this activity in the present.

COMMENT ON THE MEN'S VIEWS

Alf, Piano, and Tryer claimed to be different from their contemporaries. They all enjoy European culture and travel in Europe, and all spoke French at a time when, as Piano and Tryer pointed out, working class English people did not travel in Europe and most Australians did not speak foreign languages.

Rocky, Roy and Henry, although their work was conducted in Australia, also saw themselves as different from their contemporaries. They realistically assessed their own capacities and opportunities, and set out to build their own businesses. In retirement, all the men mentioned expressed their competitiveness in sporting activities, mostly golf. Golf was preferred because one could play against one's own score. This falls into the ambit of Baltes' (see chapter 2), "mantra" of selection, optimisation and compensation which helps fend off feelings of loss that might occur if they had to compete with younger people.

In each participant's case, strong feelings emerged with their narratives. Feelings also emerged in throwaway lines, as though they were avoiding outright ownership of strong feelings. For all these men, there seemed to be a note of regret that they were not in the position of importance that they once occupied. It was not so much importance of the position but rather the sense of doing something important. There was a degree of conflicted material in their transcripts. One position would be asserted at one time and then denied almost immediately, or some time later.

Alf presented such an example when he spoke of pleasures. He talked of his present situation in contrast with a more expansive version of his former activities. He described his gardening:

We like to do *a spot of gardening* as long as it is *pottering*. I have reached the age where I don't think I want to dig up anything or plough anything, so I can *potter*. (*My italics*)

Potter or pottering, as does *a spot of gardening*, reduces the significance of the activity and makes the activity sound unimportant.

Then he went on to explain the pleasure of entertaining and food:

"It not only sustains life but it is one of the *few* enjoyments that are left to you at *this great age*".

This statement rather contradicts his former statements, as he had earlier enumerated a number of activities which give him pleasure – chess, singing, and music.

All these men so far described were high achievers who had begun to feel the strain of their senior positions, and had become aware of the need to hand over responsibility. They compensated by pursuing their favourite activities which in time turned out not to be entirely satisfying. They tended to see their activities as *pottering*, to use Alf's term. They appear to feel that they had no serious role. Although strong feelings were expressed, in most cases they were usually marked by disclaiming phrases. The most clear-cut case was Henry who burst into tears when discussing his bankruptcy.

THE FEMALE STORY

The women discussed in this section, except for Elizabeth who was married to Henry, were not in any way related to the men in the previous section. They differed from men when selecting a pseudonym. They did not choose to name themselves after instruments or activities but used conventional female names. Their mention of work tended to be nominal rather than the description of past triumphs, as with the men. Only Viv showed a similar concern to men in so far as her professional life as a teacher, and as an educational innovator, consisted of many fights for equal rights with men. Viv gave an example of the intensity of discrimination in high schools when she was a young teacher. She said:

I think there were only two women teachers in the home science department, and there was a P. E. Teacher who was a woman, and there was another woman who taught some maths, and then there was me. They actually had the women's staffroom. So you didn't get – didn't eat or get to mix with the men. They had had the men's staff room which was sacred to males, a very interesting situation.

Unlike the men in the previous section, six of the women had University qualifications and those without them had done well in high school. Except for Kate, all had opted for an early marriage and, in four cases, early motherhood. The women's employment histories were never discussed with the same pressing notion of status as found with the men. Anushka was the only woman who had set up and run her own business successfully. Even so, business was not the all defining core of her personality as it seemed to be with the men. Anushka's history is an extreme example of the women's lifestyles and will be dealt with in some detail. Women not only have to deal with employment but have to successfully manage children and the rest of the family as well.

Anushka

Anushka is Croatian and had married early in life. She had gained a university education in social work. She and her husband had become totally dissatisfied with the poverty of life in Yugoslavia, and when her sister had successfully migrated to Australia they decided to follow suit. At that time men were not permitted to migrate. Anushka and her husband decided that she should go on ahead with their son. Her husband intended to leave by one of the illegal routes. When Anushka arrived in Australia with her son she discovered that she was already pregnant with her second child. She then had to battle with a social situation in which she had no money and spoke little English. In the interview she became distressed, but when stopping was suggested she said:

Oh, it's not that I don't want to talk to you, because you ...this was the hardest, about three years, the hardest time in my life. I didn't know... every day from day to day I didn't know how I was going to survive in this strange country with no money and hardly any language. But again people were so good, so generous and so nice everybody helped me and I accepted their help and I was nice and friendly.

She had to spend some time in an institution for unmarried mothers because she refused to have an abortion. When the baby was born she received help from a Methodist church organisation. She eagerly seized the opportunity of employment in the welfare home where her son was in residence. This enabled her to get some training:

At first there came a course, an office course. The superintendent sent me to do the course and I learned English a little bit more. So I did, and I worked there three years.

She worked in this awkward situation where she had to care for her own children as well as 15 boys in the home. After three years her family pressured her to marry a young Polish man who was willing to marry a woman with two children if she could speak English, as he did not. She had previously ascertained that her first husband was dead. Although she never found out what happened to him, she

suspected that he had been shot while trying to cross the border. Later when the situation had eased in Europe she went back to Yugoslavia to see if she could find any trace of him. She did not.

Anushka and the Polish man went out together for a while and then decided to marry and have what she hoped would be a normal married life. Of this she said:

I didn't want any more. I was never in love with him but I grew to love him. He was okay but nothing like my first husband. It certainly was a compromise.

After a while her husband wanted children of his own so she agreed. She got pregnant but miscarried and had to go for fertility treatment. She was placed on fertility drugs and then gave birth to twin girls. She explained how this spurred her on to go into business:

If I wanted to go to work I had to find somebody to look after my three little girls and to pay for them. It just didn't pay me to do it. So I thought right now is my time to do something on my own, to own my own business.

Her husband's uncle was a developer who had secured a large amount of land for a new subdivision. He sold them a house very cheaply which enabled her to get started. There were lots of young parents coming into the subdivision so her business prospered for 18 years. Her husband helped in the later years but found the work stressful, took to drink, and finally died of a heart attack. Her elderly mother migrated to Australia to live with her. Unfortunately her mother developed diabetes, and then dementia, and after a period of disruption died. Anushka described this disturbed time:

The twins were young teenagers then. My elder daughter was still at home and my son was married already. And it was just getting too hard coming ... and when my husband died when we are in... Sold... I thought what I am going to do now. I thought I'd put my mother... after that she became really, really confused for some years she became very confusing. She was getting lost and doing all sorts of silly things. So I thought if I put her in, in a nearby hospital I am free of her. We were forever looking around for her or the police were or whatever. So I put her in a hostel but she has absconded

anyway. So there was the police again. And it went like that for three years so. Wherever I put her she just went away or they wouldn't have her in because she was going from room to room and annoying other people and they wouldn't have her. She just wanted to be with me all the time. "Where 's Anushka, where's Anushka".

When her mother died, she tried to get some respite from the tension generated by the business which she had just sold, and from her personal problems. She went on a cruise. During the cruise she met her third husband who persuaded her to move from Melbourne to Minnie Waters. "Actually he resembled my first husband very much. I actually fell in love with him. I did, I did, and I really fell for him." The third marriage was happy. They travelled a lot and did a lot of camping. When they travelled to China her husband had a stroke, became totally incapacitated and had to be institutionalised. He died four years later.



Photograph 6.7 One of Anushka's peaceful scenes.

Anushka's photographs consisted of a large number of scenic views of bushland settings. In a denotive sense they were quite bland, but connotively they meant peace after a turbulent life. Despite the absence of this turbulence, Anushka confessed that she missed the company of a man but

recognized that now in her 60s she was unlikely to find one. She belonged to a group of women who were all widowed and childless, or whose children live in distant cities. These women had banded together for company at personal celebrations, such as birthdays.

Subsequently Anushka has moved to Canberra to be near her daughter so they could provide each other with mutual support. This daughter, her eldest, had had a successful late life pregnancy. Nevertheless, concern for her motivated Anushka's move to Canberra where her daughter was working.

Laura

Laura, who had managed the secretarial work of a number of general practitioners, also had a disrupted marital history. Her first husband, with whom she had had two sons, after about five years of marriage, had a schizophrenic episode. He came to the attention of the law because he was exposing himself on a railway station. She left him and had a period marked by a number of short-term relationships which she described in the following way:

I was a virgin when I married; I don't know whether that was unusual times around the 50s. I became sexually active after the first marriage broke up. I look back on my promiscuity with wonder and absolute astonishment. I don't know what it was about. It certainly wasn't about satisfaction. Maybe it was my way of making up for my first husband because he was having sexual problems our sexual life was unsatisfactory along with his illness....

I did become rather lacking in discrimination of my sexual partners. Perhaps when you had no experimentation first so that you don't know what to expect...

of her second husband, a pharmacist; she maintained:

My second husband, who had all the heart attacks, was outgoing and such a fine intelligent man but he was very neurotic. He had disturbed childhood and was pretty difficult.

He made a number of disastrous business decisions and had to sell his pharmacy after 11 years of marriage. Laura described her house in Sydney, which contrasts markedly with the present dwelling she described in her former situation. She found the position of office manager in a medical practice and struggled to support herself, and eventually did so satisfactorily until she met her third husband. She explained the early struggle after the second marriage broke up:

We had a very nice home on the Bilgola plateau on the northern beaches of Sydney. When the marriage finally broke up, most of the money obtained from selling the house went on business debts so I was struggling again till my third husband whom I met through the surgery.

The nice home in Bilgola contrasts markedly with her present circumstances. She goes on:

There was nothing until I was in my late 50s. I met a wonderful person, such a lovely man, I felt I'd come home at last from a long miserable journey. However, that didn't work either because of his gaming habit. He was anxious to get married too; looking back on it, it seems I was another resource for his gaming habit.

To complete the picture of her difficulties with men, her elder son became a heroin addict and served five years in jail. He stays with his mother from time to time, making many dependent demands upon her.

It is not surprising that at the time of the first interview she was quite depressed and shortly afterwards had a few sessions of psychotherapy. Despite the picture of stress that she had described, when asked how other people would perceive her she said:

They would see someone who is functioning extremely well, relates to people around her very generously, kindly, patiently, laughs quite a lot and has tried to give something good, something

worthwhile of herself. They see someone who keeps herself looking fairly good whose attitude in all kinds of things makes a picture of someone who is certainly not static. They see someone who puzzles out problems, because they don't share her interests or views.

She acts as a de facto Councillor or Social Worker in the caravan park:

They see someone they can depend on. They always come here if there is something wrong. They come here and ask me what I think about it. "Can I help?"

Her self-assessment above fits with her generally well-groomed appearance. She has numerous cultural interests, one of which is creative writing. In a sample of her stories she writes about an incident where she avoids the attention of an older man. She explained this by saying that she resented the attentions of older men who were usually fat and unkempt, and who seemed to assume that she would be interested in them just because she has white hair. She feels young inside.

Like Anushka, despite her complex and troubled personal life, Laura managed to retain a sense of control and demonstrated competency in dealing with problems outside her sex life. While Anushka's relationship difficulties seem circumstantial, Laura's appear to have arisen from her relationship with her father, of whom she said:

My father didn't like me, he never liked me. He was a very sick man who had hemochromatosis and diabetes. He was a very sick man who spent most of his time in the garden shed. He really didn't like me. I don't know whether I reminded him of my mother. He was very disparaging no matter how well I did.

The surprising thing is how well this woman has maintained her life, even in her 70s, to be able to care for her 50-year-old drug addicted son.

Gemma

Gemma, a retired schoolteacher, had suffered considerable disturbance some months prior to the interview. As has been mentioned previously, when she and her husband became aware of the life-threatening nature of his illness, they bought a new house which would be small enough for her to manage on her own when he died. Gemma has split off from what family she has and sees them only on relatively rare occasions, as they live in Whyalla in South Australia and in Launceston in Tasmania, respectively. Of the likelihood of a husband's death she said:

Both my brother and my sister sort of suggested that I might want to go and live in Whyalla or Launceston. I don't want to do that. I want my own place. And this is a place where I feel I can live by myself.

She presented a photograph of her family saying:

The amazing thing about this is that this is the first time in our lives that all six of us have been in the same place at the same time.

She went on to explain:

My mother died when I was four. Dad remarried fairly soon after that to a woman 20 years younger than himself. She had absolutely no idea of how to be a mother, even to her own kids let alone her stepchildren.

Gemma was somewhat shocked in the interview. First she recalled her response to the news of her husband's cancer, and then she talked about her mother. She grew disturbed but refused the offer to stop the interview. Later, in another interview, she told how disturbed she had been for a few days after the discussion that had turned to her relationship with her stepmother. The same offer was made to discontinue but she again did not accept.

She could not elaborate on her relationship with her stepmother because it was so disturbing, but chose to talk about her marital history. Gemma's first marriage broke up because of her husband's promiscuity. She left Adelaide and went to Melbourne, and ultimately met her second husband who himself had been married twice before. Her present marriage has lasted since 1973 and is childless.

Gemma revealed the following thought about her situation:

No I don't really regret it, but I sometimes wonder. Sometimes, I think, okay you're getting old now you are going to be pretty lonely without any children. Then you meet people whose children are well out of their lives in many ways once again caused by distance.

Felicity

Felicity was concerned with her religious work for the Jehovah's Witnesses. She had had her children relatively late in life, and like Carmen, was having difficulty with her daughter-in-law. She said of her move to Coffs Harbour:

And I feel too it would be lovely to be closer to our daughter but it really involved them, in one way, making the first move. And when our son-in-law said – well one morning we were on the phone, he said, "You know how Misty (her daughter) and I have always valued our privacy and the distance," but I said, "It's the only way to go Sandy (her son-in law). He said I'd just like to tell you now, if you'd like to come up this way we would love to have you close. (She closed with a burst of emotion).

Apparently she had had some difficulty with him as well, but did not elaborate. She had been a teacher and had moved around Australia with her husband who was in demand as a boiler maker. They finally settled at Gosford on the Central Coast. Like the other women, she spoke at length about relationships and less about work as a teacher. Her main occupation, at present, is her missionary work for the Jehovah's Witness faith. She spends her time in door knock contact around Coffs Harbour. She takes her religion seriously and has her own study where she prays and meditates on tracts provided by the Church.

Migration to Coffs Harbour had been motivated by her desire to be near at least one of her children. Her son's wife, who was Indonesian, had completely rejected her and her son. Felicity was very proud of her grandson with whom she was able to have close contact, even taking him with her on some of her missionary work. The second reason for migration was the need for a good nursing home for her ageing mother who was suffering dementia, and who subsequently died in her mid-90s.

Her final reason for migrating was because of the aspect of the home in Gosford. Their house was on the high side of the road and had a steep access that taxed her husband's physical capacity. He was also much older than her. Felicity gives the impression of being pleased with her migration.

Kate

Kate, who was German, was born in the twenties and led a comfortable family life until her father, a teacher, was dismissed from his employment for a lack of loyalty to the ideals of the Nazi regime. During the war she worked on farms as part of the civilian war effort. She recounted wartime stories where, as a civilian, she was at risk from bombing and strafing during raids. When asked why she came to Australia, she replied:

Well, actually it started as an adventure because I had a sister who had migrated to Australia ten years prior to my coming. In Germany she married a Latvian. And of course, all these people who had been in the German Army at the end of the war they were not very much wanted (sic), and they were caught in that huge immigration wave. And she came to Australia.

Of Melbourne she commented:

Well, the first eleven years of my being in Australia, I lived in Victoria. That's where I married my husband. We had a house in Wandin North, out of Melbourne, on ten acres. And then we moved to Tasmania because I found the summers very, very trying in Victoria. I just couldn't get used to this incredible heat. And I got a very good position in Tasmania as a language teacher. I also had an

opportunity to go to Uni again there. Because with my German qualifications, they grossly under paid me and I wanted to show them that I was actually a graduate of a Uni, so I did it all again in Hobart.

They decided to live in Hobart where there was an opportunity for her to work in education as a teacher of German. While working she attended university, majored in political science, and graduated. She retained a lively interest in politics for the rest of her life. Kate's academic life was not without problems. Being a German in Australia, immediately after World War II, had its share of difficulties in terms of prejudice. In particular she had difficulties with one of her lecturers in Hobart. He was Jewish. Kate had to make a protest on his attitude to her. Nevertheless, she enjoyed her life in Tasmania because she was impressed by the way her colleagues helped each other, as well as her, when the bridge over the Derwent was destroyed and made car travel to work and the University difficult. Finally, she found the climate in Hobart too cold and moved to Coffs Harbour.

MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

A good deal has been said already about marital relationships, particularly with some of the women. The issues in the later life of migrants were: living together in retirement, widowhood and the beginning of new relationships after bereavement.

Only one man in the sample (Hiram) had been widowed but had remained so only for a few months before remarrying. Roy, Henry and Rocky made mention of their dependency on their wives. In these cases their wives work for them in their businesses. Rocky said:

I think I've done so well because I've had Rhonda there to support me and if I needed extra help she'd get down and help me, and it has been so important that she and I get along so well. I suppose in all relationship you have to work at it, and you can say so easily," I've had enough" and go your separate ways.

Roy's wife Kay had managed the finances of the business. Her physical breakdown had caused them to migrate to a place where there was less stress on her. Elizabeth had worked in a similar role for Henry when he was in turmoil after his bankruptcy. Henry described the situation:

I said I'm going to have another go. It's strange how things happened. Elizabeth was in the bank one-day and the bank manager, who I knew very well said, "How are you going"? "What's happening"? She told him and he said: "You tell him to come and see me."

The result was a loan of £6000, and Henry began again.

Kim and Moen (2002) found, in their sample, that the continuity of access to financial and social resources is closely related with retirement satisfaction. In the present study only Laura expressed dissatisfaction with her financial situation and a good deal of dissatisfaction with her marital experiences.

Both Anushka and Laura expressed dissatisfaction at not having a partner. Anushka, having led a turbulent and demanding life, said she now feels "selfish" that she has so much freedom and can do as she pleases. She used the word 'selfish'. Some of the women in this study were inclined to use the word 'selfish' to describe their new state of freedom. None of the men use this word.

In another situation, Hilbourne (1999) pointed out that it is the fear of some women that their marital arrangements would change when the husband retires. Since his retirement, and a period of disability caused by his leg operation, Rocky's wife felt that he had invaded her space. She took steps to get

him out of the house. His participation in this study was part of his wife's desire to have him occupied elsewhere.

Gemma found, on retirement, that her husband wanted to play golf, or sit about the house reading novels, or watching television. This annoyed her intensely as she felt people should be active and learning new things. After they moved to the new house, and her husband's condition improved a bit, Gemma explained how she managed to get him away from sitting at home, or just playing golf:

Not long after we moved into this place I decided we should join the Catholic Club. Once again, because it is in walking distance from here and its okay, it's a family club. We went there on Wednesday nights for friendly battles. I see quite a number of people from the golf club there. It was not long after I had joined that I persuaded Chad (her husband) to go and join. So on Wednesday afternoons when I'm at golf he has a few bets on the horses and quite enjoys the place.

Kate separated from her husband shortly after coming to Coffs Harbour. She described her marriage:

Yes, I was married for 35 years. And I separated from my husband; I think it was eight years ago or so, because it just wasn't a very good marriage in retirement. While we were working very hard all our lives we seemed to get on very well, but then I noticed that we really had nothing in common. We just couldn't find common ground. My husband was a workaholic and didn't have much time for culture or concerts or theatre. And if I have to go it all alone, I might as well be alone. That is, we remain friends and in the last few years, while I lived here he rented property somewhere else further down the road. And he came quite often, which wasn't that easy, because I really wanted to break and he was a bit of a clinger. But he died last year and now all tribulations are over.

Only Anushka, Kate and Laura have been widowed. Anushka appears to solve the problem of possible depression by vigorous physical activity i.e. bushwalking. Laura, by her own admission, has suffered depression, but one gathers from her history that bereavement is not its only source, if at all.

Kate was sorry to see her husband die but was not devastated.

CULTURAL EXPRESSION

It was shown in Chapter 4 that cultural pursuits were of considerable importance to migrants. In this study music was a leading cultural interest of most migrants but also of one resident. As has been documented, two of the men took the name of musical instruments for pseudonyms. Hays, Bright and Minichiello (2002) have investigated the importance of music for older people concluding that music promotes quality of life by contributing to positive self esteem, helping people feel competent and independent, and lessening feelings of isolation and loneliness. The participants in this study have spontaneously confirmed this view.



Photograph 6.8 Piano's photograph of his favourite instrument. He expressed his view that pianos had a beauty of their own.

Piano is a keyboard enthusiast who has learnt to play jazz piano. He has played in clubs and concerts for a number of years, and for a period he had owned his own band. He is in a transitional stage with his music. He said of Coffs Harbour:

I am not in the jazz scene now because it is a little beyond me these days... it's hard to get in anyway. It's sort of a closed shop. The resident band members are all sorts of guys who have been there donkey's years. It's hard to get in. I am not inclined to play jazz dates these days because playing jazz you end up in all sorts of strange places with drunks and neurotics and late nights and all

that stuff. I'm a little too old for that now... I *dabble* in the classics. Dabble that is all. (Here *dabble* means much the same as *potter*. It implies reduced importance in role).

Piano had said that he was turning now from jazz to classical music. When asked about the difficulty of playing classical music, he explained:

Oh it's much more difficult. Classics are much more difficult. In classical music you have to read and play what was written by Mr Bach or Mr Beethoven as they wrote it. You don't have a lot of room for improvisation. In jazz and blues and swing is a sort of art form which allows you to compose as you play virtually improvising in play (sic). You make up things as you go along around the harmonic sequence, which makes it terribly exciting because you don't know where you're going next. It just sort of happens. It's very hard to explain to a non-musician.

Here it can be seen that he has begun to select things that are compatible with his age and loss of capacity. Arthritis in his hands was one reason why he gave up jazz because fast movement was required.

Guitar was a local who had suffered considerable illness in his life and found himself frequently in hospital. To combat boredom he taught himself to play the guitar, for which he writes his own music. At the time of interview, he was saving to buy sound equipment so that he could record music well, in order to sell the recordings. In his basement flat, in addition to his musical equipment, he keeps a small museum containing a bottle collection and some aboriginal artefacts.



Photograph 6.9 Guitar's present studio which he hopes to update. He is a very orderly man and stored against the wall is his bottle collection.

Hiram's main interest in retirement was music. He ran a popular classical music appreciation course for the U3A. Of the courses available at the U3A Hiram's had consistently had the highest number of regular attendees. He concentrated on baroque and classical music to the middle of the 19th century. This interest had developed when he was in his teens and had been evacuated from London to Bedford, a provincial city. Coincidentally, the BBC Symphony Orchestra had been sent to Bedford having been bombed out of two venues in London. Hiram described the consequences this had for him:

I had the experience of going, for about four years, to an average of three or four concerts a week – rehearsals, performances, everything. I was simply saturated with it.

Alf had learnt his music from lectures given while he was in the Air Force. Throughout his life he made sporadic attempts to learn the piano, and when he came to Coffs Harbour he bought himself a keyboard on which he practices occasionally. His major musical interest is choir singing which he attends weekly.

While a number of women expressed interest in music, none mentioned the practice of it. Some of them attend the music Society's concerts in Coffs Harbour, or the jazz concerts in Bellingen (a small town to the south west of Coffs Harbour). Anushka mentioned that she had a number of operas and ballets recorded on tape. She and a woman friend have regular meetings to have dinner together when they watch and listen to the tapes.

COMPUTER STATIONS

Computer stations were present in the photographs. They were regularly used in nine of the eighteen participants' homes. Women found they aided communication with friends and relatives who lived at a great distance. Kate came to computing with some trepidation, in her 70s, when she learned how to send e-mails. She said, when talking of learning to use the computer:

I thought that was something I would never learn. And I didn't even like it particularly because it seemed to be very assertive and almost intrusive technology.

She went on to explain:

It is my main contact with of the few relatives I have in Germany. There aren't many, only two nieces, and one cousin with her family. It's all by e-mail. They are so busy. One of my nieces is a solicitor and the other a doctor. They would write a letter to me no more than twice a year but via e-mail I hear from them every week. I find that fantastic.

Kate also described her satisfaction with having learnt to use the computer:

But a very interesting thing happened about two years ago when I inherited, (after my husband's death) our collection of colour slides, which was extensive because we had taken all our photos on and journeys, on colour slides.

When she came to throw out the slides some of her friends dissuaded her.

One person told me I could download them on my computer and make a slide show of them. This I did. It took me more than the year, but that's finished now. When I went to throw them out afterwards I met one of my teacher friends from the high school next door. He said what are you doing? I said that is my journey to Hong Kong in the year so and so.

He wanted them. So instead of throwing them out she gave them to the school and had the satisfaction of seeing them being used in the schools social science program. In interview she indicated her awareness of such programs as PowerPoint. Kate further used the pictures to relate to her nieces whom she had not seen much in 40 years. She concluded:

“So it all worked out nicely. That's why my computer is really my friend now.”



**Photograph 6.10 Kate aged 79 at her computer.
She has subsequently died.**

Gemma also came to computers late in life (mid-60s). Her view was:

I hadn't been in Coffs Harbour for long when I decided that I wasn't going to die computer illiterate. First of all I made the silly move of buying a computer, not knowing anything about it.

She did the local course in computing but found it became too complicated too soon. She goes on:

”However, I persevered and can now use a computer to the point where I can stop learning I guess.”

When asked why she wanted to be computer literate she said:

Well, we want to keep learning don't we? We're not going to retire and close down and die. I just want to keep learning. Computers seemed to be the logical thing to do at the time.

In a short while she had advanced to where she was experimenting with digital photography. Subsequently she has joined a TAFE (Technical and Further Education) course on working with digital images.

Piano had strong views about computers since he had worked on them from their early development to the present. His view was: “A computer is as essential as a fridge, or a vacuum cleaner, or a washing machine, or whatever, these days.” He went on to describe his own use of computers:

I can make CDs of my own music. I can scan photographs and put them into the computer then onto a CD which I send to friends. I do work with my students and notes for them. I'm into flight simulation a lot because I worked in the aviation industry all my life, and I have an interest in aircraft and tell people all over the world, as well as on a S. N. messenger with a voice thing. I find it fascinating to get people's point of view on all sorts of subjects.

Guitar had in mind much the same use for his computer, although he did not have the computing power and had to save up to buy more memory. Roy uses his computer extensively in his sign writing business. Alf and Tryer both used computers for managing the household business.

Baltes (1997) has pointed out the importance of culture to people towards the end of the life span. Since we live in a technical culture, some of the cultural input must be technical. The population has already acclimatised to radio, television, cinema and photography. Unfortunately, rapid technical

changes sold through aggressive advertising have left many people, and certainly those well advanced in their life span, at something of a disadvantage. One participant, Rocky, in a telephone cry for help on how to use a digital camera said: “Geez, Don you bamboozled man with all this newfangled technology.” This is surprising since he is a man who has sufficient mechanical skill to keep his farm machinery in working order.

Elizabeth was the only woman who raised a voice of protest when confronted with a digital camera. She said she had never taken a photograph before. However, after some training she presented some very good photographs. Only one man, in trying to learn the use of the camera, became so anxious it was suggested that he not participate in the study. Computers and digital cameras were not the only baffling aspects of technology.

TRANSPORT

The city of Coffs Harbour extends in small estates for some 20 odd kilometres along the coast so, to reach many services, a car is necessary. This was mentioned by a number of participants. It is not so much the technical aspect of driving a car which is at issue but the increasing regulations governing the use of the car are becoming more complex. Even the task of finding a parking spot, near enough to one’s destination, is an issue for people towards the end of their life span. For example, Elizabeth one of the long-term residents made the following comments on the relative advantages of the three main shopping areas; the Jetty, Top-town and Plaza. At the Plaza, she said:

If you get your car on pretty level ground you could wheel your trolley through the complex and you're covered. If it is raining then you have to make a dash. If you go up to the town centre it is a little bit difficult.

Geographically, the plaza's parking space is a large paved area without cover while the town centre, Top-town, has a high-rise parking station which has many difficult turns to negotiate.

Modern technologies also leave much to be desired. Hearing aids provide one good example. Whenever we met in noisy surroundings, Alf invariably complains about the lack of discrimination of his hearing aid. This makes it impossible for him to listen to conversations. Many technical innovations are miniaturised and it is quite difficult to carry out minor servicing, such as changing batteries. It is not that retirees are unwilling to learn new technical skills but that the technical skills themselves are frequently changed or modified. In some cases, such as with computers, this is done without too much warning and inflict on users some ever present need to relearn some technical aspect.

There were other cultural activities such as attending plays and concerts and art classes. Carmen had taken up painting and is still working on her paintings. Roy also paints intermittently but is considering taking it more seriously as his capacity to play golf diminishes. Laura, as has been said, writes short stories as a hobby. Elizabeth is known locally for her skill at flower arranging and is often sought to prepare churches for weddings and so forth.

CONTINUITY AND GENERATIVITY

In terms of the photographs, continuity and generativity does not rank highly because of the difficulty in representing them visually, although they are well represented in the transcripts. Continuity is most clearly represented in Roy's interview because he really has no intention of complete retirement. He is just seeking a less stressful way to carry on his lifetime work, by taking on fewer commissions. He is inclined to call the continuation of his life's work a little hobby, but if one examines the photograph of him installing very large signs with crews of assistants, the *little* is denied by implication. Roy's generativity emerges in statements throughout the transcript. One of his photographs is a group of billy carts with advertising slogans written on them. These were the billy carts that children were to use in races. Roy's connotive meaning is expressed:

“This photo shows the things I do for nothing. I call them 'love of jobs'. It's about \$600-\$800 worth of signs for the Billy Cart Derby.”



Photograph 6.11 Jobs' \$600-\$800 worth of signage.

Tryer presented a photograph of the boot of his second car which he has equipped to carry food for 'Meals on Wheels'.



Photograph 6.12 Tryer's second car that is used to transport Meals on Wheels food. He also lends to his grand children when they have special needs such as driving practice.

The photograph provoked the comment:

The Meals on Wheels delivery. Actually, there is a certain amount of pleasure going around taking some of these meals and doing little bit of good around the countryside. It makes you appreciate that we've got a better lifestyle than a lot of other people. And also it's a bit sad, in some cases. People are there. They're getting meals delivered and health workers are coming around. Most of them are too lazy to even tidy up. And some of them, you go in there to put the food on the sink, you got to go there and you got to clear the dirty dishes and stuff to put it on the sink. But other people have got it lovely and clean. They are a pleasure to go to. It gives you a good quick snapshot of life.

When it was suggested to him that some of the people might be depressed he said:

I think that's very much the case. It also... it's a bit sad. The loneliness of some of these people, as you say is the isolation. They (Meals on Wheels supervisors) always say," Take time with the people because you're the only one that they'll speak to in the day. So when we go to people, we try to listen to them for few minutes and settle them up (sic). I suppose there's another scene in life. We can't get carried away with all our little problems. Other people have got things to do and that's it. It's so... it's not so selfish an act, or is it?

To the same photograph he mentioned another strand of activity for his second car:

One of the pleasures I've had with it, as our grandchildren grew up, I have got them to learn to drive, getting their P-plates-- we lend it to them on holidays or when they have special occasions. And so I hope they retain fond memories of the fact that their grandparents were able to get them motorised.

One of the pleasures that you get, of having something, is what you can do for your grandchildren.

Tryer is also very much concerned with the welfare of his grandchildren. He fears being a burden to his family as they grow older. Guitar, when talking of his music, said: "I'm teaching my grand nephew. At the moment he's starting to play on his own."

Some of the women in the participant group help their husbands in generative activities. Tryer's wife, Bella, works with him when he is delivering meals. Elizabeth and Carmen belonged to service organisations. Elizabeth belongs to Quota, which devotes itself to fund-raising, and provides services such as meals at social events like 'Craftarama', which is an annual display of local crafts. Carmen has been a Lifeline counsellor for a number of years. She commented on her experience in both Wollongong and Coffs Harbour:

The mothers of sons have a very difficult time in this country, a very difficult time. I discovered that when I worked for Lifeline counselling. I discovered just how tough they had it. Mothers and daughters... the daughters always go home to their mothers for birthdays, this is a must, anniversaries, and they go well 99% of the time to her mother. This is why the sons' mothers, again, are left out of it absolutely and completely. I harden myself to it and now accept it.

Women often go off to another city to their children to help them with their particular problems: for example the birth of a new child. Anushka delayed her participation in the present study until she returned from helping her daughter, who had turned forty, with her first pregnancy.

Laura, despite her negative feelings about Coffs Harbour, had in fact acted in a generative way with the young Indian women at Woolgoolga (village to the north of Coffs Harbour that is part of the Coffs Harbour municipality). She had tutored an English class for young Sikh women:

I taught a class of all the beautiful Indian girls who used to come for English lessons. Their English was fairly good but there were a lot of things they didn't understand and needed to know. I spent probably eighteen months going each week and helping the Indian girls. It was a lovely experience because they were so eager to learn, and so gracious.

She went on:

It was a happy time talking because I felt I was achieving something when I was also being stimulated myself, was learning something about another rather exotic culture. The girls and everyone were happy to be doing it. So it is a happy thing to be part of and I was very pleased to be able to give that commitment.

Kate, as described above in the section on computers, had devoted her newly found skills to construct something for a local high school, a generative act.

HEALTH AND PHYSICAL RECREATION

Physical health and recreation has been commented on already in previous discussion. Golf appears to be the favoured physical activity, although some still played tennis or table tennis. Two participants have already died of diseases resulting from their lifestyles. As an extension to his business, Henry had set up a plating shop and had frequently breathed the vapours associated with the process. This resulted in a lung and heart disease from which he died at the age of 74. Kate had been a heavy smoker and was suffering from severe emphysema when she died. Alf, Mac and Roy have hearing problems requiring hearing aids. Alf was also under close supervision after a bout of cancer.

Rocky and Viv had joint replacements, and Viv was also under supervision after breast cancer. Carmen and Gemma had problems with their backs and attended gym classes for therapeutic exercises. Physical difficulties did not appear to deter any participants from physical recreation. Only Piano is pushing himself in long-distance running. Guitar, who had had the most protracted bout of illness, in his healthier moments had constructed a putting green for himself.



Photograph 6.13 Guitar's putting green that he built himself.

He took up golf at the suggestion of the specialist treating his kidneys. He said:

The specialist in Sydney told me to stop diving because of the chills underwater all the time. So I had to find something to do I couldn't play – I played cricket before that. So then I decided – a friend of mine was taking golf – a lady friend.

He apparently irritated his 'lady friend' with his advice and she invited him to have a hit himself. He said:

The first couple of times I missed the ball. Then I hit one that went out of sight. I thought this is all right so I took up golf. So I love golf. So now my big outlet in life is golf. It's all of what I've got.

He mowed one of the paddocks near his house to make it into a fairway where he used to practise. He said:

I don't go over and practice any more except with my grand nephew. I am teaching him golf as well as the music. We have this little putting green which is in the yard. It's a bit rough but it's a lot of ...I get a lot of pleasure out of it.

Some of the women, but none of the men, commented on their physical appearance, especially in regard to ageing. Carmen said: "Once you turn 50 you go off the radar (meaning nobody takes notice of you). I miss the wolf whistles."

Laura had commented on youthful people's attitudes to her:

Just because you are a little old lady (she is a particularly trim little old lady) with white hair they think you've never heard of the word 'fuck' or think you might enjoy one occasionally.

Anushka, while rummaging through a stack of photographs to show me, produced photographs of herself in very brief bathing attire. She did not present any of these for the study, although she appeared to get some satisfaction in showing them. She commented:

"I had a good figure and I liked showing it off. Now it's not so good."

All three women invariably presented as well groomed and tastefully dressed and certainly did not present the image of little old ladies, as Laura had commented.

SOCIAL ACTIVITY

All participants had well-defined social activities associated with sport, intellectual or artistic activities and service club activities. There was no evidence of social isolation. Some of the women were provoked to define friendship because, although they had by their own admission numerous other women with whom they associated, they complained that they had no real friends. Laura, Gemma and Viv had similar definitions which, paraphrased, showed a friend to be a person whom you have known for a long-time and with whom you can reveal and discuss personal information. Gemma was preparing a 70th birthday party for her husband but had to cancel it because she broke her ankle. She informed one of her 'true' friends Mari (in Brisbane) that she would have to postpone her visit to Coffs Harbour:

My friend, Mari said, "Damn it I'm coming anyway". She arranged to drive down with a lady who is involved with the University and stayed at her place and arrived on the day. We actually did go out. And Mari flew back because she had to go back to a conference in Toowoomba. That is true friendship.

According to Gemma, one can only have a few true friends but true friends will put themselves out to be with you. The length of the acquaintanceship for some women was correlated with the trueness of the friendship.

Viv described her relationship with her best friend with whom she had taught. Both were highly stressed by the sexist attitudes of their high school's staff where women were a minority. They would meet on weekends, have lunch, and enjoy a spa bath together where they relaxed and talked about the week's problems.

Friendships were rarely mentioned by men, and the friends were not named by them. Roy seemed to be making the same discrimination as the women, between people you are friendly with and real friends. When speaking of an older couple he had helped, said:

There is an old couple that I have been quite friendly with, not to the extent of being friends, who have always had the fear that some development would block the view.

He makes a distinction between ‘quite friendly’ and ‘being friends’. This is one distinction that migrants make. They may have people they are friendly with but are still in the process of building ‘real friendships’.

Sometime after the interview, in normal conversation, Rocky described a school friend with whom he had kept in contact, but said he found it difficult to relate to as the years went by as they had nothing to talk about.

RELIGION AND THE BEACH

This strange combination has been mentioned earlier in Chapter 4. It means that feelings and ideas expressed, about either religion or beach, have certain expressions in common. Piano, who was not religious in commenting on the beach said, “It’s good for the soul”. Those people who claimed not to be religious often spoke of the beach in terms that sounded religious – see Piano’s comment in full in Chapter 4. The response to both these categories i.e. Beach and Religion, could be described as mystical. Mystical is a preferred term to spiritual, in so far as it sees the source of the experience, to be within the participant’s nervous system, and does not imply external intervention. Leary (2004)

has pointed out some of the benefits of mystical experience in helping those undergoing the experience to become more hopeful and tolerant. All men, except those already mentioned, disavowed interest in religion but some, such as Piano in Chapter 4, expressed their views of the beach in mystical terms.

Viv, one of the two women who expressed religious conviction, described an experience, that in the light of descriptions by others of the beach, could well have been a description of a mystical experience. She explained:

I've had some of my best ideas walking along the beach. I can understand there is something about sea and water.

...And also of course with my ancient history (one of her studies), the whole thing have sought a divine force. And there were a couple of places in the world where I felt that was what I was encountering it. Delphi is one. I felt that was something extraordinary. I don't have words other than to say it was bigger than an ordinary place. The other was Coventry Cathedral, where I stood in the burnt out part and then went into the cathedral itself which of course has things have been sent from all over the world. (Long pause)

Gemma saw the beach in more physical terms, commenting:

Just before I left Sydney, I had this serious asthma attack. I put that down partly to the dirty air of the big city. And so in trying to find a retirement city, we decided that it had to be near the beach because I could breathe easier. I wanted a retirement place near the beach. I like the sea air. I like the air but I don't especially want to swim.

Felicity who took a more sensuous view of beach, has already been quoted in Chapter 4. The beach is a place where you let inhibitions go.

LIFE'S PROBLEMS

Although the study was framed without the intention of clinical exploration, and the people recruited were putatively normal citizens leading self managed lives, each came with his or her pressure to speak about some particular topic that was usually revealed in the first few pictures that were presented. The emotionally charged material produced often related to an attempt by the participant to cope with his or her present situation which concerned 'unfinished business' from the past.

When describing the effects of the interview upon them, Carmen, Felicity, and Anushka all reported positively. In the interview, Anushka had experienced moments of tension that recall some of the difficulties of her past life she said:

I have told part of what I have said here to other people in the past but I have never put them together like this. It's good to see where you've been and where you're going.

Carmen noted:

"Now you know more about me than anybody else."

In the period after the interview she began an intensive exploration of her family background and presented a number of photographs of her parents and grandparents. Likewise, Elizabeth's first photographs led to discussion of her parents' divorce. She divulged that her father's family had been Huguenots. Shortly after the interview, and the discussion that emerged, she was motivated to seek out and join a Huguenot Society.

Laura and Gemma had uncomfortable experiences recalling their past. In the interview Laura admitted that she was depressed and that the material in the interview was largely negative. After the interview, without advice, she actively sought a counsellor and, after three interviews, claimed to feel more positive. Gemma had the worst reaction to the interview, especially associated with the recall of a relationship to her stepmother. She said: “I had a bad 48 hours. I don’t like talking about myself.”

At the time she was also coping with anxiety about her husband’s health and the possibility of widowhood. Subsequently her husband’s health improved and she has had good experiences with her family. It is interesting to note that Gemma was not at first approached by the researcher but by a friend who knew the researcher was looking for participants. She was told what the research was going to be and must have realised that she would talk about herself. Even when she came to a high emotional point, she continued with the interview, admittedly by changing the subject.

Not only were psychological issues important, but a few of the participants were battling with physical problems. Viv, notably, was having trouble with her health. She had survived breast cancer and hip joint replacement. Nevertheless, she continued to help her son in his childminding business and continued with her association with the U3A and other interests around town.

Alf, as shown in some of his quotes, and despite his generally cheerful social demeanour, was coming to grips with a feeling of insignificance when he contrasts his earlier life with the present. He regularly brings up the issue of his urological difficulties, and the fact that his family do not listen to things he says any more (the latter is an exaggeration): nevertheless, he has found himself a number of activities that give him pleasure – chess, entertaining, choir singing, and golf. Piano has created a number of roles for himself but is showing some conflict with these roles and former views of him.

He downgraded old age, but in fact retirement has given him the leisure to work on projects that he enjoys.

After the interviews, Rocky was persuaded to give up his correspondence on religious issues and to write an account of his farming practices. He has completed his first draft which is surprisingly good. At the moment he is trying to incorporate his friends' suggestions for improvement. He expresses pleasure that he undertook the project.

For a man with a lifelong illness Guitar appears to be coping well, but has some anxiety about the security of his dwelling. He is a pensioner and lives in the basement of the old family home which he says:

...is so important. It's my residence. It's where I live. It doesn't belong to me it belongs to my sister-in-law, but it's been my home for a long time. It used to be my mother's back in the 60s, the late 60s and early 70s. It's from down at the beach and be been brought up here. I've been residing here with my sister-in-law for quite a while. I'm a pensioner and I don't have much money or much assets so. So this is the only place I've got to live. It's the last remaining. Originally it was my mother's.

He is somewhat dependent on the good graces of his relatives.

Roy, despite a disturbed childhood, by dint of personal effort has made a remarkable life for himself. Two problems seem to bother him although he does not admit them in so many words. His success has depended heavily on his physical energy, of which he is aware. His wife's slowly declining physical condition is a serious concern for him. Recently she has undergone hip replacement surgery which has made it necessary for him to undertake caring for her. This confronts him with decisions about how he will manage his time. He complains about time absorbed in boring housework, and has wild fantasies of travel around Australia should he be widowed.

Despite their increasing infirmities, all members of this group of participants are leading independent lives and resisted the notion of living in a nursing home.

INTERACTION WITH HISTORICAL EVENTS

It was possible to see the effects of historical events on most of the participants. World War I, the Depression, World War II, the Cold War, Korean War, and Vietnam War, were all within the age range of people in the study. Alf and Carmen both had fathers who had taken part in the Somme offensive in World War I, where Alf's father was taken as a prisoner of war. Neither Carmen nor Alf could elaborate much because their fathers were not willing to discuss the matter.

Although Alf came into World War II too late to see any action, it had a profound effect on the course of his life. In informal conversation he speculated that he would probably have ended up as an obscure civil servant in some London borough rather than being a captain of industry. Elizabeth's father had seen action in World War I, as mentioned in commentary in the section on resident participants.

Kate's father, a teacher in Germany, had been humiliated by the Nazis and forced out of his profession. Kate herself had experienced air raids, and on one occasion was buried under her house for 24 hours. She developed a fanatical desire to be a teacher, was trained and certificated in Germany, and took the steps of retraining when she came to Australia. Hiram had experienced childhood evacuation from London. As was mentioned earlier, he had the experience of listening to of the BBC Symphony Orchestra, several times a week for four years. He also spent a brief period in

the air force. Piano was too young to see active service but joined the merchant Navy to see the world, and then completed two years of compulsory national service. In the latter he came into contact with jazz music. This was to constitute an important part of his life.

Henry lived in Coffs Harbour as a teenager, and was aware of the bomber patrols that flew out of Coffs Harbour to protect the coastline from the activity of Japanese submarines. He commented on seeing the bodies of sailors who had been the victims of such attacks. The main effect of this experience was to produce a dislike of the Japanese. It did not seem to have any major importance for him.

Anushka grew up in Yugoslavia in the Cold War period and experienced poverty which was part of that country's life. Her very existence in Australia was the result of an attempt to escape from that poverty. Unfortunately the escape led to her widowhood.

Although he did not see action in Vietnam, Roy was drafted into the National Service where he gained experience in leadership and which gave him the confidence to go into business. The families of Rocky, Tryer, Mac and Roy had all experienced the Depression and this conditioned their outlook on money. Rocky and Mac had rural backgrounds and could follow their frugal family traditions. Tryer and Roy had to take whatever employment was offering and had no money for higher education. Roy, for example, has made comment on the different attitudes between his and later generations, as a result of the depression.

My generation, our generation, then there's the baby boomers. If they want something they just go out and borrow. In my upbringing it was such that what capital you had you conserved and lived off the interest.

It can be seen that there was a variable degree to which personal history meshed with world affairs. In some cases, for Alf and Anushka, there were major changes in their life courses. On the other hand, with Henry the shocking events he witnessed seem to have had surprisingly little effect on his lifestyle.

The above instances quoted suggest the importance of the interface between the individual and world events, but one must agree with the comment of Grob et al (2001) on the lack of research in this area.

COMPARISON OF RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS

The four resident males in the sample resemble each other to the degree with which they were interested in local history, in a way not 'available' to migrants. Guitar, when describing a horse collar on the wall in his basement flat, said:

Photo number eight is a photo of a horse collar with the name h.a.m.e.s or a.m.e.s.....that belonged to one of my uncles, and it was on a horse called Nugget. I have its... there were two old draught horses (sic).

They weren't Clydesdale's; they were smaller, a smaller draft horse. There were two collars...one was call Bonnie and the other one was called Nugget. This one was Nuggets. I've got Bonnie's collar on the wall at the other end. I have a mirror in.

Residents had relatively less variety in their working life than the migrants. Two had been labourers; two dairy farmers and one the owner of an engineering business and a service station. The two participants who had been labourers were very well read and aware of local history. Despite his incapacity, Guitar was intellectually curious and active, having written a small book on the history of

the '*Look at Me Now Headland*' that had been settled by his ancestors. Of the photograph that he placed fifth in importance, he said:

That's a very important photo. That's the old graves of the pioneers. The first Skinners that came here and selected the land at French Creek, it was called French Creek in those days. Two old pioneers are buried there plus one of their son's legs who had an accident with a log on his leg. He was transported to Grafton and they had to take his leg off. They buried his leg. They brought his leg back here and then he died in Grafton. They buried him in Grafton. One of his sisters is buried here(sic).

Of his ancestors he said:

They came out to Australia in 1838. It was important to me historical wise. I showed other members of my family, brothers and they don't remember half of it.

He had attempted to preserve the graves of his great grandparents and tried to have the local council build a monument to them, but was unsuccessful. He had many reminiscences about his childhood and the self-sufficient way of life they lead. Guitar has continued his self sufficient approach to life. Although not physically capable of much work, as was mentioned earlier, he had constructed his own golfing fairway by mowing an adjacent paddock on Crown Land, and built his own putting green in the front yard of his house.

All land in the district had been fairly cheap until the late 90s when it appreciated greatly in value. Sometime after the first interview, George built a new house for himself and his partner. He had inherited a parcel of land from his father. He sold part of it for sufficient money to build. George and his partner have since separated so he lives on his own at the moment. The sale of the land and the building of the house have been the cause of arguments between George and his son who feels that he should have been given some of the money from the land. Characteristically, as with all residents

interviewed, George has memories of many past events in the town and was inclined to become bogged down in their descriptions. He claimed aboriginal descent from Tasmanian aboriginals even though he has the fairest possible complexion. He has explored aboriginal history. Towards what was to be the end of an interview he decided to tell me his views on religion. These were an amalgam of aboriginal legend and some more obscure Hebrew prophecies. Although difficult to describe the following quote gives some of the flavour:

Well, the rainbow Serpent is the creator of the world and the rainbow Serpent is the electromagnetic particle that is the basis of every material thing in the universe. And the sun goddess, Yi, is the Holy Spirit. She is equivalent of a holy spirit because she is the one that nurtures and looks after and embraces us all. And without her we couldn't keep going. And you know, with my views in the world, I would have to be in fairly deep despair about the world without this belief. Okay this belief is all part of the divine plan. It is the logical thing to expect someone to come up with something to overcome the despair and alienation of the world. But anyway the rainbow Serpent created the world, the material universe. The sky father is the source of all there is and the sun goddess, she is the Holy Spirit which Jesus sent to Holland to deliver the eastern questions – Buddhists not Christians in a story, Christian Buddhists of Asia. And Biami in aboriginal mythology is Venus and Venus is the same as the Messiah.

George claimed these ideas had started with an experience one night; of noises in his ears, which he attributed to divine intervention. Except for the psychotic flavour of the excerpt, the incident with his ears could be the result of temporal lobe phenomena. However George, although eccentric, copes with life fairly well. That I listened to his exposition pleased him a great deal.

Mac's farm was only a few miles out of Coffs Harbour. It had been settled by his great grandfather and his family had been in residence since the latter part of the 19th century. Mac had married relatively late in life and produced three daughters, none of whom, (or their husbands) had any interest in dairy farming. Mac pointed out that this was because dairy farming on the North Coast was a dwindling industry. The photographs he presented, and his transcript, described some of the

transitions in farm life. A number of photographs were of derelict machinery that had been superseded.

Elizabeth is a very placid person, devoted to her husband whom she helped in his work by bookkeeping for him. Of the first photograph that she presented she said:

When I was small my grandmother would take me to Park Beach on a Sunday afternoon. We would have our lunch and the band would play. That was the weekend's outing for me.

When queried about the regularity of her grandmother's role she said:

Occasionally my mother would take me. My parents were parted and we lived with our grandparents. And I would like to put this in here. There were four generations of us living in the one house in harmony. I wonder if you see that very often today.

Of her parents she said:

My father put his age up to go to war and came back, and of course married my mother. I don't think he ever really settled down, perhaps, a bit of a philanderer. I met my father when I was 17 years old. My mother worked a couple of jobs. I think in those days you didn't get any support for single-parent families. It was rather frowned upon. I think women were expected to stay at home and face the music (Laughs).

Elizabeth worked as a pharmacist's assistance before her marriage to Henry and was apparently very efficient. She gave up work when she married, had one child, and then settled to be her husband's accountant. Unlike the men in the resident sample, Elizabeth was prepared to talk of the mores of the town and some of the problems involved in carrying out day-to-day domestic tasks. These were discussed in Chapter 4.

She was very much involved in the life of the town through service clubs, such as Quota. Although not a churchgoer, she was in demand for her skill in flower arrangement and was often requested to decorate churches for weddings and other celebrations. Unlike her husband Henry, most of the transcript is concerned with stories of her family, and some of the local celebrations and customs of the town.

Viv, the only other female resident, had been born on the North Coast, and educated at Armidale. She has an excellent academic record and worked 30 years of her professional life as a high school teacher in Coffs Harbour. She had suffered, and fought against, gender discrimination (notably from her male colleagues).

She had been responsible for the introduction of innovative methods in the face of opposition from Headmasters. She is not the sort of person who would take 'no' for an answer. For example, she said:

I really loved teaching... I was the first person about the place, as far as I could work out who ever took kids on excursions. It's because you had to get permission. The headmaster looked at me a bit stunned and said, "wherever are you taking them"? I said to the cemetery and he thought I was pulling his leg. I was perfectly serious and we went to the cemetery. And after that, we used to go further a field. First, was Port Macquarie and eventually to Sydney. And so I had the innovative ideas.

She explained that the object of going to the cemetery was that it stimulated discussion about social issues e.g. burial or cremation. By reading the names on the tombstones, children came to a better grasp of the history of their own localities.

I don't know whether I realised at the beginning that I was doing things that other teachers hadn't done. I was breaking new ground in many ways, and when I got my List Two (New South Wales education Department promotional list) that I was breaking new ground, because there were not a lot of women in the country areas who had any sort of position.

I challenge myself constantly I suppose. I look at this (a photograph of a school building) and I know that there were hard things out there for me. And I achieved what I set out to achieve.

The stress of having to fight male opposition forced her to seek ways in which to contain her anxieties. This she did successfully by long walks along the beach every morning; and on weekends she would meet with a female colleague and friend. She said:

...I didn't lose it on weekends..., I can remember sitting in church one morning and thinking why are my thoughts like this? So I just had to work out all the various things I was going to do to get around him (the principal) that nothing was going to stand in my way.

Viv was just as strong a person in her domestic sphere. She persuaded her husband to build a birthing room in their house so her daughters could have their babies at home. Her husband was a person who dislikes the idea of going into debt and left the negotiations for buying their house to her. This she did with some trepidation, but was very pleased with herself for having done so. Like the other residents in a participant group, Viv was highly involved in, and recalled, local issues.

CONCLUSION

In semiotic terms, relatively few paradigms were able to be combined syntagmatically into different life stories. The paradigm of 'dwelling' was used universally, but the connotive meaning of dwelling varied from being "just what we wanted" (Gemma, Roy, Rocky, Piano), and "too big for two people" (Carmen), to "the smallest place I've lived in" (Laura).

None of the participants conformed to the current community stereotypes expressed in the media, of people well advanced in the lifespan. These people had financial issues and health problems with

which they coped quite well. At the moment, people advanced in the lifespan are stigmatised as potential drains on the economy. This group was not.

It has been shown that gender differences are quite significant. Women are much more concerned with relationships. Also women were very concerned about appearance, and were disappointed that they no longer conform to standards of youthful beauty. Such problems require a new educational initiative. Generativity emerged strongly in the study.

There was a noticeable difference between residents and migrants. While migrants see the city in terms of its present affordances - climate, traffic, and recreational facilities - the long-term residents saw it in terms of its history, and the changes made to it over the last two centuries since Europeans came here. The long-term residents know of the changes that in many instances are completely unknown to the migrant.

One surprising result was the significance of community or world events in the history of migrants in particular, many of whom had intimate contact with such things as war and economic depression. The surprise arose from my not having seen any great attention being paid to the relationship between world events in the lives of ordinary people. The post-war status of combatants is given some continuing notice. Little attention is paid, except the days of remembrance of one kind or another, to the community as a whole. Yet this study, in a small way, suggests that the pervasive effects of such events last long after their cessation, much more study needs to be carried out.

CHAPTER 7

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSION

ASPECTS OF PERSONAL HISTORY AS AN INFLUENCE ON THE THESIS

Since this study aimed to explore aspects of the advanced end of the life course in an open and flexible manner, it can be open to criticism on the way in which the researcher's own personal choices have influenced the research, particularly with respect to the selection of participants and the relatively unorthodox way of flexibly acquiring data. This thesis is a product of personal development and of the remnants of intellectual skills. It is part of the researcher's attempt to give meaning to the latter part of his lifecycle that now has few vocational prospects. The thesis is more the pursuit of knowledge and perhaps wisdom, than career advancement. Hopefully, because there are few cultural models for people advanced in their life cycle, it can be seen as contribution to the social construction of role templates for a group of people well advanced in the life cycle. It is hoped that others in this older group will begin to make their own contributions.

The personal genesis of this thesis began when I joined the U3A in Coffs Harbour. At one stage I commented to a colleague that there were a lot of older people whose potentials and contribution to society were not well known. He agreed to do something about it. He explored a number of universities and decided upon The University of New England as a venue to study for his doctoral studies. He suggested to me that I should attempt a PhD. I had some trepidation because I was then

72 and had been exactly 50 years past my initial degree. Somewhat to my surprise my application was accepted and I began the process of reading for my doctoral study.

I have seen a number of people, some close relatives included, who appeared to die with a great sense of dissatisfaction with their lives. Since my 50s I have been working upon achieving all those things that I had fantasised about throughout my life. The PhD was to be the summit of my intellectual pursuits. I have spent my professional life as a clinical psychologist and a planner of mental health services. I did not want to attempt a degree in counselling or clinical psychology, because I felt that my own arrogance in this area would inhibit me from learning new ways of thinking. So I decided to work in gerontology because my likely sample was going to be older people like myself, and because I needed to think through the next phase of my life.

My early training in science was in physics and mathematics. Before I became a psychologist I had been a primary school teacher, and then a mathematics teacher in a high school. This meant that my idea of science was conditioned in that direction. At University I had learnt a considerable amount of statistics and had, throughout my professional career, conducted statistical studies of one issue or another. The opportunity to break away from this style of approach was refreshing and so I opted to do an intensive qualitative study.

Work in mental health settings in and up to the 1970s was done in a quasi medical manner. People were brought in to the clinics, like the ones in which I had worked, examined, and if suitable, offered psychotherapy or referred for other interventions. However, as the 60s progressed and merged into the 70s, there was a lot of thinking about the issues of 'crises' and environmental 'manipulations' of one sort or another. Also, the labour intensity and narrowness of the field made reform necessary.

Writers espousing these themes recommended that attention be paid, not just to what people said about their lives in the consulting room but also to the localities and settings where they lived them. Since I was a closed-door clinical person I was rather surprised by what I discovered when I started trying to do psychotherapy in natural settings. I almost immediately discovered quickly important things that were usually slow to be mentioned in an interview.

In the late 50s and early 60s there was a Sydney group of psychiatrists and psychologists led by Dr Neville Yeomans (now deceased) who ran a therapeutic community in Sydney. Although Yeomans had worked very much in the Freudian mould, he had broken out and was moving to explore the relationship between patients and their environments, and was doing therapy by manipulating environments, including others who inhabited them. Yeomans' theory of group therapy depended heavily on the concept of regression to the mean. For a group to be therapeutic it had to have people in it who balanced each other out in such a way that the mean effect of their activities came close to the mean of the ordinary community. Yeomans gave thoroughly scientific lectures on how to balance a large group. The nominal patients were balanced out so that the mean of the group on some parameter would be closer to the population mean. For example, one of Yeomans equations was: every criminal psychopath in the group had to be balanced by a least eight schizophrenics. Since he had agreed to take long-term patients from the back wards of the local mental hospital, he had a ready supply of people diagnosed as schizophrenic. Even so, he was naturally more circumspect in taking on criminal psychopaths.

The therapeutic community held at least one group meeting a day. Since patients and staff were in constant contact, the therapeutic process continued throughout the patients stayed in the psychiatric ward. One large formal group meeting was scheduled for every Thursday morning. Anybody who

was in some way associated with a patient was free to attend this group. This meant that family members, neighbours, business associates, and anybody else felt to be relevant, could attend the group usually invited by the nominal patient, and in doing so, became involved in the therapeutic process. Yeomans had set up a research system and was intent on showing how well his approach worked or where it needed modification. Contact with this group caused me to consider the importance of group processes.

From 1960 to 1965 I was employed as a Psychologist at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, Sydney. In 1962 I was able to institute a group, with the similar intake philosophy to that of Yeomans, including many significant others of a disturbed children undergoing the treatment process. This group ran successfully for three years. In 1966 I was employed by the Federal government to set up a Child Guidance Clinic in Canberra which was nominally under the directorship of Professor Julian Katz (now deceased) who was very much in the Freudian mould. Julian Katz was expected to travel between Canberra and Sydney every week. He rebelled against this absurd idea and recruited me to set up and run the Child Guidance clinic. This I did for two and half years until a Department of Psychiatry was set up.

In the ACT at that time, the Australian Federal government had the responsibility for health and education functions usually carried out by State governments. Slowly, after many tedious submissions to the Federal Health Department, a Department of Psychiatry was set up in Canberra. Dr Brian Hennessey (now deceased), who had followed Yeomans as director of the therapeutic community, was selected as the Director. Since we had both had contact with Yeoman and Yeoman's ideas, we saw eye to eye on many issues and set out to build a mental health service based on mobility and crisis intervention. At this time I had become disenchanted with the standard

psychotherapy of the day and began to read in what seemed to be other relevant areas, in particular catastrophe theory which gave some theoretical ideas for crisis therapy.

The Australian political climate changed radically in 1972 and many reforms were introduced, particularly the no-fault divorce, mediated by a new Family Court. In 1975 I was given the task of setting up a Court Counselling service for Australia. Although there had been a planning committee for 18 months it was appalling to find that its members had not the slightest notion of how to plan. They were mostly judges, lawyers and public servants and could not conceptualise the social significance of the area they were moving into, and who found innovation difficult. The major damage was caused at the outset by calling the institution they sought to set up a 'Court'. This evoked the rituals and beliefs of a thousand years of British law, most of which were destructive in the divorcing process. Instead of assisting by reducing polarities in the situation, the legal process deliberately creates a bipolar catastrophe situation. This helps the spread of grievance and the waste of clients' money. It can be seen from the last remarks that catastrophe theory, described in Chapter 2, is highly relevant to this particular situation. With the knowledge of Zeeman's characteristics of a bipolar catastrophe it was potentially possible to reduce the time spent on and the hostilities in the processes. This was not met with favour largely because it offended the legal fixation on individual responsibility, and was tantamount to a foreign language for counsellors. Finally, I retired from the Court after twelve years. I then became part of a team that set up a private college for the post graduate training of psychologists to enable them to become registered. After a period as principal I retired to Coffs Harbour.

This thumbnail sketch is intended to give the impression of how I have develop from a closed somewhat psychoanalytic oriented consulting room clinician to one with a more expanded ecological

view of the management of the life cycle and its issues. As has been said, on the way scholarly and more systematic use of them. Also, in opting to follow a different path, I was reading the literature on qualitative research where there is often an emphasis on the researcher's reflection on process.

If the above section is reflected upon, some of my personal success has been in the clinical field. In this study, there has been a tendency for me to drift towards clinical processes. The interaction with the clients had to be watched, so that I didn't follow up heavily even where there was an opening to expose psychopathology and explore it as a clinician. For example, Gemma, who was in a disturbed state over her husband's illness, produced some pathological behaviour and was in a disturbed state for some days. Instead of pursuing the issues that she was exposing, it was acknowledged that she appeared to have strong emotional problems that could benefit from treatment, making it quite clear that I was not the person who would be treating her. I offered to discontinue the interview, but she refused this offer and went on by choosing a different set of topics to talk about.

Other instances arose in the interviews with Laura who had had problems with her father. Henry, willy-nilly abreacted producing floods of tears recalling his business problems and how he was treated in the town. Roy had a very unsatisfactory childhood and produced associations that if they had been produced in a different sort of interview, would have required therapeutic exploration. I got the feeling that the type of interview, i.e. reacting to meaningful photographs was conducive to producing 'depth' material, and tended to stimulate the interviewer to adopt a clinical mode.

Although not always stated at the outset of the study, the participants' main reason for participation was to gain some perspective upon their own life. The employment histories, life experiences, and attitudes of the males in the sample resembled in broad terms that of the researcher. This could be

construed as the result of biased selection by the researcher, except that three of the participants were not approached by the researcher but by another person. Piano was recruited by a female friend who attended a class given by the researcher. Guitar was referred by a mutual friend, and Rocky by his wife who was also a member of the same class mentioned above. There are some reasons for the obvious bias. Six of the men and five of the women were migrants from large eastern Australian cities. This made them a selected group to begin with. They were further selected by seeking intellectual stimulation from the U3A.

The fact that the group was highly selected makes little difference in terms of the study. It was necessary to show by intensive examination, the degree to which participants conformed to the stereotype of 'dependent old age'. This was amply demonstrated by this group's descriptions of their lives which closely resembled description to that participants' in a similar study of Richardson and Shaw (1998) in the UK. It is shown both in Richardson and Shaw's work that there exists a group of people, at the end of the life cycle, whose members are coping well.

One of the facets of the relatively unstructured procedure depending heavily on the participants input (i.e. photographs) was the freedom that permitted the rapid emergence of emotions. The photographs were used, by the participants, in an ongoing comparison of their present lifestyle with that prior to retirement, and indeed the distant past. Although this freedom facilitated the emergence of strong emotions in some participants, it left the researcher with the ethical problem of ongoing care. The emergence of emotions, and the reasons for them, demonstrated the symbolic potency of photography in revealing such issues.

CONCLUSION AND LINKAGE OF RESULTS WITH LITERATURE

The aim of the study was to explore a sample of older people to see how they actually went about their lives in their *own terms*. This was done by letting them choose those aspects of their lives they particularly wanted to explore, rather than to impose a rigid formal structure on them. The nature of the sample used, as has so far been discussed, raises the issue, not so much of bias but of special cases. Although they literally came from around the world, the participants had been subjected to experiences which gave them the appearances of similarity. These experiences were mediated by global conditions principally of war and economic stress. There was a strong desire for economic security and evidence that they were indeed secure in the ownership of houses and good superannuation incomes. All had some experience of the Depression of 1929 which had conditioned their parents, who had passed onto them their attitudes to money and also ensured thrift to be highly valued. On the other hand, they had matured in a period of relative affluence in which they had worked hard to achieve and maintain success. This period, and the occupations available in it, particularly for the men, demanded a degree of effort that put them under some stress which in some cases led to physical illness for which they had to compensate. These stresses had led the men, in particular, to fantasize, not so much of being free from work, but free of the compulsions that are part of occupations, even for those high in the organization of their firms. Families were of great importance even for childless people who took interest in their nieces and nephews. Where possible, migration was, in part, to be near family members. This was true even for participants such as Kate whose nieces lived in Germany.

Another attractor for the migrations was climate. In the reviewed literature this was evident in both Europe and North America. Desire for a comfortable climate and closeness to family is a key reason

to move in later life. This was in a similar vein to the findings of Cribier (1982) who described migration out of Paris, and for similar reasons to those stated above. Warnes (1982) described internal migration in the USA, and Gustafson (2001) examined the winter migration of Swedes to Spain. Bouvier et al (1995) described the growth of Florida which has been populated by people searching for winter comfort. Florida now has the third largest population in the USA. Such migrations have become possible as a result of increasing prosperity. This tends to limit the luxury of relocating to a favourable environment to wealthier people. As has been said in Chapter 2, and in common with other studies, migrants to the NSW coast are more affluent than people who have resided on the coast over their life cycle. People who have moved far from their initial dwelling places and have had to adjust to new places seem to have a better chance of a comfortable retirement. Of course this proposition would have to be subject to further study.

GOOD AGEING

In the recent gerontological literature there has been considerable discussion of ‘good’ ageing, ‘successful aging’ or ‘productive ageing’ (see Chapter 2). Unfortunately, there appears to be a certain degree of repetition and assertion of things already known. Seedsman (2005:11), in an attempt to reduce the negativity associated with ageing, comments:

Our cultural focus on ageing has traditionally emphasised problems, limitations and declining functions. Consequently any mention of growth, development, including health and wellness, presents as an oxymoron in view of the original message that projects obsolescence and ill health as normal dimensions of ageing. A major source for this unrealistic focus on problems and limitations may be explained by...*prevailing notion that human life is like curved lines with the peak or best part occurring somewhere near the midpoint and the latter portion declining precipitously.* (Fontes 1991: 40). Of course, this type of logic, left unchallenged for decades, has allowed the landscape of ageing to be tarnished by a pervasive set of cultural stereotypes collectively known as the ‘ageing (elderly)

mystique'. In short, negative stereotypes create limiting images of ageing which distort reality, leading to a type of self-fulfilling prophecy that guarantees social and economic obsolescence.

This 'call to arms', i.e. looking at the positive aspects of ageing, has often been repeated in the past decade. The results from the present study show that a small group of people has heeded the formulae of ageing well, in so far as they have social contacts, take part in physical activities, and have intellectual pursuits. There are, however, few descriptions of physical activities that may engage the attention of eighty year olds, or draw them into serious intellectual activity, especially if they or their partners have had bouts of debilitating crises. The 'good ageing' doctrines are little more than fine words spreading amongst people already practicing them. The 'good', 'successful' or 'productive' are adjectives that give the impression of striving, a condition that most people in the study found irksome, wanting to live at their own pace. As will be suggested later sources of pleasure, economically obtainable to older people, will need to be explored, created and promoted widely.

Grob et al (2001) have studied the interaction of historical events on specific groups, not surprisingly, have found different values held between different age groups. In commenting on their work they point to the need for further study. While gathering data for this thesis it was noted how historical events had deflected a number of participants out of what they perceived as their expected life course. The distortions caused by war and economic fluctuations have brought about a creative effort in a search for a less stressful life, at present being acted out as migration to the 'Coast'.

RETIREMENT AS A BIFURCATION POINT IN THE LIFESPAN

Prigogine and Stengers (1984) and Nicolis and Prigogine (1989) have emphasised the importance of bifurcations in the life cycle, as points for the emergence of new structures, they called dissipative structures. A Markov chain is a mathematical process in a system whereby, the occurrence of an event is dependent only on the possibilities in the last prior state and is independent of history. Markov chains are found in both inanimate and living systems. Sometimes the possibilities loop back on themselves and although the process absorbs energy no progress is made. Schroots (2003) has endeavoured to map older people's lifecycles in terms of significant events, bifurcations, that influenced changes in their lives. Unfortunately such mapping is not a particularly easy action and is still in the developmental stages. Nevertheless there is plenty of evidence, as demonstrated by the participants, to show how retirement, or the thought of it, can stimulate reflective and creative processes and how this reflection and subsequent action has changed the outlook of participants.

Migration stimulates creativity by producing some chaos in the life of the retiring person and his or her significant others. As Rocha (1998) has pointed out, Eigenvalues, built up over a life cycle, are stable, and play a significant role as attractors in the person's make up. They cannot be changed without destroying the system to which they belong. Environmental stress, however, can distort Eigenvalues so that, for comfort, they have to be reconciled with the environment. This requires creative acts. In a minor way this form of reconciliation could be found in the participants in this study. Some of them used their photographs as a mode of contact with longterm values. It is interesting to note how much of the past appeared to be closely associated with the present. Carmen, for instance, has given the best example with her comparison of Coffs Harbour with Burnham on

Crouch, the town of her childhood. Her act of photographing settings of interest to her caused her to note the similarities between her English environment and her present one. This enabled her to come to grips with her forced migration from Wollongong to Coffs Harbour.

The intellectual task of construing these changes is made difficult by the lack of appropriate languages. At present some physicists, such as Döring and Isham (2007), have produced papers on new mathematical languages for physics. While the details of these are beyond my comprehension, in general terms something of a similar kind should be initiated in gerontology. For example, the mathematical discipline of topology recognises different spaces, defined by certain types of mathematical structures that have significant dynamic outcomes. Fractal geometry is construed in what is called a 'Hausdorff Space', which has a set of delimiting conditions that set it apart from everyday space as it is usually conceived. It depends on iteration to produce its effects. It seems likely that as life cycle structures are studied, at present, there is a confusion of spaces in which various phenomena exist. What, for examples, are the properties of a large urban existence that can be found in a small town setting?

Is there as yet some unknown possible language by which stages of transition from childhood to adult status can be construed in greater detail? What does the individual making the transition need to know to comfortably make the transition? For an individual, such as Roy, what process did he undergo to transform from the 'abandon' child to patriarch of his family? The most likely strategy, for the grasp of the situation, would be to construct models and simulate daily life events, described in terms of usual changes, from one behaviour setting to another. On the model one would examine the stresses that could come from certain patterns of events with which the simulated situation could not cope, and then bifurcates. The exploration of such patterns would involve a degree of tedium in

their collection. To overcome this, and begin, a group of volunteers could brainstorm a hypothetical daily cycle of settings and then modify it in terms of that of actual pathways of participants. For example, suppose the routine of a person's life was in terms of a chain of settings S1, S2, S3, S4... Sn it would be bifurcated naturally by waking and sleeping. But if it was radically bifurcated by, say, the person moving to a different city, what happens to the chain? What degree of effort must be made to construct a new chain? In a simulation it would be possible to vary the times or characteristics of events to see what affect this would have on the sense of well-being of any participant. Such a simulatory exercise would assist in counselling a would-be retiree or any other person contemplating a radical life change.

In gerontological literature there are many articles concerned with the issue of care which focuses on the negative side of ageing. Care is not something to be associated just with ageing as there are large groups of people, of all ages, who require care at varying frequencies depending upon the turbulence of their environments. To care for these people a whole new discipline of care provision needs to be developed. Elements of such a system already exist for example Meals on Wheels or Domiciliary Nursing and numerous other minority groups which have formed could give some idea of what is necessary. By freeing gerontology's workers from the dependent groups a more concerted attack could be made on creating positive images of old age as a developmental stage.

There were issues relevant to the construction of a new lifestyle found embedded in the transcript material. When the resettlement period of migration has finished, in the case of migrants, or the postretirement lifestyle has been started, both migrant and resident are able to evaluate fantasies about their new lifestyles. As would be expected the previously fantasised lifestyle, when attempts are made to activate it, does not emerge perfectly, being distorted by unexpected and unconsidered

events. A number of issues emerged in the transcripts which need discussion. The researcher has called these issues ‘conflicting statements’ and ‘apparent arrogance’.

CONFLICTING STATEMENTS

Conflicting statements are made when a particular position is stated in one sentence and then is denied in the following sentences or was out of context with the main theme of the sentence. This type of conflict appeared commonly in the males and examples of it are cited in Chapter 6. The conflicting statements can best be described by using catastrophe theory. The appearance of a proposition taking meaning in one direction, and then followed by another in the opposite direction, could be construed as a form of hysteresis; the running down of energy in the system, caused by an erratic search for stable equilibrium but not finding it. This can be dangerous for the participant as this depletion in energy comes when overall energy is being eroded by the elapse of time. Hysteresis is one of the five characteristics of a bipolar catastrophe i.e. when a system has been controlled by two parameters seen as similar to Zeeman’s (1980) dog, which was controlled by its anger and its fear. Its attitudes jumped between the states of aggression and fear when small changes in the environment are made. Zeeman has pointed out that if one of the five characteristics of a bipolar catastrophe is present then so are the other four. In this case it gives the opportunity to search for a conflict of which one pole may be easily observed and the other obscure. In the case of the male participants this appears to be associated with role status. Male comments on status were often gathered in informal situations outside the formal interviews. Examples of the men’s statements are shown in Table 7.1 which demonstrates some of the polarities.

Table 7.1 Conflicting qualities in statements by male participants

Participant	Statements	Polarity
Alf	<p>Well I-I-I was perhaps fortunate enough – I say fortunate – it’s a bit difficult – I don’t want to shoot a line here.</p> <p>If you are absolutely top rate fella, top gun, you go to fighter command. So always blow myself up as one of those super duper people who used to get there.</p> <p>Eating is important. It not only sustains life but is one of the few enjoyments that are left to you at this great age.</p>	<p>Conflict between the excitement of being a fighter pilot and virtually being a nonentity at present.</p> <p>Alf then lists a number of things he does enjoys. For example I have bought a chess set on the table because chess is the thing I thoroughly enjoy.</p> <p>The word enjoyed is used frequently in the transcript.</p>
Henry	<p>I love this place and it’s been good to me in lots of ways.</p> <p>I though I’d put a lot into this town gee whiz the way some of them treated me was tough.</p>	<p>Here the nostalgic view of his relationship with the city is contrasted with the anger he feels the way people have treated him.</p>
Piano	<p>At our age let the young people worry about the world’s problems. At our age we should, ‘say stuff the world it’s my happy time now’.</p>	<p>This contrasts markedly with his behaviour which is not totally hedonistic. He runs computer training classes for older peoples and says he would act as a consultant to young people if they asked him.</p>
Rocky	<p>Well it was fun on the farm although it was hard work.</p> <p>I don’t say that I’m religious. It seems to me there is so much goes on.</p>	<p>He does no hard work now but gives the impression that he would like to be able to.</p> <p>As it has been said, however, his whole interview was divided between long passages on farming (and its decision-making processes) and religion to which he returned compulsively.</p>

The females in the group did not seem to be conflicted in the same way, possibly because they retained many of the roles in which they had long acculturation, and which, whether they liked it or not, to some extent defined them. It will be remembered that these participants grew up in a culture which judged a man by his work and a woman by her home building. Females have a more significant role in family than men do, especially with daughters, and this role they take with them,

whereas the males, even though they had strong generative impulses, were more strongly identified with their former work roles. They tried to set up a new role with status. Golf handicaps, for example, illustrated status for men. Hypothetically, it is suggested that for men the instability is a result of the conflict between the images of themselves in their present their retired role, and their former high status roles, such as the principal of some large organisation. Three of the females who were born in the 1930s had not been expected to pursue a career after marriage and would not have had the indoctrination of success in a career so they were relatively free from the type of role conflict encountered by males. The hysteresis behaviour suggested above means that the person in which it is exemplified as having their energies eroded.

APPARENT ARROGANCE

The term 'apparent arrogance' is perhaps somewhat strong for the phenomenon under discussion. It is used to describe a show of irritation and the reluctance to do things in a different manner from the way in which participants supposed it should be done. It was very difficult, for example, to convey the idea that it was necessary to have the consent to use the photographs of people who were still living and whose photographs had been presented. Any protest by the researcher that he needed such permission was dismissed by an assurance that the person photographed wouldn't mind. Henry, in particular, saw the research as a study of the history of Coffs Harbour, not of himself as he related to Coffs Harbour. It was very difficult to shift him from this position. In another way Hiram, who runs musical appreciation classes, refuses to consider music later than the last quarter of the 19th century and ignored all of 20th-century symphonic and chamber music. Alf, a highly intelligent man, when discussing philosophy could not think beyond the philosophy of the Enlightenment and would

become irritated at the suggestion that there was meaningful philosophy after the Enlightenment, especially in the 20th century. Carmen, as has been mentioned, was very resistant to any change in her view of the family, while Laura refused to accept that she was in fact old, even though one of her conflicting remarks was the acceptance that she had white hair. She disliked older men who approached her because they appeared old but she felt young inside.

There are, no doubt, many causal factors for this attitude in participants. One could be that for the men who had been ‘the boss’, and doing things their way was an attitude developed from this situation. Catastrophe theory could also offer an explanation. As a person approaches the extended end of the life cycle they enter into a bipolar conflict situation with the desire to go on living and an awareness of the approach of death. Another of these characteristics in this situation is the inaccessibility of information that the person already possesses. Whenever a person becomes confronted with this sort of situation, and becomes angry, they are compensating, thus appearing to be aggressive and arrogant. Alternatively it could be explained that there was resistance to changes that went contrary to their autopoietic systems by which they recreated themselves in the new environment. To make such a change, according to Rocha (1998:344):

A given dynamic system is always bound to the complexity its attractor landscape allows. For a dynamic system to observe genuine emergence of new classifications (conceptual or of functionality) it must change its structure. Creativity, or open ended variety can only be attained by structural perturbation of a dynamical system. One way or another this can only be achieved through some external influence on a self organizing system. Artificial neural networks discriminate by changing the structure of their connections to an external learning procedure. Evolutionary strategies rely on internal random variation (mutation) which must ultimately be externally selected. In other words, the self organizing system must be structurally coupled to some external system which acts on structural changes of the first and induces some form of explicit or implicit selection of its dynamic representations: selected *self organization*.

The nature of autopoietic behaviour has been described in Chapter 2. In the process, the organisms/persons have to develop a barrier between themselves and chaotic input from the environment in order to survive. The barriers that build up become stronger by recursive experiences over time, consequently, any variation means a good deal of effort has to be made to changes in the environment that distort the autopoiesis system of the individual. The quote above suggests that making changes requires the capacity to learn to cope with more chaotic situation. Migrants have deliberately put themselves in a situation which is more disorganised and chaotic than the one from which they are migrating, even though that situation might have been unpleasant in some way. In the re-creation of a new lifestyle migrants' Eigenvalues of their autopoietic systems are sufficiently distorted so that their cognitive capacities are stimulated and they innovate. Even so, the apparent arrogance of the migrant could be a reaction to such change which could be experienced as progress towards death. If progress towards death is taken seriously then the arrogance could be explained by the disengagement theory postulated by Cummins and Henry (1961) quoted by Achenbaum and Bengtson (1994:758):

Disengagement is an inevitable process in which many of the relationships between an ageing person and other members of society are severed, and those remaining are altered in quality.

There is no explanation in this definition of what these relationships are. The definition needs to be expanded to take into account the possible variety of relationships which may be affected more than others.

Historically, disengagement theory has suffered severe criticism to the point where it seems to have disappeared. Achenbaum and Bengtson (1994) felt, however, that disengagement theory had some ideas to offer in so far as it appeared to describe behaviour at the end of life, quite well, in some

cases, but does it? Part of the problem in disengagement theory is to describe the environment, and the ‘disengager’, and from what is the ‘disengager’ being disengaged. Disengagement is seen as slow giving up of life by giving up its various components.

Tornstam (1999) has taken away the stigma of surrender and suggests that instead of giving up on the components of life, the ageing person is fulfilling a natural process of transcendence; that is moving on to a different level of existence, even though this may last only a short while prior to death. This view runs somewhat contrary to the ‘good ageing’ views currently being expressed. As has been suggested earlier, a lot of writing on the ‘good ageing’ notion has something of business motivation about it. Culturally, for some, the idea of not aggressively doing things can be abhorrent. In Chapter 2, continuing physical activity and engagement with life are key issues contributing to ‘the good’ in good ageing. It is possible to see that by polarising the field of human behaviour into good and bad; a catastrophe situation is created in which some human processes such as the desire for novelty are overlooked. One of the features of ageing could simply be that, within the cognitive scope of individuals, there is a limit to the number of situations that can be interesting. This limit would be constructed over time by recursive experiences. For example, one issue is that of watching drama. After a while it is possible to learn all the variations of plot that can be displayed. Here the nature of plot has been limited by cultural usage and so tends to approximate a closed system that can become boring.

The question, “why does one want to stop people from disengaging arises?” The answer must cover a variety of issues. A new study would be necessary to answer a major number of them. The quality of the situations in which the disengaging/transcending person, using Tornstam’s terms, finds themselves would have to be explored. Whatever the quality of the situation is, the main attractor set

in the environment of the disengaging person, family, and friends, and including the would-be-helper would need exploration. A necessary aid in such a situation would be the degree of empathic capacity of the previously mentioned group. The importance of empathy as a mode of bringing about change has had a long history in the literature of both psychotherapy and management.

Hao (2008) conducted a study to test whether paid work and formal volunteering reduced the rate of mental health decline in later life. She revealed in her discussion:

The results are consistent with activity theory and further confirmed the role accumulation perspective. The finding that full-time work combined with low-level volunteering is productive of mental health reveals the complementary effects of volunteering to formal employment. (2008:S64)

Hao has introduced the third major strand in gerontological theory i.e. activity theory against which Tornstam expressed some doubts about the value of keeping people at the end of the life cycle, in activity. As has been mentioned, Tornstam postulated the developmental stage which he called transcendence. He comments about people who have already attained this stage:

Individuals with a high degree of gerotranscendence have a higher degree of self controlled and social activity than individuals with a low degree of gerotranscendence, a higher degree of life satisfaction, and show more satisfaction with their social activities. Also, individuals with a high degree of gerotranscendence are less dependent on social activities for their well-being and have more active and complex coping patterns. In addition, the research revealed that life crises accelerated development towards gerotranscendence and that signs of gerotranscendence cannot be explained away as symptoms of disease, depression, or consumption of psychiatric drugs. (Tornstam 1999:12)

There appears to be something of a conflict between the two theoretical approaches. This is possibly the result of categorisation. If there are categories of transcendence and disengagement, how is it possible to distinguish between them in terms of their elements? It is highly likely that what one person may call transcendence, and others may call disengagement. Hao (2008:70) in discussing the

limitations of his study gave the opinion that: “In order to understand the association between social activities and mental health, it is important to pinpoint precisely the underlying processes that are responsible for these salutary effects”.

This opinion could be well applied to all psychosocial theorising. Although difficult, an attempt could be made by mapping the progress of participants through a day in terms of the behaviour settings in which they find themselves. In this way it may be possible to observe apparent bifurcation points as they emerge during the day, or during any expanse of time considered relevant. From such fine grain information it should be possible to construct more accurate theories. In the present thesis, study was made of behaviour settings chosen by participants and illustrated by their photographs. This provided a much more detailed view of each participant in a way that showed their lack of similarity to the stereotypes of ageing.

In my study the clearest cut example of disengagement was demonstrated by Kate (80 yrs) who committed suicide because she suffered from acute incurable, emphysema for many years, and for which there were no satisfactory palliatives. Just prior to her death she found breathing itself was extremely difficult for her and any physical action exhausting. She may have disengaged herself from life by taking poison, but she had certainly not disengaged from the people around her, until it was physically impossible to remain engaged. Prior to her death, despite her infirmities, she kept up interests in a number of activities such as politics, this she continued, to within a very short time, a couple of weeks, before her suicide. She left messages to her friends, whom she had told at prior times, of her intention, and invite them, after she died, to take any of her possessions that they might have fancied. Throughout her retirement she was self-motivated and had worked on, and completed, a number of large projects. She was also an avid reader of the political commentaries in newspapers to

which she wrote opinionated letters. She did not attempt to suicide until it became apparent to her, and for that matter to everybody else, that she was in the process of a slow, painful and inevitable death. It is difficult to say whether she had achieved transcendence. She was certainly active until close to the end.

Apparent arrogance seems to be more a response associated with not giving up on life, more of a form of a conservation of energy. It did not seem to be an example of disengagement so much as an unwillingness to change habits of mind or prejudices that would make demands upon diminished energies. Alternatively, the apparent arrogance could be a defensive mode of a person entering into Tornstam's transcendental condition. If we look at Rocha's comment that if a system's autopoiesis changes the whole system disintegrates. In the case of people, this could be another reason for resistance to change. Presumably a threat to a person's self reproducing system (i.e. autopoietic system) pressures them to make changes that require too much energy so the person is caught between adaptation to a new situation and the cost in energy it will incur.

There are other reasons, besides the imminence of death, as to why people give up activities that, say they have persisted with for long time. The question is, at any point in the life course, how long do people continue to take part in some activity before they become bored with it and want to change to something new? Richardson (1998), in his study of ageing in Wales, found that older people could become interested in new activities if these activities were seen to be pleasurable.

PLEASURE

An Internet search made, on scientific studies of pleasure and ageing, produced only twenty five papers, few of these were relevant to understanding how older people experienced pleasure. Smith et al (2005), who studied the pleasure of examining photographs in a laboratory setting, measured pleasure partly by psychophysical responses and partly by self report. It could not throw light on long term complex activities that gave pleasure. There were some differences in responses where facial expression was measured, by psychophysical techniques, but otherwise, older people continued to express much or more activity than their younger counterparts. Activity here means facial expressions of pleasure. A more comprehensive study of pleasure would need to explore the various places where pleasure is expressed and the variations of the degree of pleasure in particular settings. If the expensive paraphernalia of neuropsychology became more available studies of the brain would give some idea of the nature of pleasure. Combined with an ecological study it may be more likely to produce meaningful results.

The one-off nature of the Smith (2005) study did not permit acclimatisation to the study environment. The study did not explore the issues of ambience for the fluctuation in pleasure over time, nor did it look at personality issues such as the continuum of introversion and extraversion that might dictate the types of things, or activities, that are pleasurable. Assuming the importance of pleasure as a motivator, to ensure older people's participation in activities, more work needs to be done in this area.

The participants have given some indication of where to look. Alf gave a catalogue of pleasures, making music, playing chess etc. Piano had said of retirement that “its playtime”; time to enjoy yourself. By this he meant playing music, learning flight simulation, and giving classes in computing. For him the pleasure existed in doing these things, voluntarily and at his own pace. Tryer and Carmen derived great pleasure from helping others, and pleasure from their grandchildren. Most of the men and some of the women derive pleasure from golf. The question is how far can these pleasures be ordered? For example, for the same person, is playing golf more pleasurable than singing in a choir? What happens to make a switch from one pleasure to another? Does there actually come a time when no pleasure can be derived from anything? Are there any variations in this no-pleasure state? Is this different from the depression that mental health writers ascribe to the end of the life course?

Gergen (1994) has written at length on the development of meaning which in his view requires a community of people to produce. It would seem feasible that the failure of the community to acknowledge that pleasure is possible, could be responsible for the depressions observed in older people. Or, conversely, could the moral structures, such as a work ethic, appropriate to earlier periods in the life course, be acting adversely in later part of the life cycle. For example, females are more likely to be widowed than men and be left with the need for physical and sexual contact for quite long periods before they die. Some are quite capable of forming new relationships via affairs, or even marriage, but run the risk of family disapproval, arising from concerns over inheritance, and usually disguised in moral disgust that an older person has physical needs. Öberg and Tornstam (1999) have described how families can pressure older people to show characteristics that are usually, in their case, found in much younger people e.g. slenderness of figure. Bureaucratic welfare systems, also, can put barriers to late life personal relationships that may give pleasure, in so far as they have pensions for single people and different pensions for married or cohabiting couples. Couples

contemplating the convenience of cohabitation can be put off by the thought of losing some of their pension. Women living on their deceased husband's superannuation benefits lose them if they marry again.

The participants still left in the group (two have died) are actively working on their own interests but it is difficult to say what degree of pleasure they are obtaining. It would be interesting to follow their development to see in greater detail how, in fact, they create roles for themselves and how well they can sustain these roles. This would involve instituting some sort of regular meeting in which only a few might wish to indulge. It should not be too difficult, however, to construct an ongoing group that would enable research into late life roles as constructed by those people living them. One would hope to learn how roles emerged and whether or not these roles were extinguished, or partly extinguished, over time, and by what method. After migrating to Coffs Harbour, Kate for example, had adopted the role of political commentator which she had begun to develop early in her life. She did not disengage from this role until life became impossible. Roy kept up his deep sea fishing well into his late 60s but gave it up for two reasons, his seasickness seem to be getting worse each time he went to sea and he found he preferred to play golf.

In the present study it was difficult to get people to talk about their view of their future life, even though there were obvious difficulties in the future. At present, in Coffs Harbour, migrants have gravitated to those things that interest them, having usually bought themselves large houses that, as they become more infirm with age, are difficult to manage. Only Gemma seems to have considered the possibility of her life as a widow and bought a small house that she could manage on her own. State governments have considered laws which limit the driving capacity of people over 85. This age level is well within the survival range of many migrants. Those, without transport, could be forced to

lead a more isolated life which could contribute to loneliness and depression. People worry about driving tests but do not consider the issue of not being able to drive when first migrating. Hypothetically their arrogance protects them from energy expenditure until they come to a bifurcation point by entering a particular catastrophe set, bureaucratically constructed, in the case of driving, which makes them amenable to new learning. Their success will depend on how well they are able to cope with the threat of distortion of their Eigenvalues that govern their autopoiesis. If they get community support at the time of a crisis they are more likely to learn how-to innovate new roles. The wisdom of persisting in roles has been explored by Wrosch et al (2003) but like all such studies more exploration is said to be needed. Sternberg (2003:152) has offered the following definition of wisdom that migrants need to acquire:

Wisdom is defined as the application of successful intelligence and creativity as mediated by values towards the achievement of a common good through a balance among (a) intra personal, (b) interpersonal and (c) extra-personal interests over (a) short and (b) long terms, in order to achieve a balance among (a) adaptation to existing environments, (b) shaping of existing environments, and (c) selection of new environments.

Language is a good example of this group process which begins early in life and is mediated by the community of the individual. What is lacking is language for the latter end of the life course. In writing this thesis a great deal of difficulty was experienced in finding words to specify people at the end of their life course. The words elderly, aged, senior and so forth have acquired a degree of negativity that is hard to escape. The ingrained negativity resulting from the educational and social systems of the past are probably at the root of some apparent arrogance.

As has been said earlier, bureaucratic decisions can cause difficulties for older people. It must be remembered that it is not only the ageing person who needs to be exposed to gerontological education, but also members of bureaucracies which condition their lives. Unfortunately, those

people controlling political parties are relatively youthful and engage in the excitement of overcoming oppositions somewhat like a football game. This leads to the requirement that actions have to be done quickly or in what is considered sufficient time. For example, the mundane act of dialling a telephone number has a time limit on it. On what set of norms was this decision made? The demands of time limits can lead to a narrowing of political or bureaucratic vision when planning services for older people whose speed of action will be considered in terms of younger people's capacities. Bureaucracies can suppress females in the workforce by making their benefits contingent upon their domestic duties while their take-home pay is smaller and contributes less to pensions. Preston et al (2006) have raised similar issues in the Australian workplace. That is they see the then government's ideal work place agreements as unsatisfactory for women who have the least negotiating power. Older women in such a system are at a disadvantage. In Sternberg's (2003) sense there is a need for wisdom, and the way to achieve this could be in the cultivation and support of older thinkers (not necessarily professional philosophers). Like the present researcher, many older people are willing to think about social issues but have been out of contact with formal thought processes for a long time. In behaviourist terms a 'shaping' of their thought processes has to take place, and this will involve time. In contemplating such a move would involve research in a wider field. Again, Calasanti (1996:147) has made the following point:

Incorporating diverse experiences into gerontological theory, research, and practice is necessary for understanding the lives of all old people, and not only "special groups". I begin by explaining how incorporating diversity exposes the power relations constitutive of the lived experience. Also I demonstrate that starting with the voices of those with less power renders a more complete view of social reality.

Bass (2006), Calasanti (1996) and Bengtson et al (1996) have all spoken about the need for change in gerontological theory. It should be noted that Bass is writing 10 years after the other two people cited,

and is still looking for a grand theory. The present study, in their terms, is one more data rich study but which lacks a broad theoretical approach. This study was designed to answer a simple question but even though the sample is of a specific group of reasonably affluent retired migrants, it covered a broad range of issues including the consideration of the effect of world events on the individuals studied. Further studies are required before a broad theoretical statement can be made. Neglected, at the moment, have been studies of the networks of people migrating to Coffs Harbour. A longitudinal study of networks would throw some light on the question of interaction between migrants and residents, as well as the interaction between migrants. Following the line of thinking which demands a broader inclusion in gerontological studies, studies on the understanding of politicians' awareness of gerontological issues would be worth attempting. In this latter instance, recruiting busy participants might not be possible. Nevertheless, a study of Hansard and departmental literature produced for public consumption would give some indication of how gerontological issues are handled. As has been said earlier, Parliamentary interest in the life course is only stimulated with quasi medical issues such as caring. There is very little concern for the older person as a resource. Possibly some of the issues raised in this thesis could have a better resolution if the community recognize older people as resources. The nature and size of this resource is not known at the present. For example, the present scarcity of skilled workers, such as, motor mechanics, might be relieved if older retired mechanics could be persuaded to be mentors in the apprenticeship process, but not so involved as to interrupt their golf. Of course, this process would have to be examined and modified to make it acceptable. Moreover, it would have to be made pleasurable for the intended participants.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study can be considered an ontogeny of older migrants' post migration lives. The migrants' development in the new environment is shown to emerge from a number of factors that are part of the migrant's early development that come to the fore by the experience of bifurcation brought about by the socially imposed practice of retirement. The Eigenvalues have developed from the first experiences of life and have been modified and fixed by iterative processes. Migration distorts but cannot modify the self reconstructing aspects of these Eigenvalues. The history of post-migration processes illustrate the ontogeny of the individuals and their social environments which have been subject to distortion.

The group of older people, in the age range of 62 to 79, who participated in the study, wanted to review their lives and desired meaningful roles in their present community or social group. They do not conform to present stereotypes of aging. Members of this group are particularly concerned with maintaining their independence, indulging in physical and intellectual activities, and taking steps to stay healthy. All members of the group were concerned with the welfare of their children, or of the next generation if they had no offspring. Some of these older people took up volunteer helping roles, often supporting their own children. Members of this group's were motivated by the perceived possible pleasure to be derived from the activity, rather than the necessity of the activity. This pleasing of one's self, a freedom to choose, was seen as one of the advantages of retirement.

In most of the participants' transcripts one can detect those signs of pressure to conform to long-standing values particularly with respect to work. As has been said elsewhere women seem to be

under less pressure in this regard. They brought with them many of the roles with their attendant values that had guided their activities prior to migration. Some of the men had not given up their former activities but only varied the proportion of time spent on each. At the time of the interview only one woman and two men were not taking part in physical activities. The woman and one of the men are now dead. The other man became much more active after a joint replacement. All members of the surviving group have been actively engaged in physical activity since their retirement.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are four groups, to whom recommendations could be directed, *academic bodies* sponsoring gerontological studies, *local governments*, *retirees* or those about to retire and *their employers*, and *post graduate gerontological students*.

Academic bodies

Gerontological studies need to be undertaken by teams rather than individuals, especially if the individuals are themselves older persons. The aim would be to have older people invest their efforts in groups that, although changing in composition, can exist for longer than the individual. The qualitative methods have much to recommend them but the significance of their results need to be organized and explained so that there is better appreciation of how of small groups can give a valuable view of a social situation, rather than at the outset, attempting to develop large random samples. To some extent this would take care of the heterogeneity of the older groups for which normative studies can produce the wrong picture. The research group could be expanded if educational organizations such as U3A, where there are many people with University or TAFE

qualifications, could be properly trained to do research work under supervision. Such a group could replicate studies or act as research assistants for sections of larger studies being conducted at a post graduate level. If such people were themselves past retirement, and could be restricted to work with retired people, a good deal of new knowledge about the retired could be gathered. This would assist in coping with the predicted increase of older people. Moreover, such leadership from academic institutions in creating new roles for the older group of people would satisfy one of the needs expressed in this study i.e. that of meaningful roles. In setting up such a group there would be many conditions that would need to be considered. Firstly, the work would have to be structured so that it was pleasurable and the participants, as far as possible, permitted to work at their own pace. This would be a natural lead into studies of leisure and pleasures of older people on the NSW coast.

Some form of remuneration and operating expenses would need to be available. For example, the possibility of tax or municipal rates rebates would be one avenue by which the participants could be remunerated. It would be the function of a planning team to find a structure that would work. Care would have to be taken to insure that the use of volunteer groups did not develop into a form of cheap research labour.

Not all older people would be suitable for the intellectual approach envisaged above. Some would be more interested in physical activities. Physical fitness is important to keep older people functioning. Unfortunately, the Australian elitist attitude to sporting activities swiftly relegates people past their third decade to spectator status. It would be desirable to avoid this situation. People crippled with arthritis or systemic diseases acquired earlier in life (similar to the participants of this study) are unlikely to be able to play in and enjoy playing in a standard Rugby League match, but could join into some new game tailored to their physical abilities. A survey of possible games and the necessary

underlying psychology and physiology of each would have to be explored and new games invented and promulgated. McGuire (2000:97) was of the opinion that:

As the greying of the US continues, efforts to understand the physical, social, and psychological consequences of increased life expectancy will assume a central role in the psyche. Leisure researchers must come together and develop a clear and significant agenda if more than marginal contributions to those efforts are wanted.

The three tiers of government and political skills

Municipal governments are more in contact with everyday affairs; of course, study and sport are not the only aspects of life of interest to older people. There are arts, crafts, horticultural skills, conservation, fashions for older people, and many other activities that would have to be explored for their capacity to create pleasure. Municipal government does not receive as much notice, unless there are blatant scandals, as State and Federal Governments, yet it can have a marked effect on the living conditions of older people. Since local government controls the basic services of residence, and it has been shown how important their own residence is to older people, local government should be the major object of political concern for older people. When they come to Coffs Harbour the older migrants usually have sufficient money to buy their own houses, but as has been shown, there is a number of important conditions that have to be fulfilled. It is desirable that, for its inhabitants to function, a dwelling must on an appropriate scale for the residents' physical requirements, and sufficiently close to services that the resident will need. Now is the time to research and devise plans for such dwellings so that they are spread through the city, not contained in ghettos. Older people also need to be in contact with much younger people. Dwellings for older people have to be placed in such a position that they are easy to access and maintain. Councils should be more attuned to human needs and should have a department, properly funded, to deal with the problems of human ecology.

To explore the issues of ageing and the creation of systems to facilitate the pleasure of older people it would be desirable for councils to institute a system of anonymous conferences. Anonymous conferences here were expounded by Armstrong (1970) in a Canberra Public Service workshop in 1974. Armstrong had worked, in England, with municipal bodies. Anonymous conferences are relatively simple and direct when used with planning problems and can produce good effects quickly. The steps in such a conference are; have a group of no more than twelve people to meet for a conference on some community activity. If there are a lot of volunteers, a cluster of conferences could be run. The conference composition would be of council executive staff, older people, gerontologists and other experts, depending on the issues for which the planning is being done. This group brainstorms to create a set of possible ways to cope with the problem under examination, e.g. "The council will set up a register of suitable land for older people's residences".

Armstrong (1970), who had used the technique extensively, found most problem issues could be covered in no more than eighty propositions, often less. Propositions are examined for redundancy and copied onto a protocol. Each proposition is then rated by the whole group on six, five-point scales on the protocol. The scales are: the probability of the action implied in an item happening, the significance of the suggested action for the community or sub groups of the community, and whether the person scoring has the education and capacity to cope with the issue implied by the item, then the desirability of the item, the capacity of the group to make the action described by the item happen, and finally the date by which it is expected to happen. Once a protocol has been developed it can go, posted or emailed, to individual people. It does not have to be scored in a group. Individual scorers are anonymous. The results however, are pooled and explored by way of graphs and group discussion.

The advantages of this method are personal influences are reduced by anonymity so that reticent people can make a contribution without fear of attack or ridicule. Items that a given person may consider eccentric, and hesitate to put them forward, when scored, may indeed, be shown to be more widely held in the group than expected. Group agreements become readily apparent and this facilitates the rapid introduction and use of ideas. Less obvious results, those that have a lack of central tendency, point to a lack of knowledge in the field. The initial brainstorming uncovers, in an uncritical manner, most of the ideas (either good or bad) a particular group can have on a topic. The anonymous scoring weeds out those items the group considers not feasible and enables clustering of significant items that can further elucidate the planning process.

People approaching retirement and their employers

These are the third group who would need to know some gerontology. It would be possible to design an inventory that could be issued to these people to focus them on the known issues of retirement. Such an instrument could be used as a menu to raise the consciousness of the prospective retiree as to the nature of the life stage they will soon be entering. A supplement to this knowledge would be an explanatory directory of 'retirement' occupations. A 'retirement occupation' is one that gives those involved a sense of pleasure, does not put undue stress on the performer and does not necessarily demand absorption to the exclusion of other tasks, but has the potential to be important to the community.

As previously stated, pleasure motivates. This need not be entirely selfish hedonism. All participants expressed concern for their families. A number of participants have described the pleasure they obtain from providing assistance to family members, and other people not related to them whom they

perceive as requiring help. Generativity has only been of academic concern in fairly recent times and would be worth investigating with pre-retirees as a motivating force for retirement occupations.

Companies and individuals who employ older workers, and who have some knowledge of gerontology may be able to adjust aspects of their work to give pleasure to the retiring employees and encourage them to take steps to preserve the knowledge of their skills. Such work could also be facilitated by trade unions, many of which have welfare sections. There are many individuals who are engaged in generative work. This work should be explored. Of course this could motivate further post-graduate study.

Gerontology

Finally, there are issues for the discipline of gerontology itself. There are a number of general issues as well as some specific issues. The main issue is the data language. There is a dangerous vagueness in the terms such as 'good', 'positive', or 'productive' ageing. Ageing is usually seen as a causal phenomenon that appears to have differential effects across a population. Gubrium and Holstein (1999) equated bodily ageing not so much with the passage of time, but in so far as people are anchored in particular institutions. In their study of the nursing home is, 'a discursive phenomenon, inciting us to reference and describe the aging body in a particular way'. Ageing, in other words, is constructed by our fixations on aspects of our environments, and in Gubrium and Holstein's case, the nursing home.

Foucault (2000) introduces the notion of different spaces in which we live and provides a classification of these spaces in an abstract way. There is a concrete method, as suggested by Barker (1978) of doing much the same thing by defining different sorts of spaces i.e. by naming behaviour

settings. In this study photography was used to define behaviour settings for individuals. This gives only a partial picture because it is a static representation; in that it does not show the dynamics of individual's behaviour. An extra step would be needed to trace the changes in behaviour settings over a period. It is asserted that any individual moves along a chain of behaviour settings every day. What is not known is the motivation for the movement from one chain to the next. This means there is a large area of unknown causal situations. If a study of behaviour settings is made, as suggested earlier, it should be possible to detect the build up of tensions leading to bifurcation situations. Then it would be possible think of ways to ensure outcomes appropriate to the groups in which the bifurcation is likely to occur.

This could require much more work on a coherent language in which to report studies. Such a language would need to be able to integrate findings from different age groups and over the life cycle be able to take into accounts the broader historical events in which the studies are embedded. At this point in gerontological studies the creation of maps showing where a particular item of study lies relative to all studies in the field is an economic necessity to prevent waste of time. This would require a new class of 'meta-students'. Such a group could be a resource for planners. The use of knowledge involves a political process of balancing similar to Sternberg's (2003) view of wisdom. Courses in the skills of living in a political environment are a necessary adjunct to higher study.

One could easily outline many possible studies. Other suggestions are embedded in the body of this chapter.

Pleasure, since it appears to motivate older people to take up new activities, needs much more investigation. The quasi puritanical attitude of Australian society, especially at the time of ageing participants' youth, has helped to devalue pleasure.

The language differences of small groups need investigation if knowledge is to be shared in a meaningful manner. For example, there is a distinct difference in language between people born in the early twentieth century and those of its latter decades.

The social networks of communities need more conscious consideration by academic and municipal planning bodies.

Participants in the study need to know the possible benefits of participation, such as a review of their life and the possibility of overcoming the sense of gloom or the futility of not doing anything new later in life. The development of wisdom roles would give some older people, especially men, ways of dismissing the feeling of having a surfeit knowledge that nobody wants.

There is circularity in these recommendations. What is envisaged is a two way utilization of knowledge via closer interaction between knowledge generators and those who would utilize such knowledge.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

It now seems appropriate to reflect on the effect that the research actually had upon me. Initially there was the problem of catching the tone of modern research. There was a tendency to revert to modes of thought that had been appropriate in earlier times. The 'old man's' statement: "Things were different in my day", tended to echo about but I have to come to the realization that this is still my day. The one major irritation has been my memory which now has the apparently common characteristic of those well into the life course, of not being able to pick up the word one wants to use immediately but having to wait for it to come. Things not used for a period of time, or the rush of present day innovations, produced the irritating necessity of having to learn or relearn activities, largely those associated with computers. My own physical energy usually wears out by lunchtime. While once I was capable of working an unbroken 24-hour shift when necessary, now attempts to work even more modest but still lengthy periods usually find me at some point in time asleep at the computer. Although, it must be said, that the urgency of the need to finish this thesis has fired up my energy.

Since I am well advanced in the life course and a migrant to Coffs Harbour, I have experienced most of the issues that the migrant group raised. All my life I have had a strong urge to study, simply through sheer curiosity. Why this is so obviously one of my Eigenvalues I cannot tell. Perhaps Marziali's (2006) description of Biederman' neurological theory of knowledge acquisition, "The brain needs to acquire knowledge, say researchers at USC and NYU. Its reward for 'getting' a visual concept is a shot of natural opiates has the answer".

My family of origin could not boast great concern with any intellectual matters that could not be cleared up by resort to the Bible or the injunction to have faith! If I was found reading, the question of whether the information in the reading matter would help to get a better job was always raised. This concern had developed from their experience of the Depression of 1929. In one sense the energy invested in my personal arrogance needed to be converted to something useful, if I was going to get my 'fix' to feel happy. It is an interest in ideas that gives me pleasure. My social group has been bemused by my behaviour. Some think I suffer from a masochistic madness; others see me as a kind of hero but are fairly vague on the nature of my heroism. My wife, Regis, has been a great support. She tells me that she is looking forward to the time when I leave my monkish cell and rejoin her in the real world.

The present exercise, while being exhausting and challenging, has had its pleasurable sides. The main pleasure derived from the interaction with the participants who became more responsive as time wore on. They showed further development of their life by the things that they took up after they had participated in the study. They were very open to suggestion of activities. It was suggested to Rocky, for instance, that he take a break from his obsession with the inadequacy of his church and write about his ideas on farming that have developed over the past 40 years. It was pointed out to him that even if, as he suggested, his ideas may be out of date, it would be a valuable thing for his children and future descendants to know what sort of person he was and what he was trying to achieve in his life. After the expression of some doubt he took the suggestion seriously and produced an eleven page essay on his farming experiences. This he has shown to a number of his friends who have made favourable comments and useful suggestions about extending it by adding more text and photographs. This pleased both of us enormously. The intimacy of the process of the study has tended to turn

people who were acquaintances into friends. Using the influence of this with a little bit of effort it would be possible to develop for Rocky the role of a wisdom figure for a certain class of men.

This has led the notion that the aim of all intellectual effort is to produce feelings that can lead to a sense of positive association between people. It has occurred to me that modern writers who emphasize the importance of the group, in generating meaning, are correct. Throughout my professional career as a psychologist, I had a strong tendency to move towards groups as a mode of treatment. This to some extent is carried over into my gerontological thinking. The need is not so much to create therapeutic groups but groups with discreet agendas aimed at creating pleasure. This no doubt sounds somewhat hedonistic but, as some participants in the present study have shown, they derive pleasure from generative activities. What needs to be known are the possible types of pleasure? A fanciful example would be to persuade a group of retired mechanics to make a film on how they would go about renovating an old car. Of course, the subject I have chosen may not be satisfactory for such a group. An exact theme for a group interested in generative actions would have to come from the group itself.

This brings me to the end of this dissertation with the feeling that there are so many interesting things that could be studied. Called to mind is the final line in George Bernard Shaw's play *Back to Methuselah*, in which greater longevity had been achieved for the human race. One of the characters queried what would be beyond their present development. The final statement by another was that it was impossible to know but that, "it's enough that there is a beyond".

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: University of New England Human Research Ethics Committee Application and Approval

Appendix 2: University of New England Research Ethics Consent Form

Appendix 3: University of New England Research Ethics Photograph Use Consent Form

UNE

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*This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England
(Approval No HE05/115 Valid to 11/6/04)*

The Ecology of Older Migrants to the NSW Coast.

How is the word "ecology " used here?

Ecology is simply the study of living things (humans, animals, plants) in relation to their surroundings including their habits and lifestyles.

Why study older migrants to the NSW coast?

There are many older people migrating from the large cities and the inland to seaside towns and small cities. At the moment there are a lot of misleading myths about how the "greying" population will swell to absorb resources. Much of what appears in the popular press is sensational and written in ignorance of how well older people cope. Also statistical statements tend to obscure the significant processes of people's lives. This study aims to examine in depth how a small group of normal people aged between 60 and 85 years have managed the move to a new environment and how they cope with it.

By conducting in depth studies it is expected to see more clearly how older people use their skills and how they develop new ones in relation to their new environment and how they have changed their environment.

For this study volunteers will be asked to photograph the places they find meaningful or important (film or a digital camera will be supplied if necessary). Also they will be asked to provide photographs of themselves with the important other people in their present life. Of course the consent of the other people will be necessary.

Over the next year three interviews lasting about an hour and a half will be held. In these interviews the significance and meaning of the photographs provided will be discussed. These interviews will be recorded and transcribed. Transcripts of their own interviews will be given to participants so they will be able to edit them - that is to cut out or include material.

It has been shown that most people find this exploration of their life history – something they've been meaning to do but never got round to before – to be interesting and satisfying. However there may be episodes that one does not wish to review because they are upsetting. Before each interview and during it you will be reminded that you have control of the information given and you can avoid upset by discontinuing a particular line of discussion. Also, if at any time you wish to withdraw from the study no pressure will be put upon you to continue.

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instructions for Volunteers for the Study of the Ecology of Migrants to the Coast of
NSW.

The following outlines the procedures that will take place in this project
Introductory.

1. When you've contacted me I'll ask for information on how I can contact you whenever there is need. I will then make an appointment to meet you in person at your home or any other convenient location.
2. We will discuss any queries you may have.
3. We will discuss confidentiality and how you would like to ensure anonymity in this project.
4. I am using a computer program that will transcribe voice recordings into script. To do this I will need to train my computer to recognise your voice. This will require a training period of about half an hour. I would like to interview you, as far as possible, in your own residence. It would be preferable if you had a companion with you in the house.
5. At this time I'll ask you to fill in consent forms to take part in the project. However, at any time you will be free to withdraw this consent and discontinue with the project.

Main task.

The object of this exercise is to see how you relate to your environment and those people in it.

Firstly I would like you to photograph the various settings of your life that you see as meaningful and important. You will be provided with a 24 shot film cassette. Allowing for a few mishaps I would like you to take between 15 and 20 photographs. As far as possible do not include recognisable people in the photographs, I am concerned with settings. A setting can be a public building, a house, a vehicle, indoor settings or outdoor settings. Do not include anything that could embarrass yourself or others. This process will be discussed further when we meet.

In addition I would like you to provide three pictures of yourself with other people who are important to you. It will be necessary to gain the consent of those people in these pictures so you will be provided with consent form for them to sign.

These pictures will be used to guide discussion in the interviews.

When I have completed the analysis of data and the writing up of the project that is about a year and a half after the last interview, the photographs and transcripts of interviews will be returned to you. You may find them a useful for your family history.

Appendix 2.



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CONSENT FORM

I.....have read the general information on the project about "The ecology of older migrants to the NSW coast", and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in interviews with Don McKenzie, which will be recorded on memory card. I also agree to provide photographs taken in accordance with the description of the project. I understand that I may withdraw from this project at any time without any consequences for me.

I understand that no-one but the researchers and examiners of the thesis will have access to the interviews I give and that confidentiality has been assured.

I agree that data gathered for the study may be published and presented at conferences, provided my name is not used.

To arrange a suitable time for my interview, my telephone and contact address are:

Name:.....

Phone number:

The best time to ring me is:

My address is:

.....
.....

Signed:.....[Participant] Date.....

Please place this completed consent form in the attached addressed and stamped envelope and post it to Don McKenzie as soon as convenient for you.

Photograph Use Consent Form.

I
am aware that wishes to present a photograph in which I appear as part of a study in which he/she is a participant. I understand that neither my name nor the location of the photograph will be made public and that the photograph will be part of a scientific study. While part of the study I understand that the photograph will be kept in a combination safe located in the investigator's (Don McKenzie) house. I also understand that at any time, should I wish to withdraw this permission the photograph in which I appear will be withdrawn from the study and returned to me.

Don McKenzie can be contacted at
15 Daintree Drive
Korora
Phone 6653 7559
Email: drmac@midcoast.com.au

Signed.....Date.....

Version 1.000 2010