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THE ITALIAN POPULATION OF CARLTON  
A DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

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by  
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*F. L. Jones.*

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Chapter I

The Carlton survey may be described as a demographic and sociological investigation into selected characteristics of Australia's most numerous non-British immigrant group -- the Italians -- in the metropolis in which they are most heavily represented -- Melbourne. As its title suggests this investigation is limited in its scope, restricted in the main to the consideration of characteristics amenable to quantitative analysis. Its aims have been primarily empirical, an emphasis dictated by the absence of comparative studies of Australian metropolitan populations.

A secondary interest in this study, related to the first, is in methodology. No social survey of a metropolitan immigrant population had yet been conducted in Australia, and questions of methodology assumed considerable importance. Problems of scale and residential mobility had to be overcome before a sample survey of Italians in the Carlton area could be conducted.

A third focus was upon chain-migration. Every study of Italians in Australia has stressed the role of this characteristic feature of Italian emigration. Chain-migration has been seen as a determinant of the residential and occupational distribution of Italians in Australia, and at an even more general level it has been implied that behaviour in Australia is a function of origin in Italy. This hypothesis has been analysed and tested in the present work, although limitations of size hampered the analytical refinements possible in a survey of larger scale.

The form of the present study has been determined by these three major interests: the demographic and sociological characteristics of a metropolitan Italian population, the most appropriate methods by which such a study may be effected, and the importance of origin in Italy as a determinant of the behaviour of Italian immigrants in Australia.

## Chapter II

In the great period of Italian transoceanic emigration, from 1895 to the beginning of the First World War, Italian migration to Australia constituted only a trickle away from the main current of this emigratory flow. At the turn of the century Australia's Italian-born population numbered only a few thousands and was distributed among three States, New South Wales, Victoria, and Western Australia. In relative terms, Western Australia, with a total population much smaller than that of either New South Wales or Victoria, had by far the greatest Italian concentration in these early years, and by 1911 indeed Western Australia had also the most numerous Italian population of any mainland State. This represented the peak of Italian settlement in the west, and although at subsequent censuses Western Australia has continued to harbour the densest Italian concentration of any mainland State, Italian immigration since 1920 favoured first Queensland and later Victoria and South Australia.

Victoria's emergence as a State of Italian concentration came relatively late in the history of Italian settlement in Australia, and although in 1881 and 1891 Victoria contained a

relatively large number of Italians its present concentration has been the result of the post-war influx of Italian immigrants. Unlike the Italian settlers of earlier years, most of these post-war arrivals showed a disproportionate tendency to settle in metropolitan areas, particularly in the City of Melbourne, which with Fitzroy represents the historical centre of Italian settlement in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Within the City of Melbourne itself, the Carlton area contained a dense Italian concentration, and even in 1954 20 per cent of the population in some parts of Carlton and North Carlton consisted of Italian-born persons. By the time of the present survey the Italian population of this area had grown to such an extent that every third or fourth house contained Italian residents. Today Carlton is recognized as Melbourne's "Italian" suburb.

### Chapter III

A complete enumeration of this Italian population could not be undertaken with the resources available to the present study. Some selection was called for, and a random sample offered the most satisfactory means to this end. Since a random sample implies the construction of a universe from which, and from which only, such a sample can legitimately be drawn, a list of adult Italian nationals registered as resident in Carlton or North Carlton in November 1958 was drawn up from information on the District Index of Aliens held by the Department of Immigration, Melbourne. This list of adult aliens of Italian nationality was supplemented with a second list of British nationals with Italian-sounding names drawn

from the Commonwealth electoral rolls for the Carlton area. Subsequent checking of this second list against the Naturalization Index held by the Department of Immigration in Canberra revealed that while most of these persons had previously been nationals of Italy a considerable number were not listed on this index. Several considerations suggested that such persons with Italian-sounding names but of indefinite Italian origin should not be rejected from the sample, and consequently those with addresses identical with one registered by a person of present or former Italian nationality were included in the major universe. The remainder were kept separate (the minor universe) for independent field-investigation.

In addition to allowing a random sample of Italians resident in the Carlton area to be drawn, the construction of a universe also permitted the collation of valuable preliminary data, the analysis of which suggested several areas of subsequent enquiry. Firstly, district of residence in Carlton was significantly related to almost every variable for which information was obtained. Field-investigation showed that these relationships stemmed partly from the history of Italian settlement in Carlton-North Carlton, but ecological differences within the Carlton area itself were also involved. Secondly, the territorial composition of Carlton's Italian population was not at all representative of Italy's as a whole, and the majority of Italians in the Carlton area had been drawn from quite restricted parts of Italy. Areas, which in Italy accounted for only a negligible fraction of total population, in Carlton and North Carlton constituted remarkable concentrations.

Clearly chain-migration and regional concentrations were subjects to be investigated in the field. Finally, the residential mobility of Italian nationals in Carlton-North Carlton was very high. Almost one in five persons whose addresses were checked against the Aliens Registration Index had registered a change of address between November 1958 and September 1959. Although no estimate of the mobility of British nationals of former Italian nationality was possible, changes of such magnitude in the composition of the Italian national population of this area from one year to the next posed serious problems, not for drawing a random sample, but for obtaining a random sample in the field. The prospect that by the time the present survey was conducted as many as one-third of Italians listed in November 1958 as residents of Carlton-North Carlton might be living at another address was a crucial consideration in the choice of a sample design.

#### Chapter IV

In an attempt to reduce the high residential mobility of Italians in the Carlton area the idea of sampling individuals was rejected in favour of sampling addresses. Italians registered as resident in Carlton or North Carlton were classified according to their place of residence, and the addresses so obtained, stratified by district of residence in Carlton and the number of Italians registered at each address, provided the sampling frame from which the Carlton sample was drawn. Two sampling frames were constructed, one consisting of persons of definite or probable Italian origin (the major universe) and the other of addresses of

British nationals with Italian-sounding names but of indefinite Italian origin (the minor universe).

Although this sample design reduced non-response due to residential mobility remarkably, non-response did occur and introduced a bias into the sample. The less mobile members of the population tended to be over-represented, since non-response may be assumed to have been greatest among those who were residentially mobile. This tendency was accentuated by a secondary bias arising from the sample design itself, since Italians who took up residence in the Carlton area after November 1958 could be represented in the sample only to the extent that they occupied or lived at addresses previously occupied by Italians.

That this bias was not excessive is suggested by two factors. No significant difference could be found between the obtained sample and the universe, although 29 tests of statistical significance were applied to their respective distributions. While the absence of observed differences does not imply that significant differences did not in fact exist, it does offer at least prima facie evidence that such differences were minimal. Secondly, further analysis suggested that two out of three Italians estimated to have taken up residence in Carlton-North Carlton between November 1958 and June 1960 were in fact included in the sample. Since in 21 of the original 95 addresses Italians leaving a particular address were replaced by other Italians not registered as resident at that address in November 1958, clearly some residentially mobile persons were represented in the obtained sample.

## Chapter V

In the present study a variety of sources was utilized. In the initial stages of the research indexes held by the Department of Immigration in Melbourne and Canberra were relied upon heavily, and proved useful at a later stage in checking data obtained in the field. Wherever possible official statistics, unpublished as well as published, have been introduced for comparative purposes. Census figures, Demography Bulletins, and immigration statistics have all been used at various points in the text.

The main source of data was the random sample of 95 addresses occupied by Italians in the Carlton area in November 1958. All persons of Italian origin or connexion resident at these addresses at the time of interviewing were included, and identical information was obtained from each. This information forms the basis of Chapters VII, VIII, and IX.

Selected informants were also interviewed, mainly from the Upper Agri Basin (Potenza) and the Altipiano of Asiago (Vicenza). The historical information and genealogical tables supplied by these non-randomly selected persons is discussed in Chapter X. Street-directories, electoral rolls, immigration records, and passenger-lists of migrant vessels were used in verifying as much of this information as possible.

To describe the ecological and historical setting of the present survey some original research into the history of Carlton and North Carlton, and the history of their ethnic minorities, was

necessitated. Colonial censuses, marriage-records, street-directories, as well as literary and standard historical works, were consulted in this task (Chapter V).

Finally, the marriage-records of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Carlton were analysed. This analysis could not be presented in full in the present work and only the broad figures have been used, to illustrate the growth of the Italian population of Carlton and the surrounding area.

#### Chapter VI

Carlton and North Carlton are long-established suburbs of Melbourne built largely between sixty five and ninety five years ago. The pattern of original settlement was from south to north, and even today a gradual improvement in the condition of the housing is perceptible as one goes further north. In many cases, however, the difference between one house ninety years old and another only seventy years old has disappeared, and all of the housing in the Carlton area is more or less dilapidated, except for a few parts of North Carlton. In Carlton and North Carlton, as in other inner suburbs of Melbourne, the terrace-house predominates, a type of housing not particularly acceptable to modern standards of architectural design, at least in the form in which the terrace was commonly erected in the nineteenth century.

Just as the southernmost parts of Carlton were first built, so they were first to deteriorate. Before long persons of British stock had begun to move to more salubrious surroundings, and as early as 1891 South Carlton already contained a Jewish



concentration. The Jews were followed twenty years later by the Viggianese musicians. During the 1920's and 1930's, as these suburbs deteriorated further, the Jews moved from Carlton into North Carlton, and in their place a substantial concentration of Italians from the Veneto and the Friulan province of Udine was established. By 1935 the Jews had started to move out of the Carlton area to other parts of the metropolis, a movement which grew apace after the Second World War as a result of the sudden influx of thousands of Italians and other southern Europeans into the inner suburbs. During this period North Carlton also emerged as an area of dense Italian concentration, a substantial part of which was derived from Viggiano and its neighbouring communes in Potenza. In 1960 the Carlton area contained an estimated 6,500 persons of Italian origin, not to mention other non-British minorities such as the Jews, Greeks, Maltese, and Yugoslavs. By the time of the present survey Carlton and North Carlton harboured a dense immigrant concentration, having an estimated non-British population of some 11,500 persons, 44 per cent of their total population.

#### Chapter VII

The occupants of Italian households in Carlton and North Carlton differed from their British-Australian neighbours in several respects. A high proportion of Britishers were middle-aged or elderly persons, but between one-quarter and one-third of the Italians were children under sixteen. The Italians differed again, in that a significantly high proportion of them were the owner-mortgagees of the dwellings they occupied.

The pattern of past Italian settlement in this area was still reflected in the present distribution of Italian households. Carlton contained a higher proportion of pre-war settlers than North Carlton, whose Italian population consisted largely of post-war arrivals. Partly for this reason the proportion of northern Italian households was higher in Carlton than North Carlton, where southern Italians from Potenza and Calabria predominated.

These broad historical differences were overlaid by differences in ecology. Dwellings tended to be slightly larger and in better condition in North Carlton, and thus while the modal household-size was identical in both suburbs, the average household-size was significantly larger in North Carlton than in Carlton. In such cases it is difficult to determine whether observed differences result from ecological factors, origin in Italy, or even period of residence in Australia.

Italian households differed markedly from the Australian ideal of a nuclear family household. Two out of five Italian households contained kin beyond the range of the nuclear family of the household-head, or unrelated boarders. No significant relationship between household-type or overcrowding and origin in Italy was found, but in a sample of 95 households statistically significant do not readily appear. The evidence did suggest, however, that period of residence in Australia was a more important factor affecting household-size, household-type, and overcrowding than origin in Italy.

Although it seems likely on a priori grounds that Italian households were more crowded than British-Australian households in the same or similar areas, little evidence of general overcrowding among Italians was found. While individual cases of congestion could be cited, the incidence of overcrowding seemed well below that observed in the great cities of the United States fifty years ago. In Carlton to live in overcrowded or unhygienic conditions was not the choice of the Italian immigrant. Often he had no alternative. Unlike the Dutch with whom our Italian settlers are frequently, and unfavourably, compared, the family migration of Italians to Australia receives negligible governmental assistance.

#### Chapter VIII

Australian censuses and official statistics do not classify persons according to the birthplace of their parents. Accordingly the study of ethnic groups in Australia, in so far as it has been restricted to the analysis of such statistics, has been confined to the study of persons of foreign birth. Persons of foreign origin, that is persons born in Australia to persons of foreign birth, cannot be investigated except by means of a field-survey.

The Carlton sample consisted of first-generation Italian immigrants and their Australian-born children. Only one third-generation Italian was included, since Carlton and North Carlton are suburbs of initial Italian settlement. Few Australian-born persons of Italian parentage remained in these suburbs after marriage, but moved to slightly better suburbs.

The inclusion of the second-generation had interesting effects on the demographic structure of this population, serving

to correct the heavy concentrations in the young adult age-groups. The enumeration of persons of Italian connexion had a slight effect on masculinity rates, since more Italian-born males than females marry non-Italians.

Other variables relevant to the study of an immigrant group were also considered: type of passage, period of residence in Australia, age at arrival, conjugal condition, residential mobility in Australia, origin in Italy, naturalization, and occupational distribution. Throughout this analysis the complexity of the relationships linking variables has been emphasized. Cause and effect are inter-related, and in the analysis of one variable, such as origin in Italy, other variables, such as type of passage and period of residence in Australia, must be held constant. In a small sample it is often impossible to hold such variables constant and still have enough instances to make a valid comparison. Tendencies rather than statistically significant relationships are the result.

Despite these complexities relationships between origin in Italy and other variables were found. A higher proportion of northern Italian males had been single on arrival in Australia. This implies that they were also slightly younger on arrival, and had fewer financial commitments, than the southern Italian males, who tended to be married prior to emigration. Naturalization and origin in Italy were not significantly related. There was no evidence that northern Italians became naturalized in greater numbers than southern Italians. In occupational distribution some

interesting patterns did emerge. A significantly high proportion of southern Italian wives were in the work force. Among the males northern Italians tended to be over-represented in the craftsman and labourer grades of occupations. Whereas the unskilled northern Italian worker tended to become a builder's labourer, the unskilled southerner tended to find employment as an operative in a factory. In so far as this sort of discrepancy affects assimilation, the southern Italian pattern may be the more desirable, since southern Italians were at least employed by and worked with British-Australians. Most of the northern Italian labourers were employed by northern Italian concrete-contractors in the inner suburbs and worked only with other Italians.

#### Chapter IX

The family is a subject which has escaped the serious attention of scholars in this country. Few attempts have been made to investigate its structure and form, and although one analysis has found evidence of rural-urban differentials in family-size and a relationship between family-size and economic status and religion, little research into the relationship between family composition and ethnic origin has been conducted.

Basic differences in patterns of marriage and family composition existed among Italians in the Carlton area. Whereas the majority of northern Italian males had been unmarried on arrival in Australia, a much higher proportion of the southern Italians had married in Italy and emigrated some three to six years later. This discrepancy was also related to age at marriage and completed

family-size. Persons who had been married prior to emigration tended to marry at younger ages, and to have larger families, than those who married after the initial emigration of the male.

At a broader level of analysis, Italians differed in their patterns of marriage from the Australian population generally. The difference between the relative ages of spouses was greater among Italian than Australian couples, and the average issue of Italian wives was greater than that of Australian wives at comparable durations of marriage. Future research may discover to what extent the Australian-born children of Italian immigrants perpetuate these discrepancies.

#### Chapter X

The importance of chain-migration and regional concentrations in the pattern of Italian settlement has been emphasized in every study of Italians in Australia. In the Carlton area two major concentrations, from the Upper Agri Basin and the Altipiano of Asiago, accounted for one-quarter of all persons of Italian origin in this area. These represented only the two largest groups, and smaller concentrations, consisting sometimes only of two or three related families, were found among Italians from almost every part of Italy. Chain-migration, or rather the guiding force of kinship, dominated the pattern of Italian settlement in this area.

Both these major regional concentrations had long been centred upon the Carlton area. The Italian settlement from Potenza dates back to before the First World War and an early

concentration of Viggianese street-musicians in South Carlton.

Between the wars this concentration failed to increase as rapidly as other groups of Italians in Carlton, but since 1947 a remarkable increase in its size has occurred. Melbourne today contains approximately 2,000 Viggianesi alone, which represents the third largest concentration of these Italians in the world, after Viggiano itself and New York. Migration from the Altipiano of Asiago, by contrast, began only in 1922, when the first migrant steamer to come direct to Australia from Italy brought the first five migrants from this area. Within two years another hundred men from the Altipiano had arrived in Australia, most of whom settled in Victoria and later in Carlton. By the middle of the 1930's Carlton was a suburb of northern Italian settlement, a character it retains even today. Unlike migration from Potenza that from the Altipiano has not increased since the Second World War. The economic recovery in Europe has seen a return to the old pattern of seasonal migration to nearby countries in preference to permanent trans-oceanic migration.

Chain-migration from both areas was primarily a function of the force of Italian kinship. Kinship did not necessarily produce the emigratory current, but once this was established ties of kinship partially determined the content, the volume, and the direction of the emigratory flow. Kinship dominated the pattern of resettlement, and the Carlton area was remarkable for the number of related families resident in adjacent or nearby houses.

Chapter XI

Region of origin in Italy had a fundamental relationship to the behaviour of Italians in Australia. It was related to where Italians chose to live, what employment they sought, whom they married, and the size of their families. Other factors, however, were also important, and a difference in the behaviour of Italians from different parts of Italy did not always imply that such differences were the result of their respective origins. Two "demographic" variables had always to be considered in interpreting differences in immigrant behaviour -- type of passage and period of residence in Australia.

Three main types of immigrant studies remain to be conducted: area studies, group studies, and comparative studies. The first two types would involve, in the case of Italian immigrants, field investigations in areas of dense Italian concentration or of regional groups of Italians spread throughout a number of separate localities. These case-studies provide the basis for the third and most general type of immigrant study, the comparative study, in which the institutionalized behaviour of different groups of immigrants are to be compared, in order to evaluate and to assess the importance of ethnic origin as a determinant of human behaviour. Only in this way is it possible to establish to what extent the social behaviour of ethnic groups differ, to what extent "being an Italian" or a person of any other ethnic origin is related to a person's family, economic, religious, political, or social life. Such comparisons must not be confined to ethnics of foreign origin. The conceptual



framework of future investigation must be extended to include the native-born. Only thus can studies of immigrants be placed in a proper sociological perspective.

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Figure 1

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED ADDRESSES

IN

CARLTON











AND

NORTH CARLTON

November 1958

Showing the distribution and origin of households  
interviewed in the Carlton Sample 1960.

LEGEND

	Altipiano dei sette comuni, Vicenza
	Veneto, excluding the Altipiano
	Udine
	Central Italy
	Abruzzi e Molise
	Potenza
	Calabria
	Other Southern Italy
	Sicilia
	Other Parts of Italy

All residences coloured white on the original map  
represent addresses at which Italian nationals and British nationals  
of former Italian nationality were registered as resident  
November 1958.

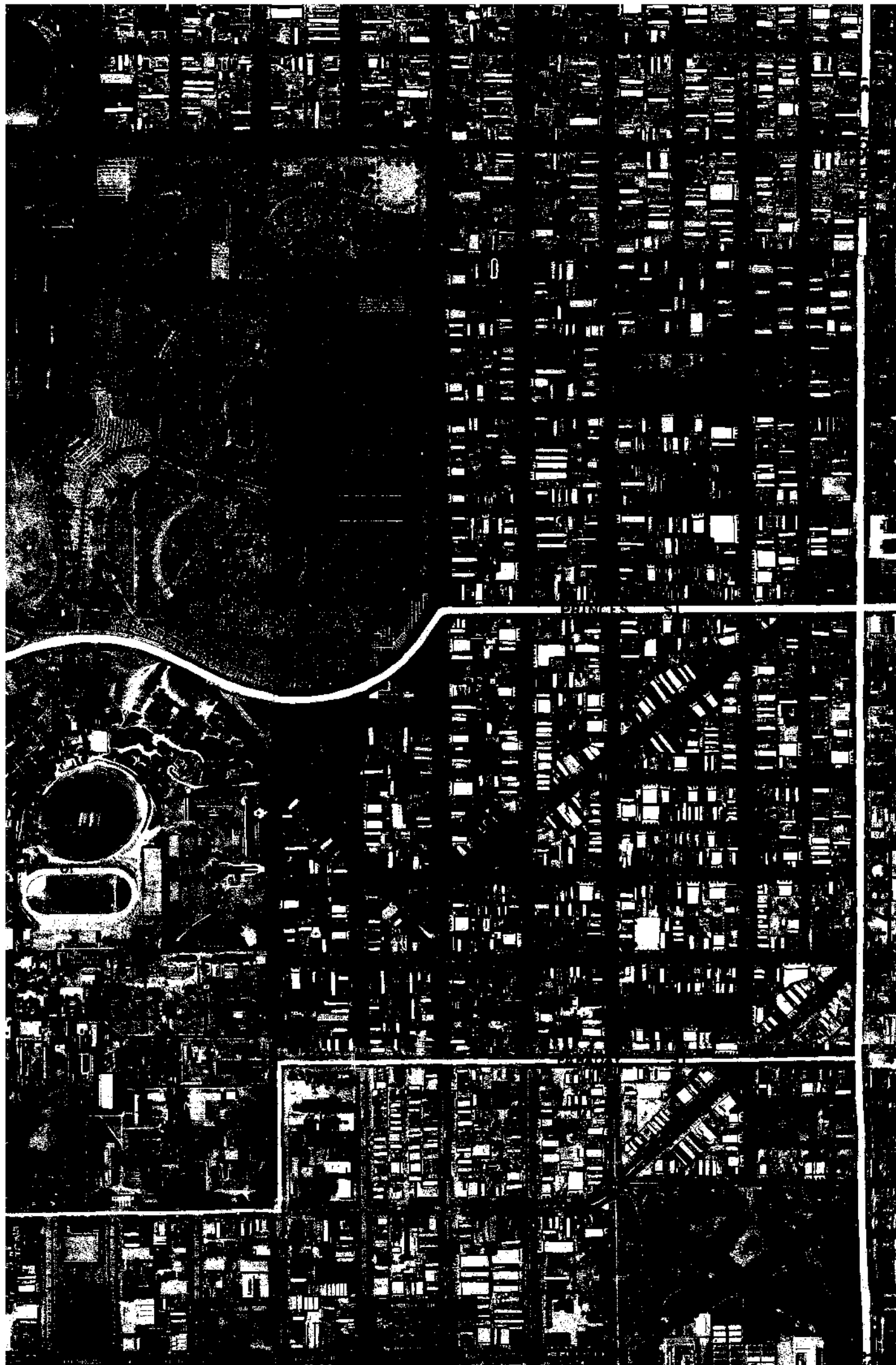




Figure 2

xxxvi.

# Italia



6  
SOURCE: Istituto Geografico de Agostini. Le Regioni d'Italia (Firenze 1960).



CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

"Queensland is perturbed by the arrival of Italian immigrants and by a report that there is likely to be an influx of Greeks. The last lot of Italians to arrive are being cared for by the Salvation Army and the State Government is paying for their board and lodgings. This is the class of immigration Australia does not want..... There is no special objection to Italians and Greeks, if they are able to shift for themselves and assist in developing the country. Nevertheless it would be desirable, as far as possible, to confine the encouragement of immigration to people of the British race."<sup>1</sup>

General

The large-scale entry of Italian immigrants has never been encouraged by the Australian government.<sup>2</sup> Before the first World War the Italian element in the immigrant intake had been numerically insignificant and thereafter the problem became one of controlling rather than encouraging the flow of Italians to this country. Italy has long been able to supply more migrants than Australia has felt able to accept.

It has been claimed that Italians have never been popular in Australia.<sup>3</sup> There is little evidence, however, that Italians as such were unpopular before the First World War, as indeed we might

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<sup>1</sup>The Age (Melbourne), leading columns, 27 December 1922.

<sup>2</sup>N.O.P. Pyke, "Some Reflections on Italian Immigration into Australia", The Australian Quarterly, XVIII (December 1946), p.36.

<sup>3</sup>ibid. See also Percy F. Martin, "Australia and Italian Immigration", Fortnightly Review, 130 (December 1928) p.805.

expect, since there were relatively few Italians in Australia before the 1920's. Widespread antipathy towards Italians in Australia can be traced fairly accurately to the years immediately after the First World War, with the first major influx of Italians to Australia.

On 26th December 1922, the Re d'Italia, the pioneer steamer of a new passenger service between Italy and Australia, docked at Port Melbourne. On board were 600 passengers, mostly Italian immigrants, attracted to Australia by glowing reports of prosperity. They had been told that they could earn from £3 to £5 a day in Australia.<sup>4</sup> Of these 600, 120 disembarked in Melbourne. Two days later they were still wandering about the docks, penniless, without work, unable to speak English, likely it seemed to become a charge upon the community like the previous batch of Italian arrivals in Queensland.

That the very first migrant steamer from Italy to Australia should have brought so many penurious immigrants was an unfortunate beginning to large-scale Italian immigration. Public reaction was sharp and instantaneous. The Age published articles deploring this type of immigration and expressed fear that the perils against which the United States of America had so recently legislated now threatened Australia, whose population up to the

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<sup>4</sup>

The Age (Melbourne) 29 December 1922; Attilio Barela "Per la Nostra Espansione in Australia", Nuova Antologia, 6 Ser. 237 (sett. -ott. 1924), p.379.

present been "relatively pure".<sup>5</sup> The American experience of southern European immigration had been unsatisfactory. These foreign peoples ".... retain their own languages, and are not properly absorbed into America's life for generations. They are a bar to the homogeneity of the American people, and in international affairs are a source of weakness".<sup>6</sup> So great had been the reaction among Australians to the arrival of these seemingly unemployable Italians that the Italian consul in Melbourne cabled the Italian government, advising that no more Italian migrants should be shipped to Australia unless nominated by Italians already here who were prepared to receive them.<sup>7</sup> Thus large-scale Italian immigration to Australia had begun very badly. The fear that Italians, and southern Europeans in general, constituted a threat to national unity and national prosperity, a fear engendered by the American Quota Act of 1921, had received dramatic substantiation.

Antipathy to the southern European immigrant was based on economic and social grounds. Italians were, it was argued, accustomed to low standards of living, and they were hard to assimilate. The American experience provided proof of this. Such fears became stronger throughout the years of depression and with the rise of Fascism in Italy a political ingredient was added.<sup>8</sup> With Italy's entry into the European war as an Axis power in June 1940 anti-Italian feeling in Australia reached its peak. Large numbers

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<sup>5</sup> The Age, Melbourne, 27 December 1922. <sup>6</sup> ibid.

<sup>7</sup> ibid., 29 December 1922. <sup>8</sup> Pyke, op. cit., pp.43-44.

of Italian nationals were interned and in North Queensland especially relationships between Italians and Australians were particularly bitter.<sup>9</sup> In a public opinion poll in 1946<sup>10</sup> only ten in one hundred people favoured Italian immigration to Australia, but twenty-eight in one hundred were prepared to have Germans, even though the Germans had initiated World War II and fought in it longer.

Amid the post-war plans in Australia for renewed immigration on a scale hitherto not envisaged, it quickly became apparent that a measure of renewed Italian migration would have to be accepted.<sup>11</sup> Italians had been the most numerous non-British immigrant group before the war, and it was inevitable that this flow would at least partially re-establish itself. Before long, indeed, Italians had once again become a major element in the immigrant intake. As Table I.1 shows, in the post-war period as a whole Italians have outnumbered the next largest non-British group (the Dutch) almost two to one, in spite of the fact that 62 per cent of the Dutch but only 18 per cent of the Italians received assisted passages. That so many Italians were prepared to pay their own fares was perhaps a counter-balancing attraction in the eyes of immigration planners.

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9

W.D. Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation (Melbourne 1954), p.116.

10

Australian Gallup Polls, "Australian Public Opinion Polls", Nos. 345-354 (May-June 1946).

11

Pyke, op. cit., p.35.

**TABLE I.1 Australia: Nationality of Long-term and Permanent Assisted and Full-fare Arrivals October 1945 - September 1960**

Nationality	Assisted	Full-fare	Total
British	403,204	371,374	774,578
Dutch	74,399	46,124	120,523
German	58,291	22,173	80,464
Greek	27,406	45,450	72,856
Italian	39,393	174,765	214,158
Other	234,784	113,856	348,640
Total	837,477	773,742	1,611,219

In the face of this huge post-war influx of Italians, anti-Italian feeling in Australia has decreased remarkably. It has not disappeared entirely, however, and what vestiges remain have assumed a somewhat different guise. The intelligent Australian, who has hindsight as well as foresight, has learnt that his former contempt for Italians as a whole was really based upon a dislike of the southern Italian. The northern Italian, according to the stereotype, is quite different. His contribution to Australia has always been valuable. It is the southern Italian alone who has merited criticism.

This facile distinction between the northern and southern Italian was enunciated very clearly by the American sociologist, Fairchild.<sup>12</sup> It came to the attention of Royal Commissioner Ferry, who quoted it with approval in his report into the social and

<sup>12</sup>

Henry Pratt Fairchild, Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance (revised edition, New York 1925), p.140.

economic effects of the increase in the number of aliens, mostly Italians, in North Queensland between 1920 and 1925.<sup>13</sup> In this distinction Ferry found a convenient explanation of why the new migration, mostly "Sicilians", was so inferior to the older migration, mostly Lombards and Piedmontese, who he claimed had assimilated far better than the southern Italian.<sup>14</sup> Ferry ignored the very important fact that the northern Italian had been in Queensland for twenty to thirty years and had arrived in a period when the sugar-cane industry needed development. The southern Italians and Sicilians had arrived only in the past few years, at a time when the industry was already over-supplied with labour. Naturally there were differences in the way the two groups settled down, but these differences had little to do with the fact that some were northern, and others southern, Italians.

Between the wars, when every class of Italian regardless of his origin tended to be unpopular in Australia, the distinction between the northern and southern failed to gain wide currency. All Italians were "dagoes" and no further description, except perhaps an adjectival interpolation, was deemed necessary. Since the war, however, this distinction has revived, until now it is a commonplace. The man-on-the-street is quite well aware that

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13

Queensland, Alien Immigration Commission, Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Enquire into and Report on the Social and Economic Effect of Increase in Number of Aliens in North Queensland (Brisbane 1925), p.16. Hereafter quoted as the Ferry Report.

14

ibid., pp.14-16. Cf. Borrie, op. cit., (Melbourne 1954), p.11.



Italians constitute two species, one with all the virtues, the other all the vices found among immigrant groups. A book which, amongst other things, exploited this distinction between northern Italians and meridionali sold over half a million copies in Australia.<sup>15</sup> This author's conception of the difference was almost identical with Fairchild's.

It is regrettable that Italians have won a measure of acceptance in this country only at the expense of playing the northern Italian off against the southerner. It is regrettable because it leaves no hope for the southern Italian. Every achievement of the southerner is credited to the northerner, since contrary to popular belief it is not always easy to distinguish a northern from a southern Italian. Many southern Italians can tell of experiences like this:

Salvatore, one of the most prominent farmers in the Innisfail district, who comes from the Province of Messina (Sicily), told me that a very important citizen of the district confided in him, one day, the poor opinion he had of Sicilians. Salvatore asked that gentleman if he knew who the Sicilians were in that district, and he mentioned about a dozen names - some were Northerners but the others were Sicilians - 'Well', said Salvatore, 'and what do you think of so-and-so and so-and so?' to which the gentleman replied: 'They are some of the best types in the district, they are Northerners of course.' 'Of course they are not Northerners', continued Salvatore, 'they are Sicilians and you will be surprised to know that I am a Sicilian.'<sup>16</sup>

Price also commented on the difficulty of distinguishing northern

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<sup>15</sup>

John Patrick O'Grady, They're a Weird Mob: A Novel by Nino Culotta (Sydney 1957). See also headings to Chapter VIII.

<sup>16</sup>

G.A. Luciano, Italians: As They Are (Gli Italiani: Come Sono) (Sydney 1959). p.19.

from southern Italian, reporting that

..... if one met in Griffith a dark-haired, dark-eyed Italian of less than 5'6" the chances would be 2 : 1 that he was a Northerner in origin.<sup>17</sup>

Impartial investigations into the characteristics of Italians discover the real difference between the northerner and the southerner. This difference is not so great as popularly supposed. We can scotch the idea that the southerners are "less intelligent" than northerners,<sup>18</sup> or "less likely to be assimilated".<sup>19</sup> Differences between northerners and southerners do exist, but this does not imply superiority on the one hand and inferiority on the other. Differences as such have no values; values are imposed upon them. This study examines the observable differences between northerner and southerner. It records in detail the relationship between origin in Italy and behaviour in Australia. Its aim has been to present an objective summary. The differences have been recorded. It remains for the reader and the social administrator to give them values.

The first focus of this study is, as described, upon the relationship of origin in Italy to behaviour in Australia. The second relates to a problem of increasing importance, the concentration of Italians in the inner suburbs. Italians, in common with other immigrants, have tended to assume a geographical distribution

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17

C.A. Price, "The Italian Population at Griffith", (Unpublished Report, The Australian National University, 1955), p.19.

18

Fairchild, op. cit., p.140.

19

The Ferry Report, p.16.

minorities in the great cities of the United States at the turn of the century, and although the conclusion that the pattern emerging in Australia is

..... not as clearly pronounced as in the America of a generation ago with its Little Sicily, Greek Town, the Ghetto, Chinatown and the like<sup>25</sup>

seems justified, the full story is not yet told and much basic research remains to be done. This study, limited in scope as it must be, attempts to make an initial empirical contribution to that task.

#### Review of the Australian Literature

Since the end of the Second World War a number of studies of Italian settlements in Australia have been conducted. Of these only two have been published.<sup>26</sup> None of these several studies has shared a common framework, but each has pursued its own particular objectives. The only point of communication amongst them has been a mutual emphasis upon the importance of chain-migration and regional concentrations in the pattern of Italian settlement.

Gamba's study, the first field-survey of an Italian population conducted in Australia, had three broad interests: economic history, economics, and human ecology.<sup>27</sup> His first

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25

Australia, Department of National Development, Atlas of Australia Resources: Immigration (Canberra 1959), p.19.

26

Charles Gamba, The Italian Fishermen of Fremantle: A Preliminary Study in Sociology and Economics (Perth 1952), and Borrie, op. cit., (Melbourne 1954).

27

Gamba, op. cit., p.iii.

interest entailed the description of the growth of the Italian fishing community in Fremantle, the second the economics of the fishing industry itself, and the third the daily life led by the Italian fishermen. Although considerably quantitative evidence was adduced in the discussion of economic matters and also in the structure and residential distribution of the Italian fishing community, much of the discussion of human ecology is descriptive. Gamba's general findings, that these Italians were concentrated into restricted occupational pursuits, into clearly-defined areas of residence, and into close-knit regional groups, have been supported by subsequent research.

Borrie's study of Italians in Queensland employed a wide variety of sources. Based on a close analysis of the available statistical data it was supplemented with a field-survey of school-children in six selected shires.<sup>28</sup> This additional survey provided information not otherwise available, such as precise origin in Italy, relative birthplaces of husbands and wives, and family size. No data on Italian fertility had been published before Borrie's survey, and none has been published since, although Price's unpublished report does cover this field. Wherever relevant reference has been made to Borrie's findings and comparisons made with the Carlton survey.

Bromley's social-anthropological study of Italians in Port Pirie attempted to analyse the nature of group-integration and

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28

Borrie, op. cit., (Melbourne 1954), pp.66-69.

its relationship to the process of assimilation.<sup>29</sup> In examining a Molfettese fishing community he tried to answer two questions: how the Molfettese community had come into being and how, once established, it persisted. The first question was answered historically and the second by analysing the function of the Molfettese family and the process of socialization. Bromley's treatment is essentially qualitative but has value as an introductory analysis of the role of the family in maintaining the cultural values of an immigrant group. The historical chapter which describes the growth of the Molfettese fishing community represents a useful addition to the study of Italian concentrations in Australia.

Price's study of Italians in Griffith was based almost entirely on official records.<sup>30</sup> Like Borrie, however, Price supplemented official sources with selective interviewing. His unpublished report contains a wealth of demographic data and furnishes authoritative findings on Italian marriage and the Italian family. These findings have been extensively used in the present study, not only for comparative purposes but also as support for tendencies observed in the Carlton survey.

McDonald's research into Italian migration to

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29

J.E. Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, The Australian National University, 1955), p.viii.

30

Price, op. cit., (Canberra 1955), p.3.

Australia<sup>31</sup> falls into three distinct but related sections. The first deals with the relationship between emigration-rates and the different socio-economic systems of rural Italy, the second with the institutional framework within which Italian migration to Australia has operated, and the third the territorial composition of this migration.<sup>32</sup> The first section, in which McDonald tries to relate rates of emigration to class-structure and extra-familial solidarity, is not relevant to the Carlton survey. The Carlton survey accepts the fact of differential rates of emigration; it does not explore the reasons behind it. The next section (Chapter V) on the institutional framework of Italian migration to Australia fills an important gap in the background of this migratory movement and has been relied upon extensively in this present work. McDonald's survey of policy changes is essential to the understanding of variations in the flow and composition of this movement. In studying the territorial composition of Italian migration McDonald's major concern was with chain-migration, which he saw as a basic determinant of the residential and occupational distribution of Italians in Australia.<sup>33</sup> In this analysis he emphasized the role of sponsors. This emphasis seems justified, since chain-migration to Australia has become institutionalized.

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31

J.S. McDonald, "Migration from Italy to Australia with Special Reference to Selected Groups" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, the Australian National University, 1958).

32

ibid., p.vi.

33

ibid., Chapter VII.

Full-fare Italian migrants to Australia must be sponsored by a person already resident in Australia. But sponsorship as such does not produce chain-migration. It merely provides the means by which it can be effected. The Carlton survey suggests that while sponsorship is a necessary element in chain-migration, it does not provide a sufficient explanation. We shall argue that the force of Italian kinship lies at the base of chain-migration.

Since McDonald's research was conducted a major empirical contribution to the study of Italians in Australia has been made.<sup>34</sup> Hempel's Queensland study was based upon a sample of adult Italian nationals registered with the Department of Immigration in Queensland in December 1957. This sample (5,050 persons) was relatively large<sup>35</sup> and provides a substantial quantitative basis from which working-hypotheses might be developed. Some of the analysis, however, tends to be superficial. No statistical tests of significance have been applied in the interpretation of sample differences and many conclusions drawn in the text require validation. Nevertheless this report constitutes a substantial compendium of reliable statistics relating to an adult Italian population, and as such has been a valuable source of comparative material for the present survey, which is based on a far smaller sample.

Finally we have Petrolas' study of post-war Greek and

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<sup>34</sup>

J.A. Hempel, "Italians in Queensland: Some Aspects of the Post-war Settlement of Italian Immigrants". (Unpublished report The Australian National University, Canberra 1959).

<sup>35</sup>

ibid., p.24.

Italian migrants in Melbourne.<sup>36</sup> Its relevance to the present work is limited by his concern with two immigrant groups in the whole of the Melbourne metropolitan area, which has the result that much of the analysis relating to the Italians is superficial. The Greeks are treated in greater detail than the Italians, even though the latter were by far the more numerous in 1954 (28,890 Italian-born persons compared with 5,597 Greeks).<sup>37</sup> In studying the institutional behaviour of Greek and Italian immigrants, their religious, economic, and social activities, Petrolias has relied heavily on unstructured interviewing, which provided a wealth of variegated opinion but little substantive knowledge.<sup>38</sup> It is not always clear what evidence exists to support particular findings. Opinions have rarely been substantiated from other sources.<sup>39</sup> Comparisons have been made with Petrolias' findings wherever relevant.

#### Aims and Methods of the Carlton Survey

The two general aims of the Carlton survey have already been described. Carlton and North Carlton were chosen as the scene of the present study because it was known that Italians were

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<sup>36</sup>

John A. Petrolias, "Post-war Greek and Italian Migrants in Melbourne" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Melbourne, 1959).

<sup>37</sup>

In the discussion of the churches, for example, thirty three pages are devoted to the Greeks but only twelve to the Italians. This is typical of most chapters. *Ibid.*, Chapter 6.

<sup>38</sup>

See for example the discussion of Italians in the work-force. Even the statistics are opinions. *Ibid.*, p.44.

<sup>39</sup>

A very frequent source given in the text is "Interviews with tens of Greek and Italian migrants". This sort of reference allows no verification at all.



heavily concentrated in the inner suburbs of Melbourne, and that this area was recognized in Melbourne as an "Italian" suburb.<sup>40</sup> Subsequent statistical investigation supported this general impression and confirmed the choice of this area as a valid starting-point for a study of Italians in the Melbourne metropolitan area. As the first field-survey of an immigrant group in an Australian capital city the Carlton survey restricted itself explicitly to the investigation of characteristics amenable to quantitative treatment. It was pre-occupied with an empirical enquiry into four main aspects of Italian immigrant behaviour: the physical conditions in which Italians in the inner suburbs lived (Chapter VI and VII), the demographic characteristics of a viable Italian population, as against an artificial population based on birthplace or nationality (Chapter VIII), marriage and the Italian family (Chapter IX), and the territorial composition (origin in Italy) of Italians in the Carlton area (Chapter X). The Carlton survey was conceived as a study of immigrants. In the field, however, it became clear that the behaviour of an immigrant group could not be properly understood except in relation to the behaviour of other persons in the same locality. The study of a human population cannot be divorced from the area inhabited by it. Chapter V therefore describes in detail the

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40

James Grant and Geoffrey Serle, The Melbourne Scene 1893-1956 (Melbourne 1957), p.258.

ecological setting of the Carlton survey. This description was hampered by the almost complete absence of statistics relating to the population of Carlton and North Carlton, which have never constituted a separate municipality. This should not be such a serious difficulty in future studies, however, since the census authorities intend to prepare basic statistics for all collector's districts, the smallest census unit, as well as for census sub-divisions.<sup>41</sup>

The first interest of the Carlton survey, then, was empirical. The second was methodological. Partly because of the problems involved in sampling or even making a complete enumeration of a metropolitan population, whose numerous members tend to be residentially mobile, most social surveys conducted in Australia have been conducted in rural or provincial-urban areas. Only one survey of a metropolitan population has been published<sup>42</sup> and since this study used a selective sample of school-children and their parents,<sup>43</sup> its methods were not appropriate to the present study. Sampling an area such as Carlton-North Carlton posed many problems, and these are fully discussed in Chapters III and IV. It is hoped that the method adopted for sampling the Italian population of Carlton may prove useful to social scientists faced

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<sup>41</sup>

Communication with officers of the Bureau of Census and Statistics, August 1961.

<sup>42</sup>

O.A. Oeser and S.B. Hammond, Social Structure and Personality in a City (London 1954).

<sup>43</sup>

Ibid., pp.vii-viii.

with the task of drawing as random a sample as possible from a concentrated, highly mobile urban population. No apology is made for the extended discussion of questions of methodology. Few social surveys can legitimately claim to be complete enumerations of human populations. The majority resort to sampling, either through intention or default. In evaluating the reliability or generality of survey results it is essential to know exactly how these results were obtained. Guesswork or intuition is not desirable. Whatever validity the findings of the Carlton survey may possess stems directly from its concern with methodology.

The sources and methods used in the present survey are discussed in subsequent chapters. In common with most social surveys a variety of sources and methods was used, including public documents, published and unpublished official statistics, literary sources, marriage-records, and card-indexes compiled by Department of Immigration. Interviewing, however, provided the bulk of the data, the informants being supplied from a random sample of households occupied by Italians in this area in 1958. The means by which these households were selected is discussed in Chapters III and IV. Only persons of Italian birth, Italian descent, or Italian connexion, resident in these households were interviewed. Persons of Italian descent were defined as persons whose parent(s) had been born in Italy. Since no third-generation Italians were included in the Carlton sample it was unnecessary to extend this basic definition to include persons whose grandparents had been Italian-born. The term "Italian origin" is used in the present

study to refer to persons of Italian birth or Italian descent. By persons of Italian connection the spouses of persons of Italian origin were meant. Thus the British-Australian wife of an Italian-born male was considered to be a person of Italian connexion. Identical information was collected for all persons of Italian origin or connexion interviewed, with the exception that the data on occupation was not as detailed for females as it was for males. The scope of the interview is discussed in Chapter V.

Selected informants were also interviewed to supplement the information supplied by the random interviewees. These persons consisted mainly of central figures in the migration from the Upper Agri Basin and the Altipiano of Asiago, and supplied most of the data on chain-migration (Chapter X). The genealogical tables of these informants are contained in Appendix E. The genealogical method of enquiry,<sup>44</sup> applied experimentally with these selected informants, was valuable not only in elucidating the pattern of Italian kinship but also in understanding its relation to chain-migration.

Since a major interest of the Carlton survey was the relationship between origin in Italy and behaviour in Australia, some preliminary remarks and definitions concerning the geographical divisions used in the analysis are appropriate.

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Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Notes and Queries on Anthropology (Sixth edition, London 1951), pp.50-55.

The comune, or commune, is the smallest geographical unit discussed in this study. It is also the smallest administrative unit in Italy, consisting sometimes of smaller units, frazioni, or fractions. The communes are grouped by provinces, and for convenient reference an alphabetical list of the Italian provinces is contained in Appendix B. Appendix C lists the communes most frequently referred to in the text, together with their respective provinces. To distinguish communes from provinces, communes have been underlined when they appear for the first time in a particular chapter. Thus Roana is a commune; Venezia is a province. The provinces are grouped into regioni, or regions. These regions are the geographical terms most commonly used in general descriptions of Italy: Lombardia, Piemonte, Veneto, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicilia, and so on. Lastly, we come to the broadest geographical divisions, north Italy, central Italy, southern Italy, and insular Italy. In this work these areas are defined according to the official Italian administration usage (Appendix A).<sup>45</sup> In some comparisons, however, loose classifications have been adopted. In such cases the text indicates which groups of Italians have been included in the comparison. Tables have been presented in as much detail as practicable, to allow independent interpretations by the reader. It should be further noted that in this study "northern Italians" means effectively Italians from the Veneto and

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<sup>45</sup>

Dizionario Voghera dei Comuni, Nuovo Dizionario dei Comuni e Frazioni di Comuni con le Circonscrizioni Amministrative (22a edizione, A cura di A. Bruno, Roma 1954).

Friuli-Venezia Giulia. Few Italians from other parts of northern Italy lived in the Carlton area. Likewise "southern Italians" means persons from Potenza, Reggio Calabria, Catanzaro and Siracusa.

So far as statistical tests of significance are concerned, most of the analysis in this work has been related to the comparison of two or more groups with regard to mutually exclusive characteristics (such as age, birthplace, nationality, conjugal condition, place of residence, and the like). Here the chi-square test of statistical significance has usually been applied. This statistical test has been used in three main forms, to test the goodness of fit of two distributions, to test the independence of two characteristics, and to test the homogeneity of two groups with respect to a common variable. This first test is most useful in comparing a sample with its universe, the second in examining the relationship between two variables, and the third in discovering whether the differences between two groups with respect to a given attribute are such that it is impossible to assume that they have been drawn from a common universe.<sup>46</sup> Which of these three tests has been used at any point of analysis will be evident from the text. The t test has also been used in comparing averages and proportions. Mills<sup>47</sup> has also been followed in this. Statements of tendency or

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<sup>46</sup>

E.F. Lindquist, Statistical Analysis in Educational Research (Boston 1940), pp.30-47. See also Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Analysis for Studies in Psychology and Education (New York 1946), pp.239-254, and A. Bradford Hill, Principles of Medical Statistics (fourth edition, London 1949), pp.117-141.

<sup>47</sup>

Frederick Cecil Mills, Statistical Methods Applied to Economics and Business (revised edition, New York 1938), pp.481-485, 598-610.

relationships have at all points been supported by the relevant test of statistical significance. The 5 per cent level of probability has been used as a convenient point at which to recognize variations as statistically significant, although where differences have not been statistically significant in the Carlton sample but have nevertheless been reported in other studies, such differences have been mentioned in the discussion.

Unless otherwise stated statistics relating to areas other than Carlton-North Carlton are based on figures published by the Bureau of Census and Statistics or The Department of Immigration.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PATTERN OF ITALIAN SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

"... Mr. Clapperton, who is secretary of the British-Australia society, called for a Royal Commission into migration. He said that the Federal Government's plan was for a population of 20 millions by 1980. At the present migration rate, Australia would by then be substantially a Latin country....'A foreign invasion is taking place, and the tax-payer is paying for it.'"<sup>1</sup>

#### Italian transoceanic emigration, 1880-1957

The emigration of Italian citizens to transoceanic countries of resettlement, not to mention the movement to countries on the European continent, has been a feature of world population movement for more than one hundred years.<sup>2</sup> Prior to the first quarter of the present century, however, Italian emigration to Australia constituted a mere trickle away from the main current of Italy's emigratory flow. A clear picture of Australia's gradual emergence as a country of large-scale Italian immigration can be drawn from a comparison over broad periods of time of the average number of Italian citizens leaving Italy for Australia with the average annual numbers who gave as their destinations Argentina, Brazil, Canada, or the United States of America (Table II.1). Clearly not until after the First World War did Australia emerge as the recipient of a notable proportion of the Italian transoceanic

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<sup>1</sup>

The Sydney Morning Herald, 20th July 1957.

<sup>2</sup>

W.F. Willcox, (ed.), International Migrations (2 vols, New York 1929-31), Vol. I, p.122.



TABLE II.1

Italy : Average Annual Emigration of Italian Citizens  
to Major Transoceanic Countries of Resettlement,  
1880-1957

Period of Emigration	Country of Resettlement				
	Argentina	Brazil	Canada	U. S. A.	Oceania*
1880-1889	33,540	20,540	625	20,039	132
1890-1899	36,312	56,902	430	47,547	320
1900-1909	67,027	31,147	5,658	215,446	699
1910-1918	41,108	14,340	9,231	155,311	835
1919-1927	56,197	9,450	4,381	81,106	3,233
1928-1940	12,196	1,493	559	15,546	1,519
1946-1957	38,550	8,300	14,467	17,350	14,250

\* Figures for the 1928 onwards relate to Italian emigrants leaving Italy for Australia.

Source : 1880-1918, Willcox, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 828-831.  
1919-1940, McDonald, Op. cit., Table V.1, pp. 120-125.  
1946-1957, International Labour Office, Studies and Reports (New series, No. 54), International Migration 1954-1957 (Geneva 1959), p. 182.

emigration. Prior to 1922, when 4,226 Italian citizens left Italy for Oceania, the largest number to emigrate to these parts in any single year had been 1,682 persons in 1913, the year in which 376,776 Italian citizens left for the United States, 111,500 for Argentina, 31,952 for Brazil, and 30,699 for Canada.

Between 1880 and 1918 the average annual Italian emigration to Oceania had constituted 0.4 per cent of that to the four major transoceanic countries of Italian resettlement shown on Table II.1. During the 1920's, however, the volume of this migration expanded, in relative as well as absolute terms, to 3,233 persons per annum (1919-1927), or 2.1 per cent of the Italian emigration to the U.S.A., Argentina, Brazil, and Canada. This represented a five-fold increase in the volume of this migration over that in any preceding period. In 1927 Italian migration to Oceania reached a peak, with 6,900 Italian citizens leaving Italy for Oceania. During the depression the number decreased sharply again. But even so, it should be noted that this decrease in Italian migration had not affected only the movement to Australia. In relative terms, indeed, Australia's proportion of Italian transoceanic emigration had increased, to 5.1 per cent of that to the four countries listed above (1928-1940, Table II.1).

Although by the late 1930's Italian migration to Australia had begun to increase once more, Italy's entry into the European war in June 1940 brought this flow to a sudden end. The war-years provided only a temporary interruption to this

movement, however, and since then a remarkable increase in the volume of Italian migration to Australia has occurred. According to the official Italian statistics 171,000 Italian citizens emigrated to Australia between 1946 and 1957, 18.1 per cent of the emigration to the four other major countries of transoceanic resettlement and 12.4 per cent of the total Italian transoceanic emigration of this period.<sup>3</sup> Since 1946 Argentina has been the only overseas country to which the flow of Italian emigrants has been at a consistently higher level than that to Australia.

Figures relating to the overseas movement of Italian citizens tell us nothing of the permanency of such movements or of the pattern of Italian settlement in the several countries of immigration. Moreover, before the sociological effects of any immigration can be assessed, the volume of that immigration must be related to the size of the receiving population. Thus, whilst it is true that before 1920 the number of Italians emigrating to Australia was insignificant compared with those leaving for the United States, Argentina, Brazil, or Canada, persons of Italian birth have constituted an important element in Australia's non-British population since the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The pattern of Italian settlement in Australia up to and including the 1947 census has already been analysed by

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<sup>3</sup> International Labour Office, Loc. cit. (Geneva 1959). See p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), pp. 49-53.

Borrie.<sup>5</sup> In bringing this history up to date and in emphasizing the changing role of Victoria as a State of Italian concentration some recapitulation of Borrie's analysis is necessary. To facilitate this description an index of concentration has been devised, which allows the ready comparison of Italian concentrations in different parts of Australia at different times.

#### The Index of Regional Concentration

This present index is similar to that developed by Zubrzycki in his exhaustive analysis of the metropolitan distribution of several ethnic groups in the 1954 census.<sup>6</sup> The purpose of the two measures, for example, is basically the same. Their aim is to provide a means whereby differences in the geographical distribution of ethnic groups may be readily assessed, not only by the comparison of one ethnic distribution against another, or of the same ethnic group in different localities, but also by comparing these distributions over time, as at different censuses. Two differences between these indices, however, are worth noting.

As the choice of terminology indicates, Zubrzycki's Index of Metropolitan Concentration has been used only in the analysis of ethnic concentrations in the metropolitan areas of Australia's capital cities.<sup>7</sup> The present index, the Index of Regional Concentration, has been applied to a multiplicity of geographical

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<sup>5</sup>  
ibid., pp.49-64.

<sup>6</sup>  
Zubrzycki, Op. cit., pp.79-80.

<sup>7</sup>  
ibid.

divisions, including States of the Commonwealth (Table II.3), divisions of state within each particular mainland State (Table II.7), and local government areas (L.G.A.'s) within divisions of State (Table II.9).<sup>8</sup> One very important advantage arising from the extension of an index of concentration to cover a variety of geographical units is that urban-rural differentials in the distribution of ethnic groups at different points of time can be readily analysed. In the present study, for example, the changing distribution of Italians in rural and urban divisions of Victoria has played an important part in giving a proper perspective to Italian concentrations in the metropolitan area of Melbourne. Related to this difference in the field of reference of these two indices is that whereas in Zubrzycki's index the norm (100) relates to the general concentration of an ethnic group in a metropolitan area as a whole, or in any L.G.A. where the proportion of the ethnic group and the proportion of Australian-born are identical,<sup>9</sup> in the Index of Regional Concentration the norm (100) relates either to the general concentration of Italians in the Commonwealth (Table II.3) or in the State of Victoria.

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Zubrzycki's index could, of course, be extended to include such geographical units. Being interested in several ethnic groups and several Australian metropolitan areas Zubrzycki restricted his analysis to metropolitan areas only. The extension of an index of concentration to include other geographical units is a logical consequence of studying only one ethnic group in only one State.

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Zubrzycki, Op. cit., p.80.

(Tables II.7 and II.9). Stated in another way, in the Index of Metropolitan Concentration the total population from which the percentage distributions are computed are the populations of the metropolitan areas under examination, but in the present index the populations of the Commonwealth, or a particular State within the Commonwealth, as a whole.

A second and more fundamental point of difference between the indices is that in the Index of Metropolitan Concentration the measure of concentration is based upon a comparison of the geographical distributions of ethnic groups with that of the Australian-born population. Thus the distribution of the Australian-born population is the measure of ethnic concentrations. In the present index, by contrast, the measure of ethnic concentration is the distribution of the total population, persons of all birthplaces. In other words, the Index of Regional Concentration is concerned not with deviations from the geographical distribution of the native-born but with deviations from that of the total population. The use of "total population" rather than "Australian-born persons" as the basis for comparison is based on two main considerations. Firstly, the category "Australian-born" is not homogeneous from the ethnic point of view, since it contains the Australian-born children of immigrants of foreign birth. This implies that the distribution of the native-born does not provide an indigenous or "typical" pattern from which other groups may differ more or less markedly. Secondly, the proportion of Australian-born persons differs widely from one area to another.

It is not constant in any sense, but has changed significantly from census to census, from State to State, and from one L.G.A. to another.<sup>10</sup> An index of ethnic concentration based on the proportion of native-born renders more difficult the comparison of index values of concentrations across these divisions of time and space, since each value must be related not only to changes in total population (as in the present index) but also to changes in the Australian-born component of this total population. Thus values provided by the Index of Metropolitan Concentration tend to be increased in areas with a relatively small proportion of Australian-born persons (such as Fitzroy or the City of Melbourne), and decreased in areas with relatively large proportions of native-born persons (such as Camberwell or Preston).<sup>11</sup> This effect would be even more accentuated in comparisons between States or between censuses, where such variations in the proportion of native-born might be of greater magnitude. Also, the geographical distribution of the Australian-born population is itself a significant variable which should receive precisely the same analysis as that applied to other birthplace categories. The most satisfactory way of effecting such an analysis is by comparing the distribution of each birthplace group with that of the total population.

Subject to these qualifications, the mechanics of

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ibid., p.43, pp.40-47, pp.65-66, and Statistical Supplement, p.63.

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ibid., Statistical Supplement, p.63.

computing values in these two indices are identical.<sup>12</sup> Percentage distributions of the ethnic groups and the total populations are prepared by the relevant geographical units, and the proportion of the ethnic group in any geographical unit is expressed as a percentage of the proportion of the total population in the same area. Where these proportions are identical the index value will be 100 (the norm). An index value higher than the norm indicates a disproportionately large number of the ethnic group in the area concerned, an index value lower than the norm a disproportionately small number. The greater the discrepancy from the norm, the greater the disproportion. Since, however, the absolute numbers involved in any concentration is an important element affecting the interpretation of an index values, these numbers have been indicated wherever index values have been computed.

#### Italian settlement in Australia, 1901-1960

At the beginning of the present century the Australian State with the heaviest Italian concentration was Western Australia (Tables II.2 and II.3). In 1901 both New South Wales and Victoria had more numerous Italian populations than Western Australia, but in both these States the total population was several times that of Western Australia. By 1911 Western Australia had not only the greatest Italian concentration but also the most numerous Italian population of any mainland State, with 35.1 per cent of all Italian-born persons in Australia. This represented the peak of

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<sup>12</sup>  
ibid., p.80.



TABLE II.2

Mainland States of Australia : Distribution of Persons of  
Italian Birth, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, and 1954.

Mainland States	Year of Census					
	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954
New South Wales	1,577	1,723	2,080	6,319	8,721	29,940
Victoria	1,525	1,499	1,850	5,860	8,305	42,429
Queensland	845	929	1,838	8,355	8,541	16,795
South Australia	327	184	344	1,489	2,428	11,833
Western Australia	1,354	2,361	1,975	4,588	5,422	17,295
Australia	5,678	6,719	8,135	26,756	33,632	119,897

TABLE II.3

Mainland States of Australia : Index of Regional Concentration,  
Persons of Italian Birth Only, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1933,  
1947, and 1954.

Mainland States	Year of Census					
	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954
New South Wales	77	69	66	60	66	66
Victoria	85	76	80	80	91	130
Queensland	113	101	163	218	174	95
South Australia	61	29	46	64	85	111
Western Australia	486	557	398	259	244	203
Australia	100	100	100	100	100	100

Italian concentration in Western Australia and subsequent Italian immigration favoured the eastern States. Between 1911 and 1921 the proportion of Italians in Western Australia decreased from one-third to one-quarter of the national total, while all the other mainland States increased or maintained their respective shares. In 1921 the Italian population of Australia was distributed in more or less equal portions among New South Wales, Western Australia, Victoria, and Queensland (Table II.2). In relative terms, however, Western Australia still had by far the most marked Italian concentration, followed by Queensland (Table II.3). After 1921 the most substantial increase in the Italian population occurred in the State of Queensland, where the index value of Italian concentration rose from 163 in 1921 to 218 in 1933. By this latter date, indeed, Queensland contained 31.2 per cent of all Italian-born persons in the Commonwealth. Even though this concentration was relatively less marked than that in Western Australia, it is important to note that in 1933 Queensland's Italian-born population was almost twice as numerous as Western Australia's.

Viewed from the standpoint of the 1947 census the intercensal period 1933-1947 appeared to have effected few major changes in the general distribution of Italians among the mainland States. In the light of the 1954 census results, however, what changes did occur were perhaps significant. As the index values indicate, after 1933 the Italian populations in States of Italian concentration increased at slower rates than in the Commonwealth as a whole. Western Australia's index value continued to drop, as did Queensland's.

In absolute terms, Queensland's Italian-born population increased by just under 200 persons. In the other mainland States, the proportion of Italian-born persons in the total population increased correspondingly, although their index values still remained below the national average. The period of extensive Italian immigration since 1947 altered this distribution substantially. Between 1947 and 1954 Australia's Italian-born population increased from 33,632 to 119,897 persons, an increase which as in previous years was distributed unequally among the mainland States. Victoria and South Australia gained most from this new immigration, and in 1954 both emerged as States of Italian concentration for the first time in the present century. The other States enjoyed a rate of growth below the Australian average, particularly Queensland, whose share of Australia's Italian-born population fell from 25.4 per cent in 1947 to 14.0 per cent in 1954, when for the first time this century Queensland's index value of Italian concentration fell below the norm.

The 1954 census, then, disclosed a new pattern of Italian settlement in Australia. Queensland was no longer a State of Italian concentration, and although Western Australia, with its long-established Italian population, had maintained its position as the State with the largest proportionate Italian-born element, the number of Italians in Victoria and South Australia increased five-fold between 1947 and 1954. In 1954 Victoria contained two and a half times as many Italian-born persons as Western Australia.

Of the period since 1954 we have only the evidence of

alien registrations in each State.<sup>13</sup> These figures have been presented in Table II.4, which shows that between 1954 and 1960 the number of Italian nationals sixteen years and over registered with the Immigration Department increased by 69 per cent. Half of this increase (26,126/51,351 persons) occurred in one State alone, Victoria, where the number of adult Italian nationals increased by 92 per cent. In South Australia this rate of increase was even greater (196 per cent). The only other mainland State to exceed the national rate of growth between 1954 and 1960 was New South Wales (83 per cent). In Western Australia the increase was well below the average (an increase of only 13 per cent), and in Queensland the increase was almost negligible (236 persons, or 2 per cent).

On the assumption that no significant changes in the distribution of Italian nationals in Australia have occurred since 30th June 1960, some speculation on the probable distribution of Italian-born persons in the 1961 census seems permissible (Table II.5). Clearly in 1961 this distribution will reflect a

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Alien registration figures do not, of course, include naturalized persons of former Italian nationality. Thus they favour States with more recently arrived Italians (viz. Victoria and South Australia), and do not give due weight to States where the proportion of naturalized Italian-born persons is higher (viz. Western Australia and Queensland). It is obvious that residence and naturalization are related, and that States with a high proportion of pre-war arrivals would tend to have a higher proportion of naturalized Italian-born persons. A correction based on the relationship between nationality and birthplace statistics in the 1954 census has been applied in deriving the projections given on Table II.5.

TABLE II.4

Mainland States of Australia : Italian Nationals Sixteen Years and Over, 30th June 1954 and 30th June 1960.

Mainland States	Numbers	
	30-6-54 <sup>SE</sup>	30-6-60 <sup>SE</sup>
New South Wales	18,421	33,712
Victoria	28,519	54,645
Queensland	8,204	8,439
South Australia	7,692	15,038
Western Australia	10,274	11,617
Australia	74,433	125,784

<sup>SE</sup> Estimated figures based on the 1954 census.

<sup>SE</sup> Australia, Department of Immigration, Quarterly Statistical Bulletin, October 1960, Table F.2.

TABLE II.5

Mainland States of Australia : Estimated Percentage Distribution of Italian-born Persons, Together With Estimated Index of Regional Concentration, 30th June 1961.

Mainland States	Percentages	Index of Regional Concentration
New South Wales	26.5 - 27.2	72 $\pm$ 1
Victoria	39.3 - 42.2	145 $\pm$ 5
Queensland	7.8 - 9.8	62 $\pm$ 7
South Australia	11.2 - 12.1	127 $\pm$ 5
Western Australia	9.2 - 9.9	134 $\pm$ 5
Australia	100.0	100

continuation, and an intensification, of trends first observed in 1954. In 1961, as in 1954, Victoria will contain the largest Italian-born population of any State. Increased proportions of the national total will be evident in New South Wales and South Australia, while decreases are bound to occur in Western Australia and Queensland. The estimated index values show that for the first time in the present century the degree of Italian concentration in Western Australia may be exceeded, by Victoria. After these two States will be South Australia, followed by New South Wales and Queensland, probably in this order of concentration. In 1961 Queensland will probably contain the smallest Italian-born population relative to its total population of any mainland State.

Italian settlement in Victoria, 1921-1954

Although the emergence of Victoria as a State of Italian concentration came relatively late in the history of Italian migration to Australia, in absolute terms Victoria's Italian-born population has always been quite large and has never in the present century constituted less than one-fifth of all Italian-born persons in Australia. Earlier research into the distribution of Italians in Australia has suggested that although much of early Italian migration to Australia was of a temporary nature, by 1921 the foundations of many future Italian concentrations had already been laid.<sup>14</sup> This generalization represents an adequate description of Italian settlement in the Melbourne metropolitan area, if not for other parts of Victoria.

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<sup>14</sup>

Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), p.59.

TABLE II.6

Victoria : Persons of Italian Birth by Division of State,  
1921, 1933, 1947, and 1954.

Division of State	Year of Census			
	1921	1933	1947	1954
Metropolitan-urban	846	2,434	4,277	29,890
Provincial-urban	209	501	618	5,416 <sup>***</sup>
Rural	468	2,921	3,408	7,088 <sup>***</sup>
Victoria <sup>**</sup>	1,523	5,856	8,303	42,394

<sup>\*\*</sup> "migratory" excluded.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Between 1947 and 1954 a change in the definition of "provincial-urban" and "rural" occurred. According to the pre-1954 definition 3,425 Italian-born persons resided in provincial areas in 1954, and 9,079 in rural areas.

TABLE II.7

Victoria : Index of Regional Concentration for Persons  
of Italian Birth by Divisions of State,  
1921, 1933, 1947, and 1954.

Division of State	Year of Census			
	1921	1933	1947	1954
Metropolitan-urban	111	76	86	113
Provincial-urban	111	78	65	64
Rural	82	144	142	86
Victoria <sup>**</sup>	100	100	100	100

<sup>\*\*</sup> "migratory" excluded.

are located in the country and others in the city, and (ii) if at a given point of time, for economic or other reasons, chains in the country are more active than those in the city (or vice versa), then (iii) at that point of time Italian migration, being largely chain-migration, will tend to favour settlement in rural rather than urban areas (or vice versa, if the contrary situation applies). This implies that in times of economic depression urban chains may tend to be less active than those in the country. Probably both the depression and chain-migration were important factors in the emergence of this new Italian distribution in Victoria in 1933.

Between 1933 and 1947 this distribution changed little. In 1947 the main Italian concentration was still in the rural division of state, and although the proportion of Italians in the metropolitan area had increased from 41.6 per cent in 1933 to 51.5 per cent in 1947, this was still below the proportion of the total population in the metropolitan area of Melbourne (59.8 per cent). This pattern changed entirely between 1947 and 1954. In this period the number of Italian-born persons in Victoria increased more than five-fold,<sup>AND</sup> of these the majority settled in the Melbourne metropolitan area, which in 1954 contained 70.5 per cent of all Italians in the State. Clearly, industrial expansion and the associated employment opportunities in the city played their part in this post-war Italian concentration in Melbourne.

In short, since 1921 the location of Italian concentrations in Victoria has been variable. Italian-born persons in Victoria have been neither "typically" urban nor "typically" rural. The



most that can be said is that the pattern of Italian settlement in Victoria has tended to reflect current economic conditions. Italians have not been concentrated in the Melbourne metropolitan area except in times of economic stability or expansion.

Italians in the Melbourne metropolitan area, 1921-1960

Although Italians have not always been concentrated in the Melbourne metropolitan area as a whole, the extent to which Italian settlement in Melbourne has centred on the inner suburbs is remarkable. As early as 1921 the four L.G.A.'s of Fitzroy, St. Kilda, the City of Melbourne, and Richmond contained three-fifths of all Italian-born persons in the metropolitan area. In no other metropolitan L.G.A. did the degree of Italian concentration reach the metropolitan average (Tables II.8 and II.9). Even in 1933, when the main Italian concentration was in the rural division of state, the degree of Italian concentration within the metropolitan area itself was if anything more marked than it had been in 1921. The Italian concentrations in St. Kilda and Richmond had declined, and the two dominant Italian concentrations were now in the City of Melbourne and Fitzroy, which contained 44 per cent of all Italians in the metropolis. This remarkable concentration reached a peak in 1947, possibly as a result of anti-Italian feeling during the war, and in 1947 the City of Melbourne alone contained one-fifth of all Italians in the State. Melbourne and Fitzroy accounted for almost half (49.4 per cent) the Italian-born population of the metropolitan area. Richmond was the only other metropolitan L.G.A. with an index value of Italian concentration higher than the

TABLE II.8

Victoria : Persons of Italian Birth in Selected Local Government Areas in the Melbourne Metropolitan Area, 1921, 1933, 1947, and 1954.

Selected Local Government Areas	Year of Census			
	1921	1933	1947	1954
City of Melbourne	237	781	1,612	6,812
Brunswick	41	92	189	3,113
Coburg	13	35	74	1,123
Collingwood	12	44	94	1,415
Essendon	32	82	91	1,310
Fitzroy	93	292	502	3,708
Footscray	30	18	45	1,299
Northcote	19	64	132	1,278
Richmond	83	137	158	1,619
St. Kilda	90	145	178	577
Rest of the Melbourne Metropolitan Area	196	744	1,202	7,636
Melbourne Metropolitan Area	846	2,434	4,277	29,890
Victoria <sup>*</sup>	1,523	5,856	8,303	42,394

<sup>\*</sup> "migratory" excluded.

TABLE II.9

Victoria : Index of Regional Concentration for Persons of Italian  
Birth in Selected Local Government Areas in the Melbourne  
Metropolitan Area, 1921, 1933, 1947, and 1954.

Selected Local Government Areas	Year of Census			
	1921	1933	1947	1954
City of Melbourne	230	264	399	421
Brunswick	92	53	81	335
Coburg	71	29	37	104
Collingwood	35	44	78	301
Essendon	91	55	41	130
Fitzroy	267	294	383	706
Footscray	89	12	21	129
Northcote	63	46	73	169
Richmond	193	107	99	265
St. Kilda	234	97	75	62
Rest of the Melbourne Metropolitan Area	56	44	42	44
Melbourne Metropolitan Area	111	76	86	113
Victoria*	100	100	100	100

\* " migratory " excluded.

metropolitan average, but even here the degree of concentration was not at all comparable with the relatively huge Italian populations of the City of Melbourne and Fitzroy.

Between 1947 and 1954 the Italian-born population of the metropolitan area increased at a much faster rate than in the State as a whole (increases of 700 per cent and 510 per cent respectively). In 1954 the Melbourne metropolitan area contained 70.5 per cent of Italians in Victoria, a proportion considerably above that for the total population (62.3 per cent). Among the metropolitan L.G.A.'s Fitzroy had by far the heaviest Italian concentration, followed by the City of Melbourne, where the proportion of Italian-born persons had fallen from 19.4 per cent of the state total in 1947 to 16.1 per cent in 1954. Even so, the total population of the City of Melbourne had declined more rapidly still, with the result that the effective Italian concentration in the City continued to increase. In a sense, however, more interesting changes in the distribution of Italians in the metropolitan area had occurred, and in 1954 Melbourne's Italian population, being larger, was more widespread than in any previous census. In eight L.G.A.'s the degree of Italian concentration exceeded the metropolitan average (Table II.9). Next in order of concentration after Fitzroy and the City of Melbourne came Brunswick, Collingwood, Richmond, Northcote, Essendon, and Footscray. Not only did these areas have marked Italian concentrations but they formed a continuous belt throughout Melbourne's inner suburbs and were, except for

Northcote contiguous with the City of Melbourne. Moreover, the degree of Italian concentration tended to be greatest in areas of declining total population. Only in Essendon and Footscray were the total populations more numerous in 1954 than they had been in 1947 (Figure 3).

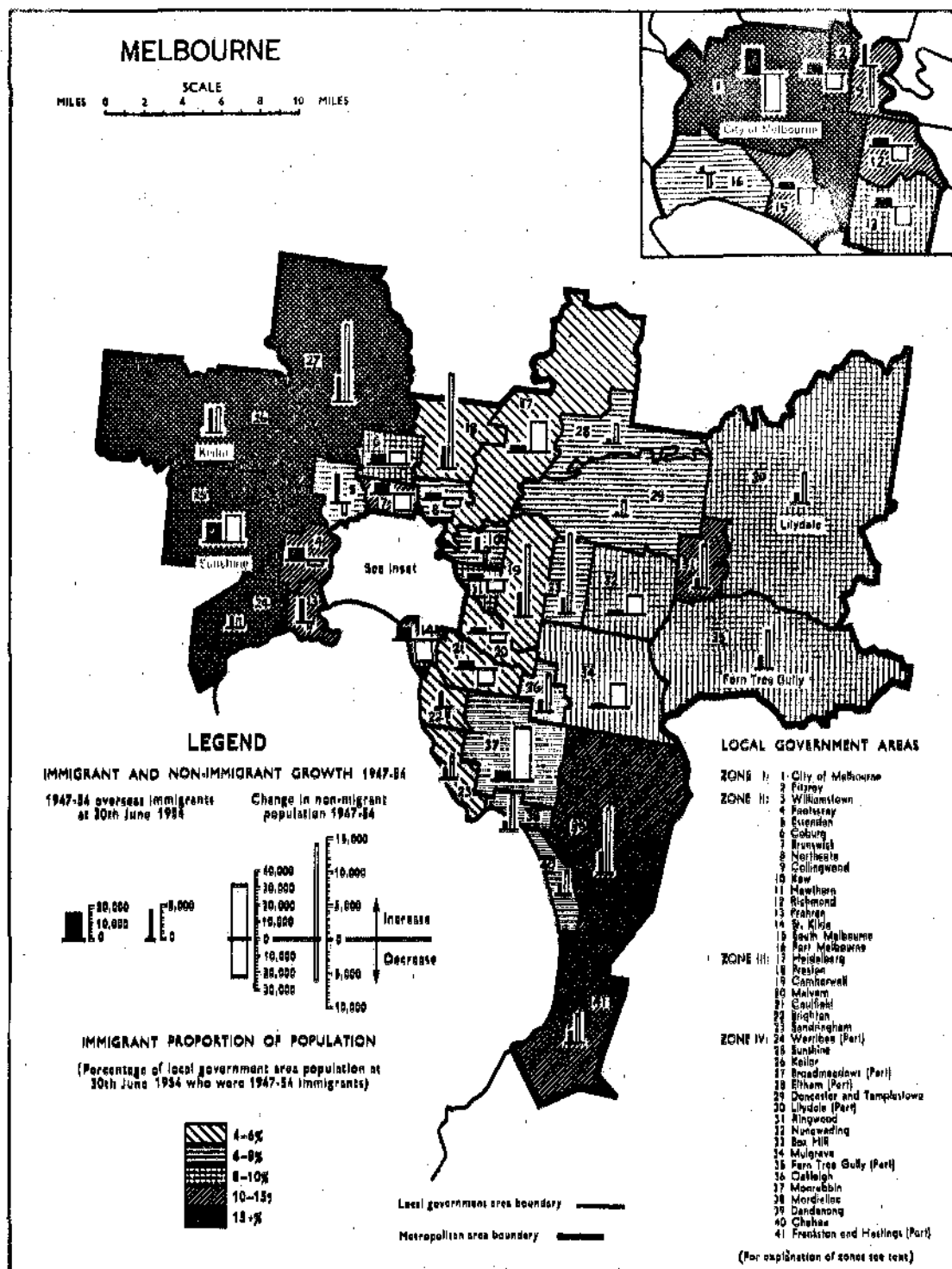
The choice of the Melbourne metropolitan area as the scene of the present study is obvious. Within the metropolitan area itself, Fitzroy has had as great an Italian concentration as the City of Melbourne, and in 1954 indeed a considerably greater concentration. But the City of Melbourne is a larger and far more heterogeneous L.G.A. than Fitzroy, containing many suburbs, some of which, like East Melbourne and the business area proper, harbour a relatively small Italian population. According to Melbourne residents, Carlton had a very large Italian population, but since this suburb has always been a part of the City no published figures relating to its population were available against which these opinions could be tested. In an attempt to corroborate this qualitative evidence that Carlton was Melbourne's "Italian" suburb,<sup>17</sup> the Bureau of Census and Statistics was approached and figures relating to the Italian population of part of this area were obtained. Owing to technical restrictions information on the total population of the Carlton area could not be obtained, but five collectors' districts were selected from a central portion of Carlton-North Carlton and data was extracted on the sex, age, conjugal condition, duration of marriage, number of

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<sup>17</sup> James Grant and Geoffrey Serle, The Melbourne Scene 1803-1956, (Melbourne 1957), p. 258.

Figure 3

## IMMIGRANT AND NON-IMMIGRANT GROWTH 1947-54



**SOURCE:** Australia. Department of National Development. Atlas of Australian Resources: Immigration, (Canberra 1959).

children, and period of residence in Australia of all persons of Italian birth in these five districts.<sup>18</sup>

**TABLE II.10** Census Sub-division of Carlton : Italian-born and Total Population of Five Collector's Districts, with Index Values of Regional Concentration.  
30th June 1954.

Collector's Districts	Numbers		Index of Regional Concentration
	Italian-born Persons	Total Population	
o.	231	932	1,434
j.	226	933	1,403
k.	167	1,127	857
l.	148	935	918
m.	122	883	800
Total	894	4,810	1,071
City of Melbourne	6,812	93,172	421

As Table II.10 shows, these five collector's districts contained 5.2 per cent of the City's total population but 13.1 per cent of its Italian-born population. The degree of concentration in these areas was significantly higher than that in the City as a whole. Even though these figures are small, their extraction from the total City figures effects a reduction in the City's index value of Italian concentration from 421 to 386. If the

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A collector's district is the area covered by one census enumerator during the taking of a census. The five districts listed above were located between Newry-street (North Carlton) and Kay-street (Carlton). These unpublished census statistics have been described in full elsewhere. F.L. Jones, "The Italian Population of Victoria and Carlton" (working-papers given to the Department of Demography at the Australian National University, 1959), Tables 12-22, 6th August 1959.

average degree of Italian concentration in the Carlton area generally was the same as that observed in these five districts, then the Carlton sub-division would have contained almost half (4.7 per cent) of all Italian-born persons in the City but only one-fifth (18.8 per cent) of its total population. Further research, indeed, fully justified the choice of the Carlton area as the scene of the present study, and according to alien registration figures (November 1958) 21 per cent of Carlton's adult population were Italian nationals.<sup>19</sup> The findings of the Carlton survey suggest that in 1960 the Carlton area contained approximately 8,500 persons of Italian origin. At the time of the present survey every third or fourth house in Carlton-North Carlton was occupied by an Italian family.

#### Summary

In the great period of Italian transoceanic emigration, from 1895 to the beginning of the First World War, Italian migration to Australia constituted a mere trickle away from the main current of this enormous emigratory flow. By the turn of the century Australia's Italian population numbered only a few thousands and was distributed among three States, New South Wales, Victoria, and Western Australia. In relative terms, however, Western Australia, with a much smaller total population than either New South Wales or Victoria, had by far the greatest Italian concentration of any Australian State. In 1911 indeed Western Australia contained more Italian-born persons than any other State. This marked the peak



of Italian concentration in the west, and although at every subsequent census Western Australia has still harboured the densest Italian concentration of any mainland State, Italian immigration after 1920 favoured first Queensland and later Victoria and South Australia.

Victoria's emergence as a State of Italian concentration came relatively late in the history of Italian settlement in Australia, resulting from an influx of Italian immigrants in the immediate post-war period. Unlike the Italian settlers of earlier times, most of these post-war arrivals showed a disproportionate tendency to settle in metropolitan areas, particularly in the City of Melbourne, which with Fitzroy is the historical centre of Italian settlement in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Within the City itself, the Carlton area represented a region of dense Italian concentration, and even in 1954 20 per cent of the population of parts of this area consisted of persons of Italian birth. By the time of the present survey this Italian population had grown to such an extent that every third or fourth house in Carlton and North Carlton was occupied by an Italian family. Carlton is today Melbourne's "Italian" suburb.

### CHAPTER III

#### QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY, I : THE CONSTRUCTION OF A UNIVERSE

"The principle object of any sampling procedure is to secure a sample which, subject to limitations of size, will reproduce the characteristics of the population, especially those of immediate interest, as closely as possible."<sup>1</sup>

##### General

Once Carlton-North Carlton had been selected as the scene of the present survey the question of by what methods such a survey should be conducted remained. Social surveys proceed usually by one of two general methods, the census, in which a complete enumeration of the population under consideration is undertaken, and the sample, usually a random sample, in which part only of the whole is investigated, on the assumption that the part so examined is representative of that whole. Although complete enumeration always furnishes more accurate information about human populations than the partial observations possible in a sample survey, the proper implementation of a census involves as a rule considerable resources of time, finance, and personnel. In the partial or total absence of any of these three prerequisites the total population to be investigated, or the range of subject on which information is to be sought, must be reduced. Since very often it seems preferable to restrict the size of the

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Frank Yates, Sampling Methods for Censuses and Surveys (second edition, enlarged and revised, London 1953), p.9.

population under investigation rather than the range of the enquiry itself, sampling of one sort or another has been the basis of many social surveys conducted in recent times.<sup>2</sup>

Sample surveys may be either large or small in scale, according to the number of units included in the sample, the absolute size of the parent population, and the degree of accuracy desired by the social scientist. Since sampling error tends to decrease as the proportional size of the sample increases, the greater the size of the sample the greater its accuracy.<sup>3</sup> Thus when more accurate results are desired the size of the sample is usually increased. Where, however, resources are not unlimited the size of a sample tends to be a compromise between what is a theoretically desirable degree of accuracy and what is a practical possibility. The size of the Carlton sample was dictated largely by the consideration of what one investigator could reasonably hope to accomplish with limited resources of finance and time.

In small-scale social surveys, covering only a limited range of human behaviour, the attention afforded to questions of methodology seems often to be perfunctory. This may result from the fact that where a research project is initiated and carried out by only one or two investigators, formal procedures can easily be dispensed with. Large-scale social surveys, by

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<sup>2</sup>

C.A. Moser, Survey Methods in Social Investigation (London 1958), Chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup>

Yates, Op. cit., p.17.

contrast, involve large numbers of personnel and demand a certain degree of methodological attention, or at least organization. Two other factors, however, may also be involved. Sometimes a social investigation relates to such a small population that it tends to be regarded as a microcosm having a somewhat indefinite and often indeterminable relationship to the macrocosm of which it is by definition a part. This seems to be the attitude adopted, for example, in Firth's study of kinship in London.<sup>4</sup> Or else it is tacitly assumed that the social investigation constitutes in itself a "census" or complete enumeration of the population being studied. This attitude is common in many social-anthropological studies, such as Whyte's study of Italians in Chicago.<sup>5</sup> In the first case, it is so difficult to relate the "sample" to its "universe" that the question tends to be shelved. In the second, where the "sample" itself becomes a "universe", it is deemed never to have arisen at all.

Complete enumerations of human populations are difficult to achieve, and many social investigations become sample studies, either through intention or default. In the present study considerable effort has been expended on questions of methodology.

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<sup>4</sup> Raymond Firth (ed.), Two Studies of Kinship in London (London 1956), p.28.

<sup>5</sup> William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society : The Social Structure of an Italian Slum (enlarged edition, Chicago 1955), pp.357-58.

Clearly the Italian population of the Carlton area was too large to permit a complete enumeration. Some selection was demanded, and it seemed far preferable to investigate the social characteristics of a sample having a definable relationship to its parent universe, than to study a collection of individuals whose connexion with the total population of which they were a part could not be assessed at all.

#### Structure of the Carlton universe

The investigation of a human population by means of a random sample involves the construction of a universe from which such a sample can be legitimately drawn.<sup>6</sup> The procedure of sampling immigrants in Australia does not, fortunately, involve some of the difficulties associated with sampling other human populations, since adequate sources of statistics relating to persons of alien nationality are available. Persons of alien nationality sixteen years of age and older are required by law to register with the Department of Immigration in the State in which they reside. They are further required to notify changes in address, occupation, and conjugal condition until such time as they either become British nationals by naturalization or else leave the Commonwealth.<sup>7</sup> Although this legal requirement is not policed except for the initial registration, the information derived from these alien registrations is held by the Immigration Department in each State

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<sup>6</sup> "Random" is used here in the strict statistical sense (see Yates, Op. cit., p. 21) and not in the loose, colloquial sense implied by Firth, when he states that "a purely random selection - 'knocking on doors' - was rejected...". Firth, Op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Australia, Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948-1955.

and constitutes a valuable source in the study of immigrants in Australia. The existence of an Aliens Registration Index in Victoria made it possible to enumerate adult Italian nationals resident in the Carlton area.<sup>8</sup>

Naturalized persons of former alien nationality cannot, of course, be enumerated in this way, and to obtain a coverage of Italian-born persons who had become naturalized British subjects since their arrival in Australia the Commonwealth electoral rolls relating to the Carlton area were inspected and all persons with Italian-sounding names extracted. These persons were subsequently checked against the Naturalization Index, held by the Immigration Department in Canberra.<sup>9</sup>

The statement that adult Italian nationals resident in the Carlton area were identified from the Aliens Registration Index needs qualification, to the extent that the basic source of this information was a second index based on it, The District Index of Aliens.<sup>10</sup> The Aliens Registration Index could not be used, since in Victoria it is not classified by either nationality or place of residence. Aliens are listed merely in alphabetical order for the whole State. To identify Italian nationals resident in the Carlton area would have involved the examination of

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Australia, Department of Immigration (Melbourne), "Aliens Registration Index."

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Australia, Department of Immigration (Canberra), "Naturalization Index".

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Australia, Department of Immigration (Melbourne), "District Index of Aliens".

approximately 158,000 cards, the identification of a little over 53,000 cards relating to Italian nationals, each of which would have then had to be reversed ; nationality and place of residence are registered on opposite sides of the card. This undertaking would not only have been beyond the resources of the present study, but also unacceptable to the Immigration Department, whose officers were continually referring to the index in the course of departmental duties.

Until November 1958 the Melbourne office of the Immigration Department had kept a District Index of Aliens, which duplicated most but not all of the information contained on the basic index. This district index had two important advantages, in that it classified aliens both by nationality and by federal electorates. The District Index of Aliens had been instituted in the years following the Second World War on the instruction of the then Minister for Immigration, to provide a source of information to federal parliamentarians on the alien element in their constituencies. Unfortunately, in all the years of its operation this index was put to its intended use on so few occasions that in November 1958 it was discontinued.<sup>11</sup> As a result of discussions with officers of the Immigration Department it emerged that this index, out-of-date though it was, would be the only, and for this reason the best, source from which Italians nationals resident in Carlton-North Carlton could be enumerated. This index was examined

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Interview with officers of the Melbourne office of the Department of Immigration, August 1959.

by the present writer in August-September 1959, almost one year after it had been officially discontinued.

The accuracy of information derived from alien registrations is variable. There is little reason to doubt the accuracy of data relating to name, sex, place of birth in Italy, or date of arrival in Australia. Other data, whose accuracy depends upon notifications after arrival in Australia (data such as place of residence, place of employment, or present conjugal condition) is obviously less reliable. How much less reliable, however, it is very difficult to estimate. So far as Italian nationals in the Carlton area are concerned, the addresses registered in the district index were probably relatively accurate. No part of the Carlton area was more than two miles distant from the Melbourne office of the Immigration Department, so that the notification of a change in address would not have caused undue inconvenience.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, since the majority of Italian immigrants arrive in Australia as full-fare migrants nominated by Italian residents, Italians notify changes of address at the same time as they nominate their relatives for migration. This would not be true, for example for other

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A corollary of this argument is that aliens moving into the Carlton area from other parts would be more likely to register this change of address than those moving out of the Carlton area. Thus alien registration figures may tend to over-estimate the number of aliens in the inner-city areas. This factor may have been of only incidental importance among the Italians, however, since as Table III.11 shows 70 per cent (134/192) of those persons who changed their place of residence between November 1958 and September 1959 moved to other addresses in the inner suburbs.



groups among which a large proportion of new arrivals are assisted migrants (viz. the Dutch). It was in fact unusual to find the card of an Italian national who had not notified at least one change of address since arrival in Australia.

According to the addresses registered in the District Index of Aliens, in November 1958 approximately 16,000 Italian adults lived in the federal electorates of Melbourne and Scullin (Figure 4). In June 1958, when the last count was taken, 4,969 adult Italian nationals were registered in Melbourne and 11,269 in Scullin. Of these 3,915 had Carlton-North Carlton addresses, and information showing their name, sex, address, conjugal condition, date of arrival in Australia, and date of birth was extracted. No analysis of the data on employment of these persons was made. One very important item, however, had not been transferred from the Aliens Registration Index -- place of birth in Italy. To obtain partial information on this a 20 per cent random sample of these 3,915 adult Italian nationals was drawn and checked against the current index. At the same time as place of birth in Italy was transferred the present address registered for these persons was also noted. From the analysis of these changes of address a measure of the residential mobility of these Italians was derived (Table III.11 below).

To complete this universe of adult Italians in the Carlton area some coverage of British nationals of former Italian nationality was necessary. As mentioned above, the Commonwealth Electoral rolls for Carlton-North Carlton were examined and all

Figure 4



1955  
COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA  
STATE OF VICTORIA

MAP OF THE

COMMONWEALTH ELECTORAL DIVISION OF

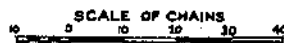
**SCULLIN**

BOUNDARIES OF COMMONWEALTH ELECTORAL DIVISION SHOWN THUS: 

BOUNDARIES AND NAMES OF SUBDIVISIONS SHOWN THUS: 

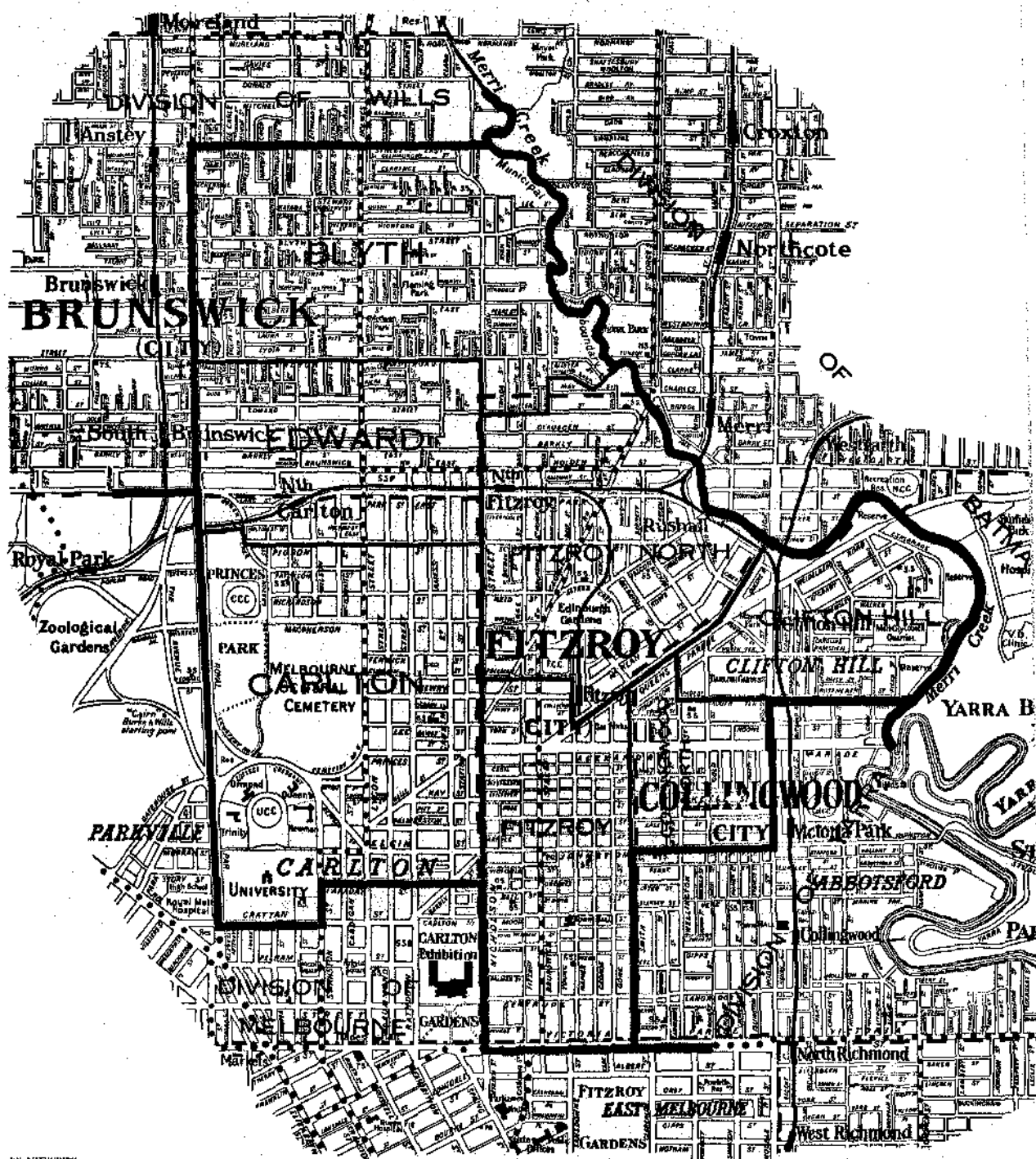
**BLYTH**

COMMONWEALTH ELECTORAL OFFICE, MELBOURNE



**DIVISION OF SCULLIN.**

Commencing on the Merri Creek where Albion-street east abuts thereon; thence generally south-easterly and south-westerly by the Merri Creek to Roseneath-street; thence westerly by Roseneath-street to Hoddle-street; thence southerly by Hoddle-street to Johnston-street; thence westerly by Johnston-street to Smith-street; thence southerly by Smith-street to Victoria-parade; thence westerly by Victoria-parade to Nicholson-street; thence northerly by Nicholson-street to Faraday-street; thence westerly by Faraday-street to Swanson-street; thence southerly by Swanson-street to Grafton-street; thence westerly by Grafton-street to Royal-parade; thence northerly by Royal-parade and Sydney-road to Albion-street east, and thence easterly by Albion-street east to the Merri Creek, being the point of commencement.



persons with Italian-sounding names extracted. This method is open to the objection that persons of Italian origin cannot with certainty be identified from their names. Even so, it must be conceded that the majority of Italian names can be identified with a high degree of accuracy. Name-changing does not appear to be frequently practised among Italians in Australia, except for the omission of a final vowel, a practice which occurs even in Italy and does not usually serve to conceal a person's Italian origin. Doubtful cases were included for further checking.

Of the 1,100 or so names extracted from the electoral rolls a few were rejected upon checking against the Naturalization Index as the former nationals of countries other than Italy. Of the remainder 610 were identified as former Italian nationals.

Information extracted from the index on these persons included date and place of birth, date of naturalization, and, in the case of persons naturalized since the war, date of arrival.<sup>13</sup> Name, address, and sex had already been obtained from the electoral rolls. Even so 460 British subjects with Italian-sounding names remained to whom no reference could be found in the Naturalization Index. Several considerations suggested that to reject these persons as non-Italians would be unsatisfactory.

(1) Prior to 1937 children under the age of sixteen who became naturalized by virtue of their parents' naturalization

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Prior to the early 1950's a person's date of arrival in Australia was not recorded in the Naturalization Index.

were not registered in the index. Their names appeared only on the Certificate of Naturalization. Since 18 per cent (111/610) of the naturalized persons of former Italian nationality had been naturalized prior to 1st July, 1939, many of the unidentified persons with Italian-sounding names could have been the children of such persons.

(2) Prior to 1949 marriage to a British subject, or to a person who subsequently became a British subject, conferred British nationality upon the marriage partner. Between 1937 and 1949 the assumption of the new allegiance was dependent upon a Declaration of Acquisition by the spouse concerned, but before 1937 it was automatic and not registered in the Naturalization Index.

(3) Children born on British soil to parents of alien nationality are British nationals by birth. Such persons would not be registered in the Naturalization Index, since they never held any nationality other than British.

(4) There was always the possibility of errors or omissions in the Index itself, particularly before the Second World War, when there was no independent Department of Immigration.

In the light of these considerations, then, to exclude from the enquiry these British subjects with Italian-sounding names merely because no reference could be found to them in the Naturalization Index would be unsatisfactory, particularly as many of them might be early arrivals whose exclusion might introduce a serious bias into the study. At a later stage of the research,

therefore, persons with Italian-sounding names but indefinite Italian origin whose address in Carlton or North Carlton coincided with that given by a person of present or former Italian nationality were included in the universe. Those whose address did not coincide with one already obtained for persons of definite Italian origin were kept separate and subjected to an independent field-investigation, one object of which was to establish the origin of these unidentified persons. Subsequent field-research showed that four of the eight persons thus investigated were not Italians at all : one claimed distant French origin, another was Maltese, and two others were former wives of Italians nationals (one was a widow and the other a divorcee). The four who were Italians comprised two men who had married British-Australians and thus acquired British nationality by marriage, the third was the (now adult and married) son of a pre-war arrival and had acquired British nationality by virtue of his father's naturalization, and the fourth was an early arrival whose name was not listed on the Index.<sup>14</sup>

In short, the major universe consisted of Italian nationals sixteen years of age and older who in November 1958 were registered on the District Index of Aliens as residents of the Carlton area, British nationals of former Italian nationality, twenty-one years of age and older, who on 22nd October 1958 were listed on the Commonwealth electoral rolls as residents of the Carlton area (referred to in subsequent tables as British nationals I),

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<sup>14</sup>

See below, Chapter IV, A note on the minor universe.

and British nationals with Italian-sounding names but of indefinite Italian origin, twenty-one years of age and over, who on 22nd October 1958 were listed as residents of the Carlton area and who were living at an address already given by persons of present or former Italian nationality (referred to in subsequent tables as British nationals II). The Italian nationals tended to be post-war arrivals and relatively young, compared with the naturalized persons, the majority of whom were pre-war arrivals and for this reason somewhat older. Thus among the Italian nationals 97 per cent of the males and 99 per cent of the females had arrived in Australia since the 1947 census, while among the naturalized persons 73 per cent and 84 per cent of males and females respectively had arrived prior to 1st July 1939.<sup>15</sup> Likewise 47 per cent and 39 per cent of male and female Italian nationals were between the ages 25-34, but among the naturalized persons 64 per cent of males and 68 per cent of females were over 44 years of age.<sup>16</sup>

#### Characteristics of the universe

In describing the characteristics of the Carlton universe a secondary aim has been to indicate the sorts of relationships which emerged in the preliminary analysis. These initial findings were influential in determining the scope of the present survey, and although at the time when this analysis was conducted the

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<sup>15</sup>

Jones, Op. cit. (Canberra 1959), November 1959.

<sup>16</sup>

ibid.

factors involved in these significant relationships were not known, some attempt has been made in the following description to relate these preliminary findings to the field-work results.

Table VI.1 summarizes the main features of the distribution of the universe with regard to the three variables for which information on all persons in the universe was available, district of residence, nationality, and sex. The districts of residence were used initially because they corresponded to the divisions in which the data was originally collated. "South Carlton" and "Central Carlton" constitute the postal district N 3, the suburb Carlton, and "North Carlton" is identical with the postal district N 4, the suburb North Carlton. The division "South Carlton" was used, because this part of the suburb Carlton falls within the boundaries of the federal electorate of Melbourne, and this was the form in which the original data was collected. Prior to the field-survey exhaustive tests of significance were applied to these districts of residence, in an attempt to discover whether they represented useful divisions or whether they could be dispensed with. As the following description will demonstrate, district of residence was significantly related to almost every variable for which information was available, and for this reason the examination of the nature of these relationships became a focal point for further research. As Chapter VI shows, the relationship between district of residence and the characteristics displayed by the Italian residents of each district was the result of ecological and historical factors.



TABLE III.1

The Carlton Universe : Distribution by Sex and District of Residence, in Conjunction With Nationality.

District of Residence and Nationality	Sex		
	Males	Females	Persons
<u>South Carlton</u>			
Italian nationals	465	241	706
British nationals I	133	47	180
British nationals II	39	53	92
Total	637	341	978
<u>Central Carlton</u>			
Italian nationals	793	471	1,264
British nationals I	164	67	231
British nationals II	43	42	85
Total	1,000	580	1,580
<u>North Carlton</u>			
Italian nationals	1,177	804	1,981
British nationals I	153	46	199
British nationals II	29	45	74
Total	1,359	895	2,254
<u>Carlton-North Carlton</u>			
Italian nationals	2,435	1,516	3,951
British nationals I	450	160	610
British nationals II	111	140	251
GRAND TOTAL	2,996	1,816	4,812

Italians were not distributed evenly through the population of the Carlton area. The members of the universe constituted only 18 per cent of the total population of South Carlton, 31 per cent of that of Central Carlton, and 25 per cent of that in North Carlton.<sup>17</sup> These variations were such that the hypothesis that these three Italian sub-populations were drawn from a homogeneous total was rejected.<sup>18</sup> That the Italian concentration was greatest in Central Carlton appeared from field-research to have been the result of historical factors, that Carlton had been settled by Italians before North Carlton. The fact that there were relatively few Italians in South Carlton reflected a pattern of ecological succession, whereby the earliest Italian settlers in the southernmost parts of this area were being replaced by other ethnic groups, the Greeks, the Maltese, and the Yugoslavs.<sup>19</sup>

Although in the universe as a whole Italian nationals were the most numerous component of the adult Italian population of the Carlton area (82 per cent, Table III.1), nationality was also related to district of residence. The proportion of Italian nationals in the adult Italian population varied from 72 per cent

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The total population was estimated from unpublished census figures relating to the 1947 and 1954 censuses. At a comparable rate of population decrease as that observed between 1947 and 1954 the total adult populations of these districts were estimated as 5,415, 5,104, and 9,110 persons respectively in November 1958. See Table III.2.

18

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 178.96$ , d.f. = 2,  $p < 0.001$ .

19

Chapter VI, Non-Britishers in the Carlton area, 1881 to 1960.

in South Carlton to 80 per cent in Central Carlton, and 88 per cent in North Carlton. That the proportion of naturalized persons was significantly higher in Carlton than North Carlton (16 per cent and 9 per cent respectively) again appeared to be related to the earlier period in which Carlton was settled by Italians.<sup>20</sup>

Sex and district of residence were also significantly related (Table III.1).<sup>21</sup> The proportion of males was highest in South Carlton (a masculinity rate of 187 males per 100 females), but lower in Central Carlton (a rate of 172), and lower again in North Carlton (a rate of 152). Interestingly enough, these differences in sex distribution were reflected in the total adult population of the Carlton area, and according to unpublished census figures in 1954, the masculinity rates among all adults in Carlton-North Carlton varied significantly by districts of residence, from the very high rate of 141 in South Carlton to 117 in Central Carlton and 105 in North Carlton (Table III.2).

**TABLE III.2** Distribution of the Total Adult Population of Carlton and North Carlton by Sex and District of Residence\*

District of Residence	Sex		Persons
	Males	Females	
South Carlton	3,166	2,249	5,415
Central Carlton	2,753	2,351	5,104
North Carlton	4,660	4,450	9,110
Carlton-North Carlton	10,579	9,050	19,629

\* The sex-distribution relates to the 1954 distribution. Total figures, however, have been adjusted to November 1958. See above, footnote 17.

<sup>20</sup> Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 49.9$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>21</sup> Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 7.76$ , d.f. = 2,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

The fact that masculinity rates increased and decreased in the same general direction among both the total and the Italian populations of those areas suggested strongly that ecological factors had an important effect on the distribution of persons in this area. As, indeed, subsequent research showed, the high masculinity rates in South Carlton were related to the frequency of boarding-houses in this part of the Carlton area, while the low rates in North Carlton reflected the better housing and the associated fact that a greater number of British-Australian, and other, family groups had remained in this district.<sup>22</sup>

Conjugal condition was available only for Italian nationals. So far as the males were concerned, conjugal condition was also significantly related to district of residence: 68 per cent of adult male Italian nationals in South Carlton were "never married", compared with only 58 per cent in Central Carlton and 57 per cent in North Carlton (Table III.3).<sup>23</sup> Here again ecological factors seemed important, and the high proportion of single men in South Carlton seemed associated with its boarding-houses. This conclusion was supported by the finding that conjugal condition and district of residence were not significantly related among the females.<sup>24</sup> This accords with this hypothesis, since very few of the females compared with the males were unmarried (28 per cent

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<sup>22</sup>

See below, Chapter VI, A social history of Carlton-North Carlton.

<sup>23</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 17.23$ , d.f. = 2,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>24</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 5.28$ , d.f. = 2,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

TABLE III.3

The Carlton Universe : Distribution of Italian Nationals by Conjugal Condition and Sex,  
in Conjunction with District of Residence, November 1958.

Conjugal Condition	District of Residence and Sex						TOTAL
	South Carlton		Central Carlton		North Carlton		
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	
Never Married	317	80	469	131	673	212	1,882
Married	146	148	321	330	499	569	2,013
Widowed	2	12	3	10	5	23	55
Divorced	---	1	---	---	---	---	1
ALL CONJUGAL CONDITIONS	465	241	793	471	1,177	804	3,951

and 60 per cent respectively).

Since information on age was not complete for all members of the universe, and since the universe itself consisted of Italian nationals over the age of fifteen and British nationals twenty-one and over, the age-distributions shown on Table III.4 have little comparative value. The general features of the distribution are clearly defined, and among the males a very high proportion were aged between 20-39 years (69 per cent), compared with the total Victorian population in 1954, in which only 42 per cent of males fifteen years of age and over were found between these ages. Among the females the same concentration was observed, and 65 per cent of adult females of present or former Italian nationality were aged between 20-39 years. The corresponding figure for the total Victorian population in 1954 (fifteen years of age and over) was 40 per cent.

As Table III.4 shows, age was significantly related to district of residence. This relationship could be predicted from the previous relationship found between residence and nationality, since as already mentioned naturalized persons tended to be older than persons of Italian nationality, who consisted mainly of younger, post-war arrivals. Thus among both males and females the age-distributions varied significantly by districts.<sup>25</sup> The proportion over 44 years of age, for example, varied among the males from 26 per cent in South Carlton, to 22 per cent and 18 per cent in Central

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<sup>25</sup>

Test of significance: Males,  $X^2 = 76.53$ , d.f. = 20,  $p < 0.001$ .  
Females,  $X^2 = 63.61$ , d.f. = 20,  $p < 0.001$ .

TABLE III.4

The Carlton Universe : Distribution of Males and Females of Present or Former Italian Nationality by Age and District of Residence, November 1958.

Age-groups	District of Residence and Sex						TOTAL
	<u>South Carlton</u>		<u>Central Carlton</u>		<u>North Carlton</u>		
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	
16-19	7	13	18	35	57	80	210
20-24	53	36	120	77	196	158	640
25-29	128	48	194	92	280	161	903
30-34	137	50	201	117	301	141	947
35-39	75	37	132	64	162	104	574
40-44	41	25	78	44	88	78	354
45-49	46	21	70	40	108	52	337
50-54	42	13	43	21	65	38	222
55-59	23	20	47	20	30	11	151
60-64	18	8	23	15	23	14	101
65 and over	27	15	25	11	14	11	103
Not stated	1	2	6	2	6	2	19
TOTAL	598	288	957	538	1,330	850	4,561

Carlton and North Carlton respectively. Among the females the corresponding proportions were 27 per cent, 20 per cent, and 15 per cent. To this very marked extent was the history of past Italian settlement in the Carlton area reflected in the age-structure of its present Italian population.

In the absence of comparative data there is no means of estimating the extent to which the general periods of arrival in Australia of Italians in the Carlton area were typical of other urban Italian populations (Table III.5). Among both males and females the majority were post-war arrivals, and 86 per cent and 91 per cent respectively had arrived in Australia since the 1947 census. It is interesting to note that a much higher proportion of females than males (49 per cent compared with 34 per cent) had arrived since the 1954 census, reflecting the tendency in Italian migration for the males to precede the females (see below, Table VIII.5). Since naturalization is related to period of residence in Australia and aliens must fulfil a five years' residential qualification before being eligible for naturalization, there was also a significant relationship between period of residence in Australia and district of residence in Australia: the proportion of pre-war arrivals varied among the males from 23 per cent in South Carlton to 15 per cent in Central Carlton and 8 per cent in North Carlton; among the females the corresponding figures were 17 per cent, 12 per cent, and 5 per cent.<sup>26</sup> This again provides clear

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<sup>26</sup>

Test of significance: Males,  $X^2 = 76.75$ , d.f. = 4,  $p < 0.001$ .  
 Females,  $X^2 = 51.41$ , d.f. = 4,  $p < 0.001$ .



TABLE III.5

The Carlton Universe : Period of Arrival in Australia of Males and Females of Present or Former Italian Nationality by District of Residence, November 1958.

Period of Arrival	District of Residence and Sex						TOTAL
	South Carlton		Central Carlton		North Carlton		
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	
Prior to 1st July 1947	134	50	143	62	111	42	542
1st July 1947 to 30th June 1954	304	123	505	226	698	346	2,202
1st July 1954 to 1st November 1958	160	115	307	250	520	462	1,814
Not Stated	-	-	2	-	1	-	3
Total	598	288	957	538	1,330	850	4,561

evidence of the different periods in which Italians settled these districts in the Carlton area.

A significantly higher proportion of males than females were naturalized (16 per cent and 9 per cent respectively, Table III.6).<sup>27</sup> This difference arose mainly out of the different periods in which males and females had arrived in Australia, and as implied above a higher proportion of males than females were pre-war arrivals (14 per cent and 9 per cent respectively).<sup>28</sup> Likewise among the post-war arrivals, the greatest number among the females had arrived since 30th June, 1954, whereas among the males 60 per cent had arrived during the 1947-1954 intercensal period. Thus we might expect that a relatively high proportion of males would be naturalized, since they tended to be the earlier arrivals. Among the males, moreover, period of naturalization and district of residence were significantly related.<sup>29</sup> The proportion naturalized before the 1954 census was highest in South Carlton and Central Carlton (72 per cent and 71 per cent respectively), but lower in North Carlton (67 per cent). This suggests that a higher proportion of the naturalized Italians in North Carlton were post-war arrivals, which would accord with later findings relating to the history of Italian settlement in Carlton-North Carlton. It should be noted,

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<sup>27</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 28.1$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>28</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 16.2$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>29</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 14.39$ , d.f. = 6,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

TABLE III.6

The Carlton Universe : British Nationals of Former Italian Nationality by Sex and Period of Naturalization in Conjunction with District of Residence, November 1958.

Period of Naturalization	District of Residence and Sex						TOTAL
	<u>South Carlton</u>		<u>Central Carlton</u>		<u>North Carlton</u>		
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	
Prior to 1st July 1939	25	2	45	8	26	5	111
1st July 1939 to 30th June 1947	49	22	55	32	44	22	224
1st July 1947 to 30th June 1954	22	13	16	15	18	10	94
1st July 1954 to 1st November 1958	36	8	47	12	63	8	174
Not Stated	1	2	1	-	2	1	7
Total	133	47	164	67	153	46	610

however, that no evidence of a significant relationship between period of naturalization and district of residence was found.<sup>30</sup> Although no satisfactory explanation of this discrepancy between the male and female distributions could be given at the stage of the preliminary analysis, subsequent investigation suggested that the rate of naturalization differed according to sex, and that whereas a number of post-war male Italian arrivals had become naturalized, very few of the women had: almost all the naturalized women in the sample were either pre-war arrivals or the wives of pre-war arrivals (see below, Table VIII.18).

Finally, there was the data relating to place of birth in Italy. This was not available, as mentioned, for all persons in the universe but only for a 20 per cent sample of Italian nationals and for persons of former Italian nationality. These figures were not classified by district of residence in the preliminary analysis, although as subsequent investigation showed origin in Italy was closely related to place of settlement in Carlton.<sup>31</sup> Table III.7 shows that over half (52 per cent) of naturalized persons had been born in northern Italy, mostly in the Veneto or Friuli-Venezia Giulia. Only 6 per cent had been born in other parts of northern Italy. Comparatively few had come from central Italy (5 per cent), and of these the majority were Tuscans. The proportion from

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<sup>30</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 2.22$ , d.f. = 6,  $0.90 > p > 0.80$ .

<sup>31</sup>

See below, Chapter VIII, Origin in Italy : territorial composition.

TABLE III.7

The Carlton Universe : British Nationals of Former Italian  
Nationality by Regions and Provinces of Birth in Italy,  
November 1958.

Region of Birth	Province of Birth				Total
Emilia-Romagna	<u>Forli</u>	<u>Modena</u>	<u>Ravenna</u>		
	1	1	1		3
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	<u>Gorizia</u>	<u>Udine</u>			
	3	38			41
Liguria	<u>Genova</u>				
	1				1
Lombardia	<u>Bergamo</u>	<u>Brescia</u>	<u>Mantova</u>	<u>Sondrio</u>	
	1	1	1	5	8
Piemonte	<u>Alessandria</u>	<u>Cuneo</u>	<u>Novara</u>	<u>Vercelli</u>	
	11	2	1	1	15
Trentino-Alto Adige	<u>Bolzano</u>	<u>Trento</u>			
	2	7			9
Veneto	<u>Belluno</u>	<u>Padova</u>	<u>Rovigo</u>	<u>Treviso</u>	<u>Venezia</u>
	10	9	2	39	7
	<u>Vicenza</u>				
	170				237
(Northern Italy					314)
Lazio	<u>Frosinone</u>	<u>Roma</u>			
	1	2			3
Toscana	<u>Livorno</u>	<u>Lucca</u>	<u>Massa</u>	<u>Pisa</u>	
	12	7	6	1	26
(Central Italy					29)
Abruzzi e Molise	<u>Campobasso</u>	<u>Chieti</u>	<u>L'Aquila</u>	<u>Pescara</u>	
	3	1	7	7	18

(concluded over -

Table III.7 (concluded)

Region of Birth	Province of Birth			Total
Basilicata	<u>Potenza</u> 62			62
Calabria	<u>Catanzaro</u> 11	<u>Cosenza</u> 2	<u>Reggio Calabria</u> 18	31
Campania	<u>Napoli</u> <u>Salerno</u> 7 1			8
Puglie	<u>Bari</u> 3	<u>Foggia</u> 20	<u>Taranto</u> 2	25
(Southern Italy				144)
Sardegna	<u>Cagliari</u> <u>Sassari</u> 1 2			3
Sicilia	<u>Caltanissetta</u> 1	<u>Catania</u> 18	<u>Messina</u> <u>Palermo</u> 10 1	
	<u>Ragusa</u> 3	<u>Siracusa</u> 11		44
(Insular Italy				47)
Trieste				3
Italy Not Stated				42
Other Countries				31
GRAND TOTAL				610

southern Italy (24 per cent) was not high compared with that from northern Italy, and interestingly enough almost half of the southerners had come from one province, Potenza in Basilicata. Only 7 per cent were Sicilians, mainly from two adjacent provinces on Sicily's eastern seaboard, Catania and Siracusa.

Compared with these naturalized persons, a significantly low proportion of Italian nationals were from northern Italy (34 per cent, Table III.8).<sup>32</sup> As among the naturalized persons most of these northern Italians were from the Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia (210/265), but they were outnumbered among the Italian nationals by the southern Italians, who constituted 35 per cent of the total. The proportion of central Italians had changed little, still accounting for only a fraction of the total Italian population (7 per cent). The Sicilians by contrast had doubled their proportion to 14 per cent of Italian nationals, but as among the naturalized persons the majority of Sicilians had come from two provinces, Catania and Siracusa: this latter indeed accounted for over half the Sicilian-born Italian nationals. Just as the number of southern Italians increased among the Italian nationals, so their origins were somewhat more diverse than they had been among persons of former Italian nationality. Although Potenza was still the most numerous southern Italian province, the number of Calabrians had increased, and now

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<sup>32</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 26.1$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

TABLE III.8

The Carlton Universe : Italian Nationals by Regions and Provinces  
of Birth in Italy, November 1958.

Region of Birth	Province of Birth	Total
Emilia-Romagna	<u>Forli</u> <u>Modena</u> <u>Parma</u> <u>Piacenza</u> <u>Ravenna</u>	
	1 3 1 4 1	
	<u>Reggio Emilia</u>	
	3	13
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	<u>Gorizia</u> <u>Udine</u>	
	1 35	36
Liguria	<u>Genova</u> <u>Imperia</u> <u>La Spezia</u>	
	4 1 3	8
Lombardia	<u>Bergamo</u> <u>Brescia</u> <u>Como</u> <u>Mantova</u> <u>Milano</u>	
	2 5 2 1 1	
	<u>Pavia</u> <u>Sondrio</u>	
	1 4	16
Piemonte	<u>Alessandria</u> <u>Cuneo</u> <u>Torino</u>	
	3 5 2	10
Trentino-Alto Adige	<u>Bolzano</u> <u>Trento</u>	
	2 6	8
Veneto	<u>Belluno</u> <u>Padova</u> <u>Rovigo</u> <u>Treviso</u> <u>Venezia</u>	
	6 14 1 61 3	
	<u>Verona</u> <u>Vicenza</u> <u>Veneto (not stated)</u>	
	3 84 2	174
(Northern Italy		265)
Lazio	<u>Frosinone</u> <u>Latina</u> <u>Roma</u>	
	3 3 8	14
Marche	<u>Ancona</u> <u>Ascoli</u> <u>Piceno</u> <u>Macerata</u>	
	1 7 1	9
Toscana	<u>Firenze</u> <u>Livorno</u> <u>Lucca</u> <u>Massa</u>	
	2 8 7 6	23

(concluded over -



Table III.8 (concluded)

Region of Birth	Province of Birth				Total
Umbria	<u>Perugia</u>	<u>Terni</u>			
	7	1			8
(Central Italy					54)
Abruzzi e Molise	<u>Campobasso</u>	<u>Chieti</u>	<u>L'Aquila</u>	<u>Pescara</u>	
	1	9	26	33	
	<u>Teramo</u>				
	1				70
Basilicata	<u>Potenza</u>				
	62				62
Calabria	<u>Catanzaro</u>	<u>Cosenza</u>	<u>Reggio Calabria</u>		
	49	6	45		100
Campania	<u>Avellino</u>	<u>Benevento</u>	<u>Caserta</u>	<u>Napoli</u>	
	2	7	1	5	
	<u>Salerno</u>				
	5				20
Puglie	<u>Bari</u>	<u>Foggia</u>	<u>Lecce</u>	<u>Taranto</u>	
	7	15	1	1	24
(Southern Italy					276)
Sardegna	<u>Cagliari</u>	<u>Nuoro</u>	<u>Sassari</u>		
	1	2	2		5
Sicilia	<u>Catania</u>	<u>Enna</u>	<u>Messina</u>	<u>Palermo</u>	<u>Ragusa</u>
	27	5	6	1	6
	<u>Siracusa</u>				
	63				108
(Insular Italy					113)
Trieste					19
Italy Not Stated					45
Other countries					17
GRAND TOTAL					789

there were many southern Italians from Catanzaro and Reggio Calabria. The Abruzzi provinces of Pescara and L'Aquila were also well represented. The six provinces of Potenza, Catanzaro, Reggio Calabria, Pescara, L'Aquila, and Foggia (Puglie) accounted for 83 per cent of all the southern Italian nationals.

Thus the Italian population of Carlton-North Carlton did not represent a cross-section of Italy's population. They had been drawn from a mere handful of Italian provinces, and northern Italian, southern Italian, and Sicilian had come from very restricted parts of their respective divisions. As Table III.9 shows, eleven provinces had contributed two-thirds of the total Italian population of the Carlton area, and although this proportion was similar among both Italian and British nationals the respective contributions of each of these eleven provinces varied by nationality. Thus persons from Vicenza constituted 27.8 per cent of the British nationals of former Italian nationality, but only 10.6 per cent of Italian nationals. Similarly the proportions of persons from Potenza, Udine, and Foggia were all relatively high among the naturalized persons <sup>compared with</sup> ~~than~~ persons of Italian nationality, among whom persons born in Treviso, Catanzaro, Reggio Calabria, Pescara, L'Aquila, and Siracusa were relatively more numerous. Since nationality and period of residence in Australia were closely related (Table III.5 above), these differences in origin in Italy suggested that a change in the composition of the Italian settlement had occurred after the war, and that whereas before the second World War the proportion of northern Italians was very high, after the war the number of Italian

TABLE III.9

The Carlton Universe : Percentage Distribution of Italian Nationals, British Nationals of Former Italian Nationality, and Total Italian Population by Selected Provinces of Birth, November 1958.

Selected Provinces of Birth	Italian Nationals	British Nationals	Total Italian Population*
Catania	3.4	3.0	3.4
Catanzaro	6.2	1.8	5.6
Foggia	1.9	3.3	2.1
L'Aquila	3.3	1.1	3.0
Pescara	4.2	1.1	3.8
Potenza	7.9	10.1	8.2
Reggio Calabria	5.7	3.0	5.3
Siracusa	8.0	1.8	7.2
Treviso	7.7	6.4	7.6
Udine	4.4	6.2	4.7
Vicenza	10.6	27.8	13.0
Other Italy	34.4	29.2	33.7
Other Countries	2.2	5.1	2.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Since it is impossible to estimate the distribution by birth-place of British Nationals II, this total population consists of Italian nationals and British nationals of former Italian nationality (British nationals I) only. The figures have been weighted to allow for the fact the Italian nationals outnumbered British nationals over six to one (Table III.1).

immigrants from southern Italy and Sicily rose considerably, at least so far as Italians in the Carlton area were concerned (see Tables VII.2, VII.3, and VIII.13 below). Moreover, since nationality and district of residence were also related (Table III.1 above) it could be that persons from different parts of Italy were concentrated in different districts of Carlton. This supposition could not be adequately checked at the preliminary stage of the analysis, since figures on birthplace in Italy had not been classified by place of residence in Carlton.

The analysis of birthplace in Italy was carried one stage further, however, to the examination of the comuni, or communes, within each province.<sup>33</sup> From this analysis the surprising result emerged that five communes, which in 1951 constituted only 0.12 per cent of Italy's total population, accounted in 1958 for 12.44 per cent of all Italian adults in the Carlton adults. More surprising still was that among the naturalized persons, two communes, Viggiano (Potenza) and Roana (Vicenza), which contained 0.02 per cent of Italy's total population in 1951, accounted for 12.79 per cent of the total (Table III.10).

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<sup>33</sup>

Jones, Op. cit. (Canberra 1959), November 1959.

**TABLE III.10** The Carlton Universe : Percentage Distribution of Italian Nationals, British Nationals of Former Italian Nationality and Total Italian Population by Selected Communes of Birth, November 1958.

Comune of Birth	Italian Nationals	British Nationals	Total Italian Population*
Floridia	2.79	0.66	2.50
Roana	2.15	6.56	2.74
San Marco in Lamis	1.52	2.62	1.67
Sortino	3.17	0.82	2.85
Viggiano	3.30	6.23	3.68
Total	11.93	16.89	12.44
Carlton-North Carlton	100.00	100.00	100.00

\* See note to Table III.9. Floridia and Sortino are in the province of Siracusa (Sicilia), San Marco in Lamis in Foggia (Puglia), Roana in Vicenza (Veneto), and Viggiano in Potenza (Basilicata).

This detailed finding was of considerable importance in the planning of the field-survey and was responsible for the decision to restrict the size of the random sample so as to allow some scope for the detailed analysis of migration from each of these restricted parts of Italy. Subsequent field-research was to show, however, that only two of these communes, Viggiano and Roana, were of crucial importance to the present study, since they were in fact the central communes in a more widely-based emigration from Italy to the Carlton area.<sup>34</sup> (See also Figure 5).

<sup>34</sup>

See Chapter X below.

Figure 5

ORIGIN IN ITALY OF ADULT ITALIAN-BORN PERSONS  
IN THE CARLTON UNIVERSE  
NOVEMBER 1958.



Fig. 55. The Provinces; the compartments are indicated by solid black lines, and the physical regions (Vol. I) by red lines

~~Source:~~  
Reproduced from Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series.  
Italy, (Oxford 1945) Vol. 2.

One dot = 1 per cent or 42 persons

At the same time as data on place of birth in Italy was extracted for the 20 per cent sample of Italian nationals, any changes of address registered by such persons between November 1958, when the District Index of Aliens was discontinued, and September 1959, when this information was transferred from the Aliens Registration Index, were also noted. As Table III.11 indicates, the degree of residential mobility revealed by this check was extremely high: 24.4 per cent of the sample had registered a change of address during this period. This mobility was greatest in South Carlton (28 per cent of the sample), and slightly lower in Central Carlton and North Carlton (25 per cent and 23 per cent respectively). These differences were not, however, statistically significant, and change of address was not significantly related to district of residence.<sup>35</sup> It is interesting to note that 70 per cent of persons who had changed their address had moved to another address in the inner suburbs of Melbourne (134/192). A high proportion (30 per cent, or 57/192) had moved to another address in the Carlton area, and the majority of the remainder had moved to the adjacent suburbs of Brunswick, Fitzroy, and North Melbourne. Only 17 per cent had moved out of the Carlton area into other parts of Victoria, some to outer suburbs of Melbourne, such as Preston, Reservoir, and Eltham, or to country centres such as Wangaratta, Leongatha, or Mirboo North. Some had moved interstate,

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<sup>35</sup>Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 0.70$ , d.f. = 2,  $0.80 > p > 0.70$ .

TABLE III.11

The Carlton Universe : Present Residence of Persons Who Changed  
 Their Address Between November 1958 and September  
 1959, by Former District of Residence.

Place of Residence, September 1959.	Former Residence			TOTAL
	South Carlton	Central Carlton	North Carlton	
Carlton-North Carlton	8	18	31	57
Brunswick	5	8	16	29
Coburg	-	2	2	4
Fitzroy	7	8	13	28
Footscray	1	2	-	3
Northcote	-	-	7	7
North Melbourne	2	2	1	5
Richmond	1	-	-	1
Elsewhere in Victoria	4	12	16	32
Interstate	6	2	1	9
Overseas	2	8	7	17
Total Who Changed Address	36	62	94	192
TOTAL IN SAMPLE	133	249	407	789



to Tasmania, New South Wales, or Western Australia, and a number had left the Commonwealth.

Change of address was related significantly with sex, and 75 per cent (143/192) of those who changed their addresses were males, compared with only 62 per cent in the sample as a whole.<sup>36</sup> Conjugal condition was not, on the other hand, significantly related to change of address, and no tendency for unmarried males or females to change address more frequently than married persons was noted. In fact what evidence was found suggested that married persons were slightly, but not significantly, more mobile than unmarried persons: thus 58 per cent of males and 16 per cent of females (80/143 and 8/49 respectively) were unmarried, compared with 60 per cent and 28 per cent in the sample as a whole.<sup>37</sup> This relatively high mobility of married persons must be interpreted in terms of the pattern of Italian immigration to Australia and the practice of the husband to precede his wife to the country of resettlement. The fact that so few Italian families receive assistance in their emigration means that married Italians tend to move their place of residence relatively frequently in the first years of their resettlement. This is supported by the fact that the degree of mobility is much less among the women, whose arrival in Australia is often anticipated by the husband's moving

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<sup>36</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 13.74$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>37</sup>

Test of significance: Males,  $X^2 = 1.16$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.30 > p > 0.20$ .  
Females,  $X^2 = 3.63$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

to better accommodation suitable for his family.

There appeared to be no significant relationship between age and residential mobility, and the age-distribution of persons who changed their addresses did not differ significantly from that of the 20 per cent sample as a whole.<sup>38</sup> There was likewise little definite evidence that the more recent arrivals tended to change their addresses more frequently than the earlier arrivals. Thus 26 per cent (49/192) of persons who changed their addresses had arrived in Australia after 30th June 1956, compared with 21 per cent of the sample.<sup>39</sup> No person who changed his address had arrived in Australia prior to 1st July 1948, although fourteen in the sample had.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, the possibility of a relationship between residential mobility and origin in Italy was considered. Did some groups of Italians seem to change their addresses more frequently than others? No evidence was found to support this hypothesis. In the sample as a whole 36 per cent of Italian nationals who had stated their precise place of birth in Italy had been born in northern Italy, 7 per cent in central Italy, 38 per cent in southern Italy, 16 per cent in insular Italy, and 3 per cent in Trieste (see Table III.8 above). Among persons who changed

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38

Jones, *Op. cit.* (Canberra 1959), November 1959. The tables relating to age-structure, period of residence, and origin in Italy have not been reproduced here.

39

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 1.98$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

40

Test of significance (Yates' correction):  $\chi^2 = 2.52$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

their addresses the corresponding proportions were 33 per cent, 11 per cent, 38 per cent, 14 per cent, and 4 per cent (59/178, 19/178, 67/178, 26/178, and 7/178 respectively). This distribution was not significantly different from that in the sample as a whole.<sup>41</sup>

### Summary

In addition to allowing a random sample of Italians in the Carlton area to be drawn, the construction of a universe yielded three important preliminary findings which influenced the form of the field-enquiry. Firstly, district of residence in Carlton was significantly related to almost every variable examined: the total number of Italians, their age-structure, their sex composition, their nationality, and period of arrival in Australia all varied significantly according to the particular district of the Carlton area in which they resided. As subsequent field-investigation was to show, these significant differences stemmed partly from the history of Italian settlement in Carlton-North Carlton, but ecological differences within the Carlton area itself also were involved.

Secondly, the territorial composition of Carlton's Italian population was not at all representative of Italy as a whole, and the majority of Italians in the Carlton area had been drawn from quite restricted parts of Italy. Areas, which in Italy accounted for only a negligible fraction of the total population,

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<sup>41</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 4.26$ , d.f. = 4,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

in Carlton and North Carlton constituted remarkable concentrations. Clearly chain-migration and regional concentrations were subjects to be investigated in the field.

Finally, the residential mobility of Italian nationals in Carlton-North Carlton appeared to be very high. Almost one in five persons whose addresses were checked against the Aliens Registration Index had registered a change in address between November 1958 and September 1959. Although no estimate could be made of the mobility of British nationals of former Italian nationality, changes of such magnitude in the Italian national population of this area from one year to the next presented serious methodological difficulties, not to drawing a random sample, but to obtaining a random sample in the field. The prospect that by the time the present survey was conducted as many as one-third of the persons listed in November 1958 as residents of the Carlton area might be living at different addresses was a crucial consideration in the choice of a sampling technique.

## CHAPTER IV

### QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY, II : DRAWING A SAMPLE

"A river cannot, we are told, rise about its source. ...It is equally true that the result of a sampling<sup>1</sup> study is no better than the sample it is based on."

#### General

The preliminary analysis revealed, amongst other things, two important characteristics relating to Italians in the Carlton area. Firstly, this population was not homogeneous but differed significantly with regard to many variables from one district of residence to another. Secondly, Italian nationals, who constituted 82 per cent of the adult Italian population of this area, were residentially highly mobile. Both these findings were relevant to drawing a sample.

The procedure of random sampling attains greatest efficiency when applied to a relatively homogeneous and comparatively stable population.<sup>2</sup> In the present study neither of these conditions was fulfilled, and serious difficulties confronted any attempt to sample a highly variable Italian population in which the residential mobility of the persons comprising it was so high that by the time the survey was actually conducted possibly one-third of them would be living at an address different from that registered by them in November 1958. Since a sampling

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<sup>1</sup>

Darrell Huff, How to Lie with Statistics (London 1954), p.18.

<sup>2</sup>

Moser, Op. cit., p.127.

frame based upon individuals implies that individuals included in a sample must be interviewed, residential mobility imposes considerable methodological strains: persons who have changed their place of residence since their inclusion in the sample must be traced. If they cannot be traced then non-response jeopardizes the validity of the results. In the present study, therefore, some method was needed whereby the effect of high residential mobility, and the non-response it would entail, might be minimized.

#### Sampling frame

The inspection of the addresses by the 4,812 persons in the major universe revealed that a considerable number of these addresses were duplicated. Family units, for example, occupied a single dwelling, and often more than one Italian lived at any given address. Moreover, it was surmised that although individual Italians might be residentially mobile the residences which they occupied changed only to the extent that new buildings were constructed and old buildings demolished.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, it seemed likely that in an area of dense Italian concentration, such as Carlton-North Carlton was, Italians moving out of a particular dwelling might tend to be replaced by other Italians moving in. Also, since more than one Italian was often registered as the same address, one Italian might move out of, but others remain in, the dwelling concerned.<sup>4</sup> These considerations suggested that the

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<sup>3</sup>It was correctly assumed that in a closely-settled area the amount of new building would be negligible. The extent of demolition was, on the other hand, underestimated.

<sup>4</sup>This hypothesis was justified in the field: 21 of the original 95 addresses in the sample had been re-occupied by Italians not registered in the universe.

most effective means of controlling the residential mobility of individual Italians in this area was to reject the idea of sampling individuals, in favour of sampling a relatively stable universe consisting of the addresses at which these persons resided. The persons who were to be interviewed would in this case be, not those Italians registered as resident at these addresses in November 1958, but those who were in occupancy at the time the survey was conducted. Where no Italians resided at the address concerned a random replacement could be made.

The sampling frame from which the Carlton sample was drawn consisted of the 1,533 addresses occupied by Italians in Carlton-North Carlton in November 1958, stratified for the purpose of sampling by district of residence and the number of Italians registered at each address. The choice of these sampling strata was determined by the findings of the preliminary analysis relating to district of residence and the desire to select the right number of individuals in the sample. Since the number of Italians registered at each address varied quite widely, from one to eighteen persons, some account had to be taken of this variation in the sampling procedure. Otherwise it might be that a 6 per cent sample of addresses might yield only a 3 per cent sample of individuals.

#### Sampling method

The Carlton sample was drawn randomly from a stratified universe by the use of uniform sampling-fractions. The optimum size of the sample was fixed at 100 addresses, to allow further investigation of regional concentrations not adequately represented.

The preliminary analysis indicated that even in a random sample of 200 addresses only 26 of these addresses could be expected to contain persons from Vicenza and only 16 persons from Potenza, and these were the two largest regional concentrations. Clearly more detailed information on these areas would be needed in any closer study of chain-migration. To leave scope for such detailed investigation, the size of the random sample was restricted.

The randomly-selected addresses were obtained from two sources, the major universe (Table IV.1) and the minor universe (Table IV.8).<sup>5</sup> To obtain a sample of the required size the major universe was sampled independently on two occasions. Random starting numbers were used,<sup>6</sup> and in the first case sampling began at the eighteenth address, and thereafter every thirty-third address was removed. Sampling proceeded systematically throughout the universe, from single-person addresses in South Carlton to two-person addresses in South Carlton, and so on, through Central Carlton, and into North Carlton. Stratification ensured that the correct number of addresses from each cell was included in the sample. This first sampling-ratio (1/33) supplied 45 addresses. A second sample was drawn by the same general method, except that

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5

This minor universe consisted of British nationals with Italian-sounding names but of indefinite Italian origin. See below, A note on the minor universe.

6

Ronald A. Fisher, and Frank Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research (fifth edition, London 1957), example 11, p.31.



TABLE IV.1

The Original Sample, the Obtained Sample, and the Sampling Frame  
classified by Size of Address and District of Residence

Size of Address and District of Residence	Original Sample	Obtained Sample	Sampling Frame
<u>South Carlton</u>			
One person	4	4	98
Two persons	4	4	76
Three persons	2	2	41
Four persons	2	2	35
Five or six persons	3	3	41
Seven or more persons	2	2	29
<u>Total</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>320</u>
<u>Central Carlton</u>			
One person	10	10	149
Two persons	7	7	109
Three persons	6	6	95
Four persons	5	5	62
Five or six persons	4	4	67
Seven or more persons	2	2	37
<u>Total</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>519</u>
<u>North Carlton</u>			
One person	8	8	149
Two persons	10	10	160
Three persons	8	8	134
Four persons	5	5	90
Five or six persons	6	6	104
Seven or more persons	3	3	57
<u>Total</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>694</u>
<u>Carlton-North Carlton</u>			
One person	22	22	396
Two persons	21	21	345
Three persons	16	16	270
Four persons	12	12	187
Five or six persons	13	13	212
Seven or more persons	7	7	123
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>1,533</u>

"Size of address" refers to the number of adult Italians registered at a single address.

in this case the random starting-number was eight, and the sampling-ratio  $1/32$ , since the universe was now 45 addresses smaller than before. This second sample yielded 46 addresses. These two samples were then merged to provide the final sample of 91 addresses from the major universe. Seventeen of these addresses were located in South Carlton, thirty four in Central Carlton, and forty in North Carlton, representing 5.9 per cent of all addresses in the major universe.

To maintain the size of the sample in the event of non-response, two supplementary samples consisting of eighteen addresses each were also drawn. One address was selected randomly from each of the eighteen cells by the use of random numbers. Replacement in the field was systematic, and addresses of a particular size in a particular district were replaced by addresses with these same characteristics. No attempt was made to match the characteristics of the respective Italian residents registered at these addresses. Replacement served only to maintain the size and the composition of the original sample.

#### Representativeness of the sample

Before the findings of the Carlton can be reliably assessed it is necessary to show to what extent the sample was representative of the universe as a whole. Although an accurate statement of its representativeness is limited by the absence of external evidence on the Italian population of the Carlton area, the possible sources, and likely effects, of bias in the sample can be indicated. Bias may have arisen from the sampling method,

non-response, or the sampling frame itself.

Bias due to the sampling method. When a sample is drawn randomly from a universe of individuals it can be assumed that all individuals in the universe had equal chances of selection. When, however, individuals are selected on the basis of the addresses at which they reside, this assumption does not hold, since it is not permissible to assume that the individuals resident at a particular address have in fact been selected independently of one another. Thus at an address occupied by a family group, the age of a husband tends to be related to that of his wife, his date of arrival in Australia to hers, his place of birth, and so on for almost every characteristic, and for almost every resident at that address. This sort of argument holds for all types of residences, even boarding-houses, where the occupants have one common characteristic, that of not living in a kinship group. The characteristics of the residents of a particular dwelling, then, tend to be interdependent, and the characteristics displayed by one resident partially determines those displayed by other residents. In a sufficiently large random sample this sort of bias would be reduced to negligible proportions, since all persons (hobos excluded) reside in dwellings and therefore have equal chances of being included in a random sample of addresses. The question in the present survey was whether the Carlton sample of addresses had been large enough to provide a random sample of individuals.

Exhaustive statistical tests of significance (Table IV.2) comparing the goodness of fit between the original sample and the

TABLE IV.2

Tests of Significance Comparing the Goodness of Fit of the  
Original Sample with The Major Universe.

Characteristic	Value of $\chi^2$	Degrees of Freedom	Probability
<u>Sex Composition</u>			
South Carlton	0.964	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
Central Carlton	0.201	1	$0.70 > p > 0.50$
North Carlton	0.752	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
<u>Nationality</u>			
Males -			
South Carlton	1.299	1	$0.30 > p > 0.20$
Central Carlton	0.860	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
North Carlton	1.680	1	$0.20 > p > 0.10$
Females -			
South Carlton	0.871	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
Central Carlton	0.116	1	$0.80 > p > 0.70$
North Carlton	0.401	1	$0.70 > p > 0.50$
<u>Conjugal Condition</u>			
Italian National Males -			
South Carlton	0.668	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
Central Carlton	0.125	1	$0.80 > p > 0.70$
North Carlton	0.894	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
Italian National Females -			
South Carlton	0.301	1	$0.70 > p > 0.50$
Central Carlton	0.041	1	$0.90 > p > 0.80$
North Carlton	0.876	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
<u>Age Structure</u>			
Italian National Males -			
South Carlton	1.628	2	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
Central Carlton	2.142	2	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
North Carlton	0.733	2	$0.70 > p > 0.50$
Italian National Females -			
South Carlton-Central Carlton	0.527	2	$0.80 > p > 0.70$
North Carlton	1.802	2	$0.50 > p > 0.50$

(concluded over --

Table IV.2 (concluded)

Characteristic	Value of $\chi^2$	Degrees of Freedom	Probability
<u>Period of Residence</u>			
Italian National Males -			
South Carlton	0.207	1	0.70 > p > 0.50
Central Carlton	0.008	1	0.98 > p > 0.95
North Carlton	0.022	1	0.90 > p > 0.80
Italian National Females -			
South Carlton-Central Carlton	2.235	1	0.20 > p > 0.10
North Carlton	3.683	1	0.10 > p > 0.05
Naturalized Males -			
Carlton-North Carlton	0.204	1	0.70 > p > 0.50
Naturalized Females -			
Carlton-North Carlton	0.003	1	0.98 > p > 0.95
<u>Period of Naturalization</u>			
Males -			
Carlton-North Carlton	0.445	2	0.90 > p > 0.80
Females -			
Carlton-North Carlton	0.712	1	0.50 > p > 0.30

universe were carried out. These tests examined all the variables for which data was available and indicated that with respect to all the variables considered the distribution of the original sample did not differ significantly from that of the universe. From this it can be concluded that the sampling method did not introduce any measurable bias into the sample.

Bias due to non-response. In the original sample of 91 addresses only 65 were actually obtained in the field. In the remaining 26 cases replacements were necessary, but not all these replacements can be considered as non-response.<sup>7</sup>

Six replacements in the original sample were necessitated by the demolition of the residence concerned. All six of these demolished residences had been in Carlton, where some demolition had occurred to allow the expansion of industry and commerce from the city proper. More frequently, however, demolished dwellings were sub-standard houses cleared as a result of the slum reclamation activities of the Victorian Housing Commission. At the time the survey was conducted, six reclamation areas in Carlton had been declared in Canning-, Faraday-, High-, Palmerston-, and Reeves-streets and by 31st May 1960 121 of the 183 dwellings involved had already been demolished.<sup>8</sup> Although a priori reasoning might suggest that the persons who had resided at these demolished dwellings

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7

This discussion of non-response follows the principles laid down by Moser, Op. cit., p.127 et seq.

8

Interview with officers of the Slum Reclamation section, Housing Commission of Victoria, September 1960.

represented a special section of the Carlton population, in that they had occupied sub-standard dwellings, it does not follow that their exclusion introduced a bias in the representativeness of the sample. Indeed, their exclusion cannot be properly considered as non-response at all. The residents of demolished dwellings were not denied representation in the sample: they could not be included for the very reason that they no longer constituted part of Carlton's population. In short, there had been a structural change in the population of this area since the construction of the sampling frame in November 1958.

Similar reasoning must be applied to substitutions necessitated by fictitious or non-existent addresses,<sup>9</sup> which were responsible for four replacements in the original sample. These addresses fall outside the Carlton universe and their inclusion in the original sample represented an inaccuracy in the sampling frame, not bias in the sample.<sup>10</sup>

One address in the original sample was unoccupied at the time of interviewing. Its Italian residents had moved in December 1959 and no new residents had taken up occupancy by June 1960, two months after the initial visit to this address had been made.

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9

A fictitious address was defined as one at which the Italians registered had probably never in fact resided. Usually the present occupants had been in continuous residence for some years and denied that the Italians concerned had ever lived there. Two cases where this occurred were replaced and not counted as non-response. A non-existent address was one which did not exist, that is, there was no dwelling at the address indicated.

10

Moser, loc. cit.

This address was also replaced. Again this does not constitute non-response and must be considered in the same category as demolished houses and fictitious addresses (Table IV.3).

Correcting for initial supplementations due to these causes, we derive a non-response rate of 16 per cent: fifteen of the original ninety one addresses covered did not contain any Italian residents at the time of interviewing. This non-response rate is relatively high, but not alarmingly so. Moser gives an average non-response rate as between 10 and 20 per cent.<sup>11</sup> In all cases non-response was caused by the residential mobility of the Italians concerned. In only two instances were refusals encountered, and in neither case was supplementation necessary. In the first instance the interviewee refused midway through the interview, after most of the information had already been collected. In the second, before an outright refusal was given, several visits had been made to the address concerned, during the course of which a considerable amount of information was elicited. The remainder, mainly dates, was completed from alien registration records.

As Table IV.4 shows there was a significant relationship between non-response and the number of Italian residents registered at an address. Residential mobility was significantly greater among Italians registered at single-person addresses.<sup>12</sup> Since most of these Italians had been boarding at these addresses, their high

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<sup>11</sup>

ibid., p.131.

<sup>12</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 11.04$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .



TABLE IV.3

Initial Supplementation of Addresses in the Original Sample  
Classified by Cause of Supplementation and District of Residence

Cause of Supplementation	District of Residence			TOTAL
	South Carlton	Central Carlton	North Carlton	
Person(s) Not Known at This Address	1	3	3	7
Person(s) Known, but Now at Different Address	2	4 <sup>**</sup>	2	8
Dwelling Demolished, or No Longer Used as Dwelling <sup>***</sup>	4	3	-	7
Non-existent address	1	2	1	4
Total	8	12	6	26

<sup>\*\*</sup> Including one vacant dwelling.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Including dwellings no longer used for residential purposes.

TABLE IV.4

Non-response in the Original Sample Classified by Size of  
Address and District of Residence

District of Residence	Size of Address			TOTAL
	1	2	7 and over	
South Carlton	3	-	1	4
Central Carlton	2	4	-	6
North Carlton	5	-	-	5
Carlton-North Carlton	10	4	1	15 <sup>**</sup>

<sup>\*\*</sup> 22 replacements were necessary to obtain these 15 addresses. 16 of these replacements were used in obtaining 10 single-person addresses, 5 for 4 two-person addresses, and 1 for 1 address containing 7 and over Italians.

mobility is not surprising. The relatively high mobility of persons resident at two-person addresses is interesting. All four addresses concerned were located in Central Carlton, which contains numerous one-storeyed, single-fronted dwellings in dilapidated condition. Such dwellings were apparently used by these Italians as temporary accommodation only. Three of these four replacements involved houses of this type and in this condition.

Since non-response must be assumed to have been greatest among the most mobile members of this Italian population, non-response inevitably introduced a bias in the sample. Non-respondents, who were residentially mobile, were replaced by respondents, who were non-mobile. Thus there were more, but not significantly more, Italian nationals in the obtained than in the original sample (Table IV.5), and the preliminary analysis the characteristics of naturalized persons differed significantly from those displayed by Italian nationals. Two findings, however, suggest that this bias was not of undue weight. Firstly, in 23 per cent of the addresses included in the obtained sample (21/91) Italians moving out of an Italian-occupied address were replaced by other Italians moving into the same address. Thus some representation in the sample was afforded to residentially mobile persons. Secondly, exhaustive tests of significance comparing the goodness of fit of the obtained sample with that of the universe did not reveal any significant differences with respect to the variables examined (Table IV.5). That no significant differences were observed does not, however, imply that no significant differences existed, and it is emphasized

TABLE IV.5

Tests of Significance Comparing the Goodness of Fit of the  
Obtained Sample with the Major Universe

Characteristic	Value of $\chi^2$	Degrees of Freedom	Probability
<u>Sex Composition</u>			
South Carlton	1.593	1	$0.30 > p > 0.20$
Central Carlton	0.597	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
North Carlton	1.098	1	$0.30 > p > 0.20$
<u>Nationality</u>			
Males -			
South Carlton	2.966	1	$0.10 > p > 0.05$
Central Carlton	0.004	1	$0.95 > p > 0.90$
North Carlton	2.497	1	$0.20 > p > 0.10$
Females -			
South Carlton	0.116	1	$0.80 > p > 0.70$
Central Carlton	0.189	1	$0.70 > p > 0.50$
North Carlton	0.039	1	$0.90 > p > 0.80$
<u>Conjugal Condition</u>			
Italian National Males -			
South Carlton	0.688	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
Central Carlton	0.540	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
North Carlton	0.485	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
Italian National Females -			
South Carlton	0.109	1	$0.80 > p > 0.70$
Central Carlton	1.005	1	$0.50 > p > 0.30$
North Carlton	0.332	1	$0.70 > p > 0.50$
<u>Age Structure</u>			
Italian National Males -			
South Carlton	0.342	2	$0.90 > p > 0.80$
Central Carlton	3.515	2	$0.20 > p > 0.10$
North Carlton	0.883	2	$0.70 > p > 0.50$
Italian National Females -			
South Carlton-Central			
Carlton	2.793	2	$0.30 > p > 0.20$
North Carlton	1.133	2	$0.70 > p > 0.50$

(concluded over --

Table IV.5 (concluded)

Characteristic	Value of $\chi^2$	Degrees of Freedom	Probability
<u>Period of Residence</u>			
Italian National Males -			
South Carlton	2.049	1	$0.20 > p > 0.10$
Central Carlton	0.0002	1	$0.99 > p > 0.98$
North Carlton	0.022	1	$0.90 > p > 0.80$
Italian National Females -			
South Carlton-Central Carlton	1.416	1	$0.30 > p > 0.20$
North Carlton	1.637	1	$0.30 > p > 0.20$
Naturalized Males -			
Carlton-North Carlton	0.325	1	$0.70 > p > 0.50$
Naturalized Females -			
Carlton-North Carlton	0.030	1	$0.90 > p > 0.80$
<u>Period of Naturalization</u>			
Males -			
Carlton-North Carlton	0.706	2	$0.80 > p > 0.70$
Females -			
Carlton-North Carlton	1.492	1	$0.30 > p > 0.20$

that non-response inevitably introduces bias into a sample: non-respondents differ from respondents in at least one regard -- their non-response. That the exhaustive tests of significance failed to detect any measurable discrepancies offers merely prima facie evidence that the bias so introduced was not of critical importance.<sup>13</sup>

Bias resulting from the sampling frame. Bias in the Carlton sample resulted from limitations inherent in the sampling frame. This frame consisted of a list of addresses occupied in November 1958 by Italians, but the obtained sample consisted of persons who in 1960 were resident at these addresses. Thus although the frame was fixed in time at November 1958, the population to which it related was continually changing. That the sampling frame could take no account of such changes introduced two related sources of bias. Persons who had been living at a particular address in the Carlton area in November 1958 but who had since moved to another address in the same area not previously occupied by Italians could not be represented at all in the sample. Secondly, Italians who had not been resident in Carlton-North Carlton in November 1958 but had taken up residence there since that time could be represented only to the extent that occupied a dwelling previously occupied by Italians.

With regard to the first source of bias, no information is

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<sup>13</sup>

Moser, Op. cit., pp.127-129.

available on the number of Italians who between November 1958 and 1960 moved into addresses not previously occupied by Italians. Since nothing is known of the extent of this movement or of the characteristics of the persons involved in it, it must be assumed that this movement derived equally from all sections of the Italian population. If this is accepted, then such a movement would not have affected the representativeness of the sample but merely the proportion of the total universe which it represented. Thus if in 1960 the Italian population of the Carlton area had increased, but in such a way as to maintain its 1958 composition, then the sample would have in effect represented a smaller proportion of this total. It would nonetheless have constituted a representative sample.

That some but not others of those Italians who took up residence in the Carlton area after November 1958 were included in the obtained sample probably introduced a more serious source of bias, since the persons included would have tended to be connected in some way with persons already resident in this area. Thus dependants or relatives of persons already represented in the sample would have tended to be included but not persons who had no prior connexion with Italians resident in Carlton or North Carlton. This tendency would have magnified the bias introduced by non-response, by over-representing less mobile groups. In order to gain some insight into the probable weight of such a bias, the number of Italians taking up residence in the Carlton area since November 1958 was estimated and compared with the number actually observed in the obtained sample. This estimate could be made only

for Italian nationals over the age of fifteen years, for whom alien registration figures are available.

At 30th June 1958, the last date on which figures relating to the distribution of adult Italian nationals by federal electorates in Victoria are available, 22 per cent of these Italian nationals in Victoria were registered as resident in Scullin (Table IV.6). This proportion had been rising steadily since 1956 but had not in the post-war period exceeded 25 per cent of all Italian nationals in the State.

Assumption 1 : By 30th June 1959 the proportion of adult Italian nationals in Scullin had risen to 23 per cent of the State total, and by 30 June 1960 to 24 per cent. On the basis of the alien registration figures published by the Immigration Department it can thus be estimated that at these dates the number of Italian nationals in Scullin was 12,112 persons and 13,115 persons respectively.<sup>14</sup>

On the basis of these estimated increases it can be further calculated that in November 1958, when the District Index of Aliens was discontinued, 11,550 adult Italian nationals were resident in Scullin. As the present analysis showed, 3,951 of these lived in Carlton-North Carlton.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>

Figures relating to the number of adult Italian nationals registered on the Aliens Registration Index of each State are published quarterly. Australia, Department of Immigration, Quarterly Statistical Bulletin.

<sup>15</sup>

Although South Carlton fell within the boundaries of the federal electorate of Melbourne, aliens resident in this part of Carlton were almost always registered in Scullin. Thus of the 706 adult Italian nationals registered as resident in South Carlton on the District Index in November 1958, only five had been correctly entered in the Melbourne electorate, and two of these five lived in Scullin anyway. The remaining 702 persons were all classified as residents of Scullin.

TABLE IV.6

District Index of Aliens : Adult Italian Nationals by Metropolitan Federal Electorates

Electorate	Date								
	31-12-50	31-12-51	30-6-52	31-12-53	31-12-54	31-12-55	30-6-56	30-6-57	30-6-58
Balaclava	81	99	131	159	187	220	331	350	565
Batman	123	307	354	598	715	1,081	1,187	1,527	2,848
Chisolm	37	42	76	132	159	247	386	412	321
Darebin	66	171	278	408	493	969	1,098	1,297	1,216
Fawkner	85	152	185	213	255	385	512	550	828
Flinders	126	181	231	321	318	376	408	420	374
Gellibrand	64	216	429	762	918	1,365	1,614	1,724	2,571
Henty	50	107	133	229	310	350	472	450	529
Higgins	44	68	87	158	210	243	301	268	306
Higginbotham	103	181	218	272	270	390	572	575	368
Isaacs	119	204	459	355	363	398	527	500	286
Kooyong	55	116	146	190	242	328	482	452	479
Maribyrnong	91	387	705	941	1,257	1,846	2,120	2,250	2,570
Malbourne	821	1,635	2,438	2,482	2,677	3,114	3,334	3,486	4,969
Melbourne Ports	110	318	385	572	427	768	943	962	1,141
Scullin	1,494	3,751	4,593	5,568	6,172	6,999	8,026	9,698	11,269
Wills	63	258	441	623	994	1,420	1,537	1,600	2,285
Yarra	169	502	781	1,088	1,454	1,945	2,145	2,340	3,967
VICTORIA	7,414	14,936	20,855	26,857	30,234	37,409	43,808	48,998	51,321



Assumption 2 : The proportion of adult Italian nationals in Scullin who lived in the Carlton area remained constant at 34.2 per cent (3,951/11,550). Thus we can estimate that in June 1960 4,486 adult Italian nationals were resident in Carlton-North Carlton, an increase of 535 persons since November 1958.

This increase, however, represents a net increase and does not indicate the number of persons who arrived in this area after November 1958. Between November 1958 and June 1960 this Italian population had been decreased by the naturalization of aliens over the age of fifteen, the deaths of Italian nationals over fifteen, and the movement of adult Italian nationals out of this area to other parts of Victoria, interstate or overseas. During the same time this population had been increased by the new registration of Italian nationals turning sixteen, and the movement into the Carlton area of Italian nationals previously resident elsewhere.

It is improbable that mortality had much effect on the adult Italian national population of this area, since as already mentioned the older persons tended to be naturalized. So far as decreases due to naturalizations are concerned, the obtained sample contained only eight adult Italians who had become naturalized after November 1958. This number was almost exactly balanced by the number of new alien registrations during this period: nine Italian nationals had their sixteenth birthday between November 1958 and June 1960.

This leaves only the residential mobility of Italians in the Carlton area to be considered. This, as shown in the

preliminary analysis, was an important factor affecting the Italian population of this area.

Assumption 3 : The residential mobility rate of 20.5 per cent per annum observed for adult Italian nationals in the Carlton area between November 1958 and September 1959 (see above Table III.11) remained constant.<sup>16</sup> The application of this third assumption suggests that of the estimated 4,486 adult Italian nationals in the Carlton area on 30th June 1960 43 per cent (1,927 persons) had not been resident in Carlton or North Carlton in November 1958.

In the obtained sample only 60, or 30 per cent, of the 202 Italian nationals sixteen years of age or over had taken up residence in Carlton or North Carlton since November 1958. This proportion was significantly lower than the expected.<sup>17</sup>

All the available evidence, then, suggests that the Carlton sample contained a bias. Although two-thirds of the expected number of new residents had been included, it was highly probable that the third not afforded any representation differed significantly from these others. This bias, moreover, tended in the same direction as the bias introduced by non-response, in

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<sup>16</sup>

This annual rate of residential mobility has been calculated from the figures relating to the ten-months period, November 1958 to September 1959, and only mobility out of the Carlton area has been considered. As mentioned in the discussion on Table III.11, 30 per cent of persons who changed their address during this period moved to another address in the Carlton area.

<sup>17</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 14.51$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

that the more stable elements of this Italian population were over-represented. In the final assessment of the weight of this bias, however, it should be mentioned that if the rate of residential mobility assumed in Assumption 3 had been 15 per cent instead of 20.5 per cent per annum, the number of new residents contained in the sample would not have differed significantly from expectation.<sup>18</sup>

A note on the minor universe

Eight addresses were randomly selected from the minor universe comprised of the addresses of British nationals with Italian-sounding names but of indefinite Italian origin who were not resident at an address already occupied by a person of present or former Italian nationality. A sampling fraction of one in sixteen was used, to afford comparability with the sample drawn from the major universe. The general sampling method was identical in both cases, and the minor universe was stratified on the same principle as the major universe. Subsequent field-enquiry revealed that only four of these eight addresses contained persons of Italian origin. The other persons with Italian-sounding names turned out to be a British-Australian family of "distant French origin", a Maltese family, and two British-Australian females who had been married to Italians. One was now divorced, and refused to come to the door; her mother transmitted this piece of information. The other was now widowed, and although quite happy to be interviewed

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<sup>18</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 2.06$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

she knew nothing of her late husband's antecedents except that he had been born "somewhere in northern Italy". These two females, therefore, together with the Maltese and British-Australian family, were not included in the survey results. The findings of the Carlton survey discussed below relate only to the 95 addresses at which Italians were resident, 91 of which were supplied by the major universe, and 4 by the minor universe.

Tables IV.7 and IV.8 summarise the sampling frame used for the minor universe and the distribution of the original and obtained samples with this universe. Sex was the only variable available for testing the goodness of fit of these samples with the universe. The distribution by sex of neither sample differed significantly from that of the universe.<sup>19</sup> Four replacements in the original sample were necessary, to supplement British nationals who had moved to another address.

#### Summary

In an attempt to reduce the effect of the high residential mobility of Italians the idea of sampling individuals was rejected in favour of sampling addresses. Italians registered as resident in Carlton or North Carlton were classified according to their stated place of residence, and the addresses so obtained, stratified by district of residence and by the number of Italians registered as resident at each address, provided the sampling frame from which the Carlton sample was drawn. Two sampling frames were constructed,

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<sup>19</sup>

Test of significance: Original sample,  $X^2 = 0.08$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.80 > p > 0.70$ . Obtained sample,  $X^2 = 0.67$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

TABLE IV.7

The Sampling Frame of the Minor Universe

District of Residence	Size of Address					TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	
South Carlton	33	11	1	2	-	47
Central Carlton	22	12	-	2	1	37
North Carlton	29	18	5	1	-	53
Carlton-North Carlton	84	41	6	5	1	137

TABLE IV.8Distribution by Sex of the Original and Obtained Samples Compared  
With That of the Minor Universe

Sex	Original Sample	Obtained Sample	Minor Universe
Males	6	8	113
Females	6	10	96
Persons	12	18	209

one consisting of addresses registered by persons of definite or probable Italian origin (the major universe) and the other of addresses of British nationals with Italian-sounding names but of indefinite Italian origin (the minor universe).

Although this sampling method reduced non-response due to residential mobility remarkably, non-response nevertheless introduced a bias into the sample. This bias, which favoured the inclusion of the less mobile members of this Italian population, was accentuated by a second bias tending in the same direction in the sampling frame itself. Thus the sampling frame consisted of a 1958 list of addresses occupied by Italians in this area, whereas the Italians actually interviewed in the sample were the 1960 occupants of these dwellings. Persons who took up residence in Carlton or North Carlton after November 1958 could be included only to the extent that they took up residence in dwellings previously occupied by Italians. This favoured the inclusion of persons with a prior connexion with Italians already resident in this area, who again tended to be the less mobile members of this population.

That the bias so introduced was not excessive is suggested by two factors. No significant difference could be found between the obtained sample and the universe, although exhaustive tests relating to twenty nine aspects of their respective distributions were applied. While the absence of observed statistically significant differences does imply that no such differences existed, it does offer at least *prima facie* evidence that such discrepancies were minimal. Subsequent analysis also suggested

that two-thirds of the Italians estimated to have taken up residence in the Carlton area since November 1958 were in fact included in the sample. Although non-response and limitations inherent in the sampling frame favoured the inclusion of residentially stable persons, it should be remembered that in 21 of the 95 original addresses Italians leaving a particular address in the Carlton area were in fact replaced by other Italians not registered at that address in 1958. Thus some residentially mobile persons were represented in the sample.

## CHAPTER V

### QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY, III : SOURCES AND METHODS

#### Sources of data

Like most social surveys this study of Italians in the Carlton area utilized a variety of sources, ranging from official statistics to participant observation. The initial stages of the research project relied heavily upon quantitative data held by the Department of Immigration and relating to aliens of Italian nationality and naturalized persons of former Italian nationality. These sources were also used in the later stages of the research, to check data collected in the field. By far the most important source of the information discussed in following chapters, however, was derived from the random sample of addresses, the selection of which has already been discussed. Persons of Italian origin or connexion resident at these addresses were interviewed during an eight-months period of field-work extending from February to October 1960.<sup>1</sup>

Identical information was sought from all these randomly selected informants. This information was restricted mainly to

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#### 1

At two addresses, however, it was impossible to interview all the Italian occupants. In both cases the persons concerned occupied separate flats in the same dwelling, one upstairs and the other downstairs, but relationships were such between these separate households that the second could not be interviewed without antagonizing the one already interviewed. In both these cases only members of the downstairs household were interviewed, since they were the ones who opened the door.



data amenable to quantitative analysis, although details relating to sponsorship and chain-migration, occupational and residential mobility, and relatives resident in Australia was sought. Little of this data was systematically analysed for the purpose of the present study. No questionnaire was used during the actual interview. A conceptual framework had been drawn up prior to the commencement of field-work and this served as a guide. The conceptual framework was based on that used by Dr. Jerzy Zubrzycki in his study of immigrants in the Latrobe Valley, Victoria<sup>2</sup> but incorporated modifications to suit the needs of a study devoted entirely to Italians. The information obtained from interviews was transferred to personal data sheets<sup>3</sup> after the interview had been completed, coded, and punched onto hand-sorting cards. Four cards were used, each identical with regard to general structure but different in colour and in the coding-system used. Blue and red cards were used for the personal cards of males and females respectively, a green card for married couples enumerated together, and a yellow card for each household.<sup>4</sup> These cards provided the data presented in Chapters VIII, IX, and VII respectively.

In addition to these randomly selected informants other Italians resident in Carlton-North Carlton, and elsewhere in the

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<sup>2</sup>

This survey was conducted by Dr. Jerzy Zubrzycki, Senior Fellow in Sociology at the Australian National University, January-March 1959.

<sup>3</sup>

This personal data sheet is appended in Appendix D.

<sup>4</sup>

See also Appendix D.

metropolitan area, were interviewed. These interviewees were mainly persons from the Upper Agri Basin (Potenza) or the Altipiano of Asiago (Vicenza), two areas which had contributed very many Italian migrants to these two suburbs. Some of these persons were brought to the writer's attention by randomly selected interviewees, who mentioned them as key figures in the migration from these areas. Others had been included in the random sample itself. All these key figures were interviewed several times and ten family trees were obtained. Seven of these genealogical tables have been included as an appendix.<sup>5</sup> This use of the genealogical method was experimental in the study of immigrant groups in Australia, based on the hypothesis that kinship was a determinant of chain-migration. This hypothesis was validated by the findings of the present survey, and the genealogical tables proved valuable not merely as a means of understanding the pattern of Italian kinship but also an important tool in constructing the history of past migration from these parts of Italy. These selected informants supplied the basic data used in Chapter X, data which was verified wherever possible by reference to passenger-lists of migrant vessels arriving in Australian ports, street-directories, electoral rolls, and indexes held by the Immigration Department in Melbourne and Canberra.

Thirdly, the marriage records of the Carlton parish church, the Church of the Sacred Heart, were analysed and details relating

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<sup>5</sup>  
Appendix E.

to all marriages involving Italians extracted.<sup>6</sup> This information comprised the names, addresses, places of birth, ages at marriage, and occupations of 4,785 couples, at least one of whom was of Italian birth, married in this church between 10th May 1881 and 30th June 1960. Insufficient time was available for the complete analysis of this data, and accordingly only broad figures have been used in this work, to illustrate the remarkable increase in the number of Italians being married in this church in the post-war period.

Finally, some historical exploration was required to describe adequately the ecological setting of the present survey and to elucidate the pattern of Italian settlement in this area. This was perhaps the most difficult task attempted in this study, since almost nothing is written about the Carlton area. No population statistics were available in published form, although the colonial censuses contained useful information on the population of electoral districts. These colonial censuses, together with historical and literary sources and unpublished census data, provided the main sources of information for Chapter VI.

#### Field-work methods

The random sample was interviewed between February and October 1960. During this period the writer and his wife lived in Carlton, in a flat centrally situated immediately behind the

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The Church of the Sacred Heart (Carlton), "Marriage Records", 10th May 1881 to 30th June 1960.

main Carlton shopping-centre. This flat had been built by an Italian contractor, who occupied an adjacent flat. Italians also occupied the flat above and the other neighbouring house. This proximity to the field of study allowed the writer to make many observations which could not be made in any other way.<sup>7</sup>

Interviews were conducted mainly at night, and only six households were interviewed during the day. Interviews varied in duration from half an hour to two and a half hours, but most lasted one and a half to two hours. No preliminary contacts with households<sup>8</sup> were sought, on the principle that this might lead to refusals by allowing interviewees to reconsider the possible disadvantages of being interviewed. Every attempt was made to conduct interviews immediately after the first<sup>CONTACT</sup>, although in twenty two of the ninety five addresses visited a second appointment had to be made anyway.

The support of the Italian press was sought in publicizing the survey, and reports appeared in Il Globo and La Fiamma.<sup>9</sup> These reports seemed to have little obvious effect in introducing the survey to the Italian residents of Carlton-North Carlton, and in only three interviews did the informants mention that they had read about the study in these newspapers. In all other cases the writer

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F.L. Jones, The Italian Population of Carlton (in The Study of Immigrants in Australia, ed. C.A. Price, Canberra 1960), passim.

8

Since except for the cases mentioned above all addresses contained only one household, the word household will hereafter be used as equivalent to address.

<sup>9</sup> Il Globo (Melbourne), 2 marzo 1960, La Fiamma (Sydney), 6 aprile 1960.

was a complete stranger to the persons being interviewed, and it was necessary to explain the purpose of the study he was making. Here the book-method was used.<sup>10</sup> Informants were told that the writer was collecting information for a book he was writing for the University on Italian migration; that for this reason he wanted to talk to one hundred Italian families in Carlton and North Carlton; that he had already spoken with many families and that he would like very much to speak with the informant, to learn a little more about the Italian settlement in this area. In the event of his identity being questioned, the writer carried three letters of introduction, from His Excellency the Italian Ambassador (Dr. E. Prato), from an Italian priest attached to the Carlton parish church (Fr. T. Borriero), and from the Acting Head of the Department of Demography (Dr. C.A. Price). These formal means of introduction were in fact seldom used, except in the very first interviews. Thereafter the writer's growing fund of local knowledge proved adequate, and frequently it was possible to mention the name of a neighbour or a passano already interviewed to the next informant. This credential was very useful and gained admission to every house visited.

Although admission was granted to every household visited in the Carlton survey, two refusals were encountered. This refusal

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Sister M. Inez Hilger, An Ethnographic Field Method (in Method and Perspective in Anthropology, ed. R.F. Spencer, Minneapolis 1954), p.32.

rate was very low, for several reasons. Firstly, interviews were usually conducted at night. This meant that the male head of household was usually at home, and thus the woman of the house was not so reticent as she might have been had she been alone. Secondly, when interviews were conducted at night the writer was always accompanied by his wife. This proved a very important stratagem, and was in fact suggested by one of the first interviewees. Several subsequent informants confessed during the course of the interview that they would have been unwilling to admit an unaccompanied, and unknown, man, since such unheralded visits often preceded a house-breaking during the day. Thirdly, both the writer and his wife learned to speak Italian prior to going into the field. This ability to converse in Italian was not merely helpful in establishing rapport: without it many interviews could have been conducted only with difficulty. Fifty five of the ninety five interviews were conducted almost entirely in Italian. Fourthly, the interviewing method used was as informal and as non-directive as possible. Interview schedules were not used at all, and although notes were taken in the early interviews this was also dispensed with after the fifteenth interviewee had refused to continue the interview, on the grounds that the writer was "asking too many questions" and writing the answers down. Thereafter no notes were taken during interviews, except to <sup>down</sup> jot/a detail with the permission of the informant, and the number of questions asked were strictly limited. So far as practicable the interview took the form of a casual conversation. In more than one case this non-directive

technique<sup>11</sup> was so successful that the writer, having completed the interview to his satisfaction, was on the point of leaving when the interviewee broke off the conversation to apologize for having talked so much and not allowing the writer to ask any questions. Finally, there was the fact that the writer and his wife lived in Carlton during the period of field-work. Apart from the opportunity for participant observation and the convenience for interviewing that this proximity to the field of study offered, it provided a means of identification between the interviewer and the interviewee. They were after all sharing a common experience by living in the same area, and to be able to describe where they lived in Carlton, and to bemoan the high rents, all helped to establish the bona fides of these new visitors.

These were some of the factors which made the Carlton survey a success. The sine qua non, however, was the unexpected generosity and hospitality shown by the Italian residents of Carlton and North Carlton. There were some "unpleasant" interviews, but in a random sample this is to be expected, and these few experiences were far outweighed by unsolicited and well-nigh universal hospitality. Almost every household insisted on serving supper, even where there were no women in the house, and very often an invitation to make a second visit was made. One Italian, a man in his sixties, even offered his services as interpreter for the rest of the survey.

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11

Carl R. Rogers, Counseling and Psychotherapy : Newer Concepts in Practice (Boston 1942).

Perhaps one reason for this unexpected hospitality might have been that the writer and his wife were often the first Australians ever to have paid these Italians a social call. Many indeed thought it quite incredible that these visitors of theirs were Australians at all. If they were then why did they visit Italians in their houses and why did they speak Italian? The questions, "Is your wife German?" and "Is your father Italian?" were frequently asked. Many interviewees expressed the view that the writer and his wife did not "look like Australians". Italians in Carlton and North Carlton have little to do with their British-Australian neighbours. As one Italian said: "I try to say 'good morning' to my neighbour, but I am shy that I do not speak very good English -- if only he would say 'buon giorno'." One regret still felt by the writer is that he was unable to find time to make some of those second visits. Even so it may not be too much to hope that the Carlton survey went a little way towards closing the social distance between the Italian immigrant and the native Australian.



## CHAPTER VI

### CARLTON : THE PROFILE OF A SUBURB

"A 10-year plan costing £50 million has been drawn up by the Housing Minister, Mr. Petty, to clear and redevelop Melbourne's slums. It would affect between 40,000 and 50,000 people living in eight inner suburbs, says Mr. Petty in a special report issued today. The suburbs are: North Melbourne, Carlton, Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond, Prahran, South Melbourne and Port Melbourne. 'These people,' says Mr. Petty, 'are living under wretched, sordid, verminous conditions in 1000 acres of slums.'<sup>1</sup>

#### General

Chapters I to V have been concerned with the presentation of background material against which the relevance and value of a detailed study of the Italian population of an inner-suburban area of Melbourne can be assessed. In this preliminary analysis it was shown that the Italian population of the Carlton area could not be regarded as a homogeneous aggregate, since its members displayed significantly different characteristics according to the particular district of Carlton in which they lived: district of residence was significantly related to nationality, sex, conjugal condition, age, period of residence in Australia, and period of naturalization. Field investigation showed that these associations were explicable in terms of the history of Carlton-North Carlton and the pattern of Italian settlement in these two suburbs.

To obtain any information, statistical or otherwise, on the original or subsequent inhabitants of Carlton-North Carlton

is difficult. Urban growth in Australia has tended to receive little more than incidental historical or sociological attention, and so far as Melbourne is concerned only one authentic work on the metropolis and the nature of its formation exists.<sup>2</sup> A further difficulty is that, while there are a few histories of municipalities within the Melbourne metropolitan area,<sup>3</sup> Carlton and North Carlton have never had an independent municipal existence but have from their beginnings been a part of the City of Melbourne. The history of Carlton forms part of the history of the City itself, a history which has yet to be written.<sup>4</sup> In the late colonial censuses, statistics relating to municipal wards and electoral districts were published in some detail. Although it is difficult to justify electoral and municipal boundaries with postal districts, it is possible from these figures to derive satisfactory evidence on the population of the area under study. Since more recent official statistics relating to these suburbs do not exist, to find out anything about the population of these suburbs it is necessary to

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2

James Grant and Geoffrey Serle, The Melbourne Scene 1803-1956 (Melbourne 1957).

3

John Butler Cooper, The History of Prahran From Its First Settlement to a City (Melbourne 1912).

\_\_\_\_\_, The History of St. Kilda From Its First Settlement to a City (2 vols, Melbourne 1931).

Charles Daley, The History of South Melbourne From the Foundation of Port Phillip to the Year 1938 (Melbourne 1940).

4

Current research into this subject is being conducted. See Peter Balmford and J. O'Brien, "Dating Houses in Victoria", Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, IX (May 1961), 379-395.

extrapolate on the basis of statistics relating to the population of the City as a whole, an unsatisfactory procedure when such a large and heterogeneous local government area as the City of Melbourne is involved. In 1954 the City of Melbourne had a population of 93,172 persons, spread over an area of 7,765 acres; it included the suburbs of Kensington, Flemington, Newmarket, West Melbourne, North Melbourne, Parkville, Carlton, North Carlton, Jolimont and East Melbourne as well as the commercial area of the city proper. Despite these difficulties an attempt has been made to piece together, from a variety of contemporary sources, standard histories of Victoria, and fragmentary statistical remains, a brief account of the original settlers of Carlton-North Carlton and subsequent Italian concentrations.

#### A Social History of Carlton-North Carlton

To even the most casual observer of contemporary life in Melbourne's inner suburbs it must be soon apparent that Carlton has about it an air of spaciousness altogether absent from most of its neighbouring suburbs north of the River Yarra: the transition from the broad boulevards and generous parklands which grace so much of Carlton to the choked thoroughfares and cramped quarters characteristic of Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond, and even parts of Brunswick, is sudden and unmistakeable. As our contemporary observer grew more familiar with Carlton he would presently perceive that within the Carlton area itself there was little uniformity in the living conditions of its several parts, and that as he journeyed north from Victoria-street through Carlton

into North Carlton and Princes Hill the style of housing gradually improved. Nowhere in Carlton today are there such fine residences as those still found in parts of North Carlton, a suburb which has so far escaped the numerous pockets of slums which in Carlton were earmarked as long ago as 1939 for future slum reclamation.<sup>5</sup> Differences between Carlton and other inner suburbs of Melbourne, and differences within the Carlton area itself, have their origins in the history of the city's growth; for the growth of Carlton, like that of the metropolis generally, occurred in several distinct phases, reflected even today in the different types of houses which predominate in different parts of this area.

Carlton is one of Melbourne's oldest suburbs. It is by no means its oldest, however, and throughout the earliest stage of Melbourne's growth, up to 1851, Carlton did not exist. Although as early as 1841 Melbourne already boasted two suburbs, Richmond and Newtown,<sup>6</sup> the region north of Victoria Street, known for some time by the vague term "North Melbourne"<sup>7</sup> was settled relatively late in the history of the city. One early writer explained this late settlement as the result of the unpleasant climatic conditions to which this region was subject,<sup>8</sup> but whatever its cause, up to

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<sup>5</sup> Victoria, Housing Commission, "Report of the Sub-Committee on Reclamation Areas", (Melbourne undated), p.2.

<sup>6</sup> Newtown comprised what today is known as Fitzroy and Collingwood.

<sup>7</sup> Edmund Finn, The Cyclorama of Early Melbourne (Melbourne 1892), p.109.

<sup>8</sup> Edmund Finn, The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835-1852: Historical, Anecdotal, and Personal (2 vols, Melbourne 1888), Vol. I, p.29.

1851 Melbourne's early suburban dwellers by-passed North Melbourne and settled in the neighbouring, more protected suburbs, Newtown and Richmond. The superior appearance of Carlton to these suburbs can almost wholly be attributed to its later settlement and to the related fact that while Fitzroy, Collingwood and Richmond emerged haphazardly from the sub-divisions of a variety of land-jobbers,<sup>9</sup> Carlton was magnificently laid out by Melbourne's renowned surveyor, Robert Hoddle.<sup>10</sup>

The first land sale in Carlton was in the early 1850's,<sup>11</sup> partly in response to the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851 and the increased population it promised. By 1854 indeed the population of Melbourne was three times what it had been in 1851.<sup>12</sup> The need for more suburban housing was immediate, and in 1852 Carlton, together with a number of other suburbs, was laid out.<sup>13</sup> By 1854 the sudden growth of population in Carlton had attracted the attention of Melbourne's Roman Catholic archbishop, with the result that in 1855 the foundation-stone of St. George's School,

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ibid., Vol. I, p.24.

10

Maie Casey (ed.), Early Melbourne Architecture : Eighteen Forty to Eighteen Eighty Eight (Melbourne 1953), p.87.

11

James Smith (ed.), The Cyclopaedia of Victoria : A Historical and Commercial Review (3 vols, Melbourne 1888), Vol. I, p.310.

12

Grant and Serle, Op. cit., p.74.

13

Historical Sub-Committee of the Centenary Celebrations Council, Victoria, The First Century : An Historical Survey (Melbourne 1934), p.209.

Carlton, was laid.<sup>14</sup> In the same year, also presumably in response to the growth of population in this area, two new wards of the City of Melbourne, Hotham and Smith wards, were created.<sup>15</sup> Even so, the population of North Melbourne still lagged far behind that of Newtown, and Carlton in 1854, as Figure 6 indicates very clearly, was sparsely settled compared with Fitzroy and Collingwood. In 1854 the population of North Melbourne (6,730 persons) was little more than one-third of Newtown's (17,550 persons). Little wonder that when in April 1855 the University of Melbourne was officially opened, it stood "well in the country" in what was at that time still "a rudimentary suburb".<sup>16</sup>

Of Carlton's original settlers we have little information. Some have suggested that Carlton began as a fashionable suburb and point to the fact that in the 1850's it contained many wealthy residents: in 1856 Mr. Justice (later Sir Redmund) Barry, the first Chancellor of Melbourne University, moved from Russell Street to his "semi-rural retreat" at the corner of Drummond and Pelham Streets,<sup>17</sup> and about the same time Drummond Street contained the residences of many business and professional men.<sup>18</sup> This early

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<sup>14</sup>

Smith, Op. cit., Vol. I, p.303.

<sup>15</sup>

Historical Sub-Committee, Op. cit., p.209.

<sup>16</sup>

Smith, Op. cit., Vol. I, p.303.

<sup>17</sup>

Finn, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1888), Vol. I, p.30.

<sup>18</sup>

Isaac Selby, The Old Pioneer's History of Melbourne (Melbourne 1924), p.367.

1854

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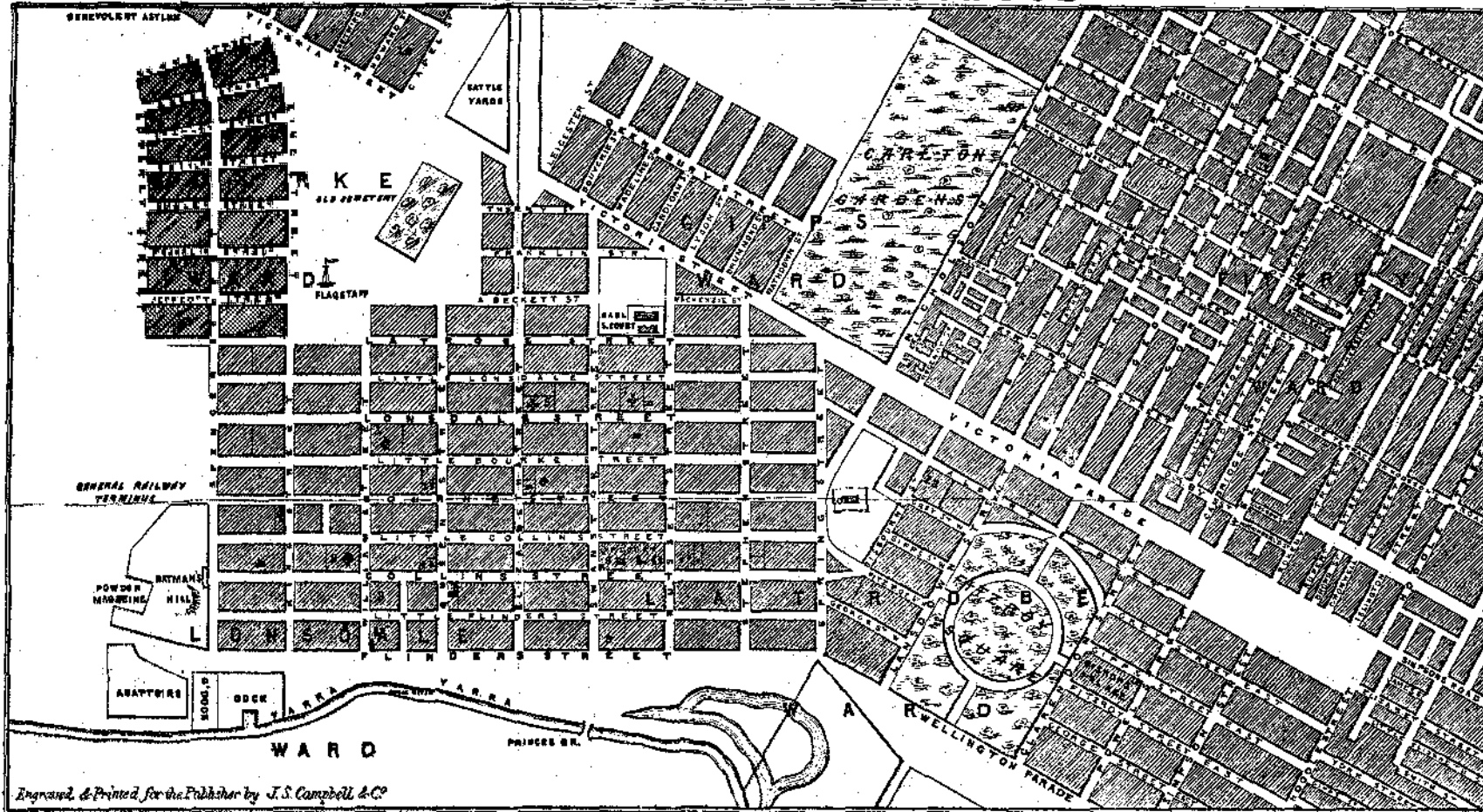


Figure 6

Engraved & Printed for the Publisher by J. S. Campbell & Co.

REFERENCES: 1 Government Offices. 2 St James Cathedral. 3 Western Market. 4 Custom House. 5 St Francis Cathedral. 6 Post Office. 7 Hospital. 8 Police Court & Town Hall. 9 St Pauls Church. 10 St Peters Church. 11 St Marks Church. 12 Bishops Palace. 13 Roman Catholic Church. 14 North Star. 15 Legislative Council Chambers.

SOURCE: The Melbourne Commercial, Squatters' and Official Directory for 1854, (compiled by Joseph Butterfield, Melbourne 1854).

X61-165

promise cannot have been fulfilled, and as its population grew Carlton became a predominantly working-class suburb. In 1877 a commentator on Melbourne life explained the show of hostility by spectators at a football match between Melbourne and Carlton on the grounds that "...Melbourne...is considered to be a little more high-toned, and consequently antagonistic to democratic Carlton."<sup>19</sup> Such a sentiment was echoed four years later by an English visitor engaged on a study of town-life in Australia, according to whom Carlton was "inhabited by the working-classes."<sup>20</sup> A guide to Melbourne in 1880 described Carlton's population as consisting of "mostly artisans and clerks."<sup>21</sup>

Carlton, then, was first settled during the 1850's and the 1860's. By 1871, as Table VI.1 shows, the population of North Melbourne was almost as numerous as that of Newtown, which only fifteen years before had contained twenty-seven persons for every ten in North Melbourne. In 1871 Smith ward alone had a population of 12,538, an estimated 10,541 of whom lived in Carlton south of Faraday-street. By 1954 this area contained only 7,676 persons.

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<sup>19</sup>

Stanley James, The Vagabond Papers: Sketches of Melbourne Life in Light and Shade (Melbourne 1877-78), 3rd Series, pp.11-12.

<sup>20</sup>

R.E.N. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia (London 1883), p.17.

<sup>21</sup>

R.P. Whitworth (ed.), The Official Handbook and Guide to Melbourne, 1880. (Melbourne 1880), p.234.



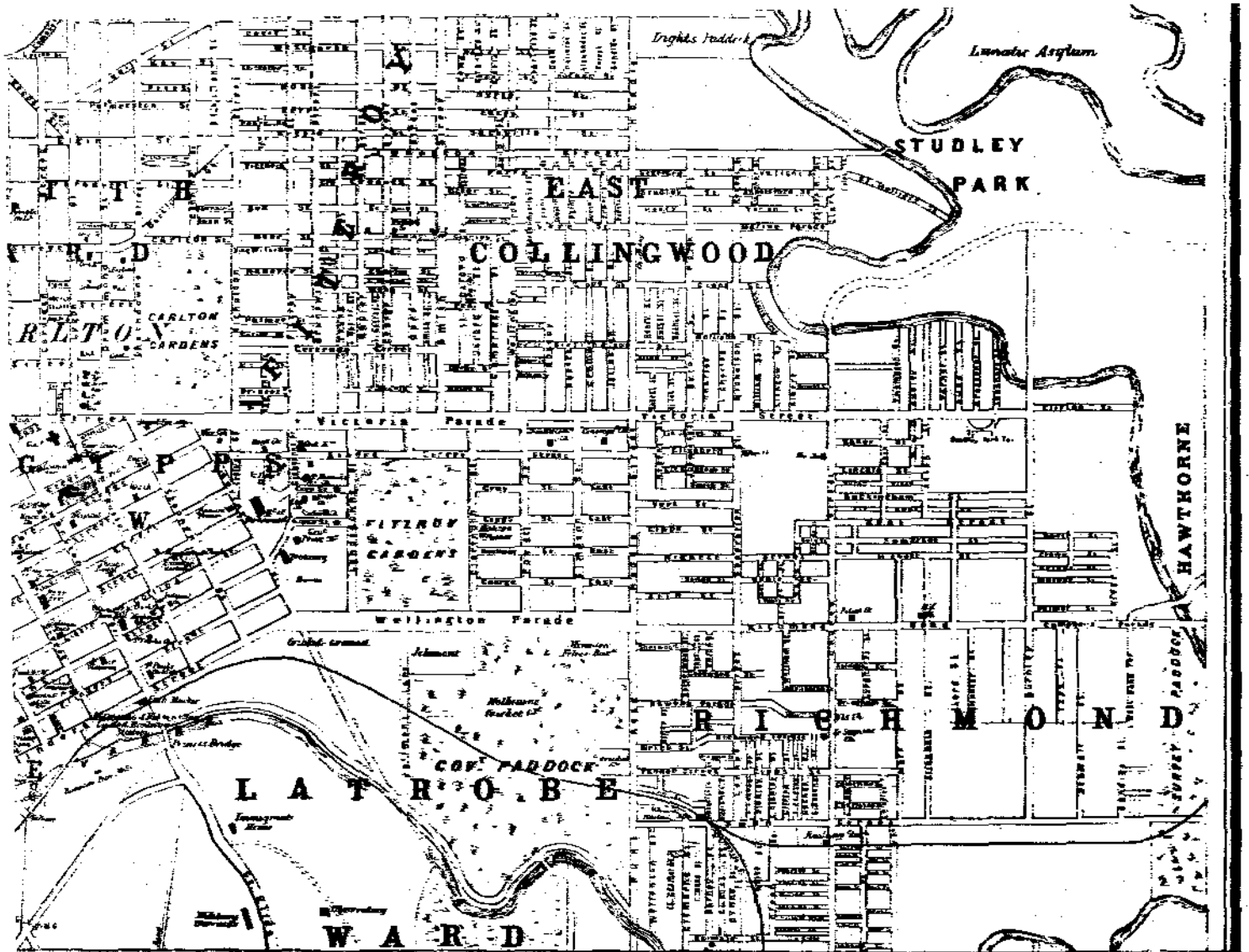
TABLE VI.1 Population of North Melbourne and Newtown 1851 to 1901

Year of Census	North Melbourne *	Newtown **
1851	-	3,449
1854	6,730	17,550
1857	12,194	21,395
1861	16,770	24,460
1871	34,060	34,145
1881	45,858	46,947
1891	57,202	67,523
1901	52,678	64,436

\* North Melbourne is used here in its original sense, to apply to that part of the metropolis lying to the north of Victoria Street and east of Nicholson Street. It includes what is known today as the suburbs of North Melbourne, Carlton, North Carlton, and Parkville.

\*\* Newtown is used in its original sense, to include the present-day municipalities of Fitzroy and Collingwood.

The growth of Carlton in this initial period, 1852 to 1871, is reflected in the gradual extension of its northern boundary. In 1854 Pelham-street marked the northernmost limit of residential development, in 1856 Grattan-street, 1860 Elgin-street, and 1863 Neill-street. In 1869 Reilly-street, the present boundary between Carlton and North Carlton (known since the 1880's as Princes-street), became the northern boundary of Carlton (Figure 7). By 1870 the growth of population in this area had been sufficient to warrant the creation of a new ward, Victoria ward,<sup>22</sup> and in 1872 the northern boundary of Carlton was fixed



CARLTON AND NORTH CARLTON 1869

nd Suburban Directory 1869.

at Park Street and North Carlton created.<sup>23</sup>

By 1871 Carlton-North Carlton contained an estimated 18,572 persons (Table VI.2), of whom the majority must have lived in Carlton. As late as 1878, the northernmost main street in North Carlton was Church-street (the present Fenwick-street) and north of this street there was almost no residential development. Little residential development between Carlton and Brunswick had yet occurred, since closer settlement in North Carlton was hampered by difficulties of drainage north of the "infamous Reilly-street drain"<sup>24</sup> and also by nests of quarry-holes.<sup>25</sup> In 1879 the local member for Carlton asked the Minister for Public Works if he would place on the Estimates a sum of money for filling up the quarry-holes in North Carlton.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>

This discussion of changes in boundaries has been based upon Sands and McDougall's Directory of Victoria (Melbourne), 1857-1872.

<sup>24</sup>

Finn, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1888), Vol. I, p.29.

<sup>25</sup>

Historical Sub-Committee, Op. cit., p.268.

<sup>26</sup>

Parliamentary Debates (Victoria, Legislative Assembly), Vol. 33 (1880), 204.

TABLE VI.2 Population of Carlton-North Carlton  
1871 to 1954

Year of Census	Population
1871	18,572*
1881	25,298*
1891	32,963
1901	31,535
1911	32,998*
1947	29,274
1954	27,455

\* Estimated population, based on the comparison of figures for Smith and Victoria Wards with those for the electoral districts of Carlton and Carlton South.

Between 1871 and 1881 the population of Carlton-North Carlton grew steadily, and by the latter date Carlton must have been completely settled. According to the directory of that year the number of residences in Charles-, Elgin-, Kay-, Keppel-, Neill-, Palmerston-, Pitt- and Princes-streets was 622, 99 per cent of the number of dwellings listed in these streets in 1961 (631 dwellings). In North Carlton, on the other hand, particularly north of McPherson-street, residential development in 1881 was still sparse and only 4 per cent of the dwellings listed in the 1961 directory appeared in the directory of 1881.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>

In 1881 Lygon-, Drummond-, Rathdowne-, Amess-, Canning-, Station-, and Nicholson-streets (north of McPherson-street), and Garton-, Arnold-, McIlwraith-, Wilson-, and Pigdon-streets contained only 69 dwellings, compared with 1,575 in 1961. Sands and McDougall's Directory of Victoria, 1881 and 1961.

By contrast with the 1870's, when Melbourne's population grew relatively slowly, the 1880's witnessed another period of immense population growth: between 1881 and 1891 the metropolitan population increased from 282,947 to 490,896 persons.<sup>28</sup> Although this did not affect the inner suburbs as markedly as less densely populated areas of the metropolis, by 1881 the Carlton area contained 25,298 persons, an increase since 1871 of 131 per cent compared with the total metropolitan increase of 173 per cent. This increase in the Carlton area must have been almost wholly restricted to North Carlton, whose population in fact must have very nearly doubled from 7,000 or 8,000 persons in 1871 to about 15,000 in 1891.

In 1891 indeed the population of Carlton-North Carlton numbered 32,963 persons, a figure which probably has never been much exceeded since (Table VI.2).

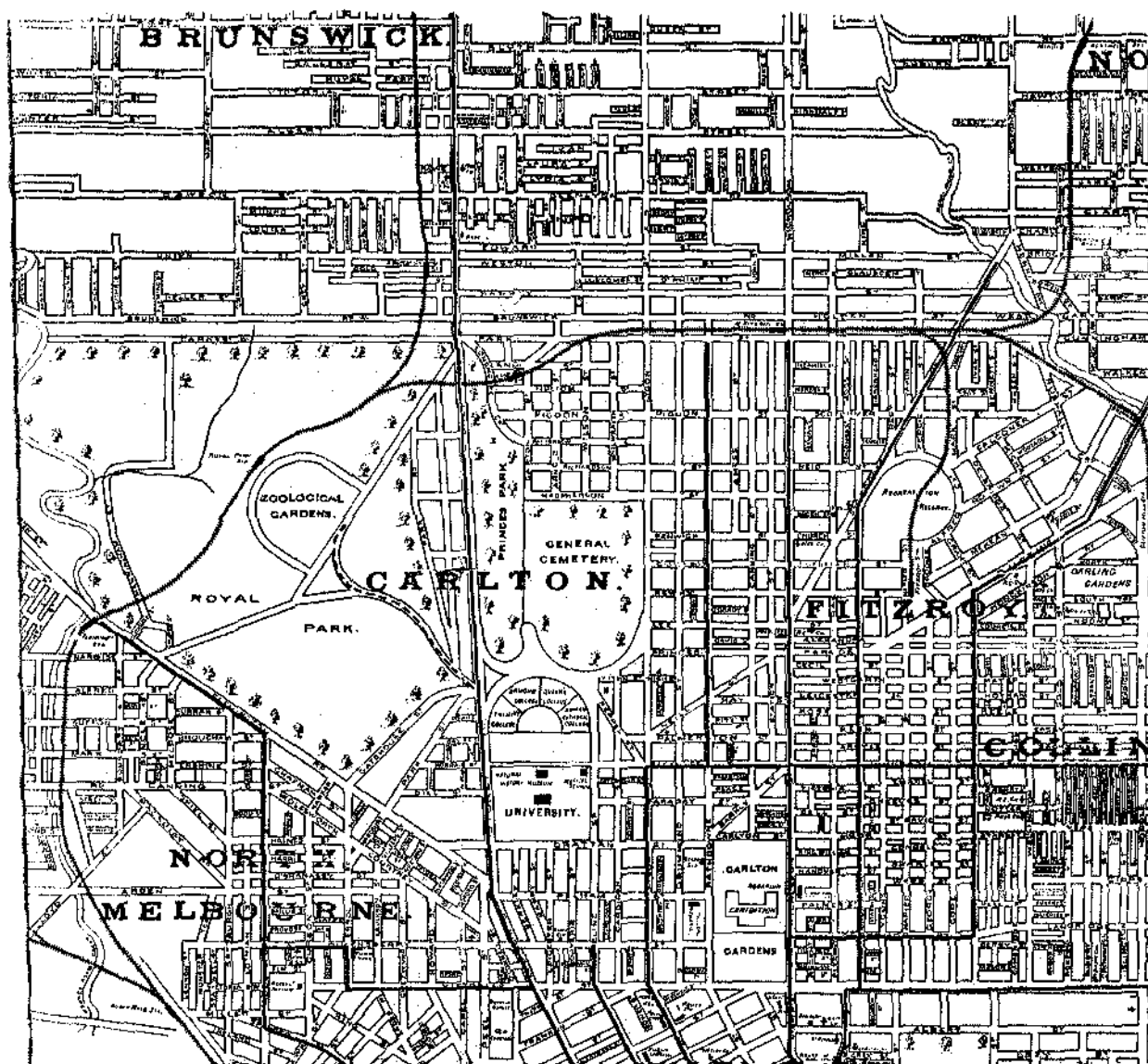
Although most of North Carlton, then had been settled by 1891, a few parts of this suburb were not fully developed until the first and second decades of the present century. The area above the cemetery, for example, and at the northernmost ends of Rathdowne- and Drummond-streets, where according to an 1885 map bluestone quarries had still existed, contained only 289 dwellings in 1891. By 1901 the number had increased to 344 and by 1921 to 614. In the 1961 directory only 608 dwellings were listed in the

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28

Grant and Serle, Op. cit., p.137.

Figure 8

CARLTON AND NORTH CARLTON 1906

SOURCE: Sands and McDougall's Directory of Victoria 1906.

same area.<sup>29</sup> The later period in which these restricted parts of North Carlton were settled is reflected even today in the housing; for the frequent building of the terrace-house, which predominates elsewhere in Carlton-North Carlton, came to an end with the depression of the 1890's.<sup>30</sup> Partly for this reason the parts of North Carlton mentioned above contain a relatively high proportion of detached dwellings: five of the seven cottages included in the sample were in this district.

If we know little about the original residents of Carlton we know even less about those of North Carlton. Its present appearances, as well as the opinions of Melbourne people today, suggest that for a time it may have been a non-unfashionable suburb. The presence of a servant's room in a cottage which occurs in parts of North Carlton lends partial support to this view (Figure 11).<sup>31</sup> Even so the majority of North Carlton's early inhabitants were probably working-class people, and although some research has suggested that in early Melbourne the terrace, like the suburban villa today, was "built by everyone".<sup>32</sup> Twopenny in 1880 had already declared that "terraces and attached houses are

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29

Sands and McDougall's Directory of Victoria, 1885; 1891; 1901; 1921; and 1961. The area north of the cemetery considered above included Garton-, Arnold-, McIlwraith-, and Wilson-streets only.

30

David A. Saunders, "Terrace Housing in Melbourne", (unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Architecture, University of Melbourne, 1959), p.47.

31

Finn, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1888), Vol. I, p.30.

32

Saunders, Op. cit., p.40.

universally disliked, and almost every class of suburban house is detached and stands in its own garden".<sup>33</sup> This implies that the best people at least did not live in terraces.

The ubiquity of the terrace-house in the inner-suburbs of Melbourne is no evidence of its popularity. The majority of these houses were built by speculators to house a rapidly expanding population, and the attractions which the terrace-house, with its contiguous boundary walls, narrow frontage and repetitive design, offered to the speculative builder, are obvious.<sup>34</sup> The terrace-house was built in a variety of forms. Most commonly in Carlton and North Carlton it had a single front and was one- or two-storeys (Figures 9-11 and Photographs VI.1 to VI.7). By modern standards it was not well-designed, since in a dwelling with blind boundary walls and a narrow frontage it is difficult to make adequate provision for cross-ventilation and light. One room usually had no ventilation or light except from the hall upon which it opened. Even the best terraces had little use for a garden in front of the house; most opened onto a narrow paved verandah, sometimes a narrow strip of grass, sometimes even directly to the footpath. The terrace-house predominates in almost all of Melbourne's inner suburbs. Built rarely after the

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<sup>33</sup>

Twopeny, Op. cit., p.18.

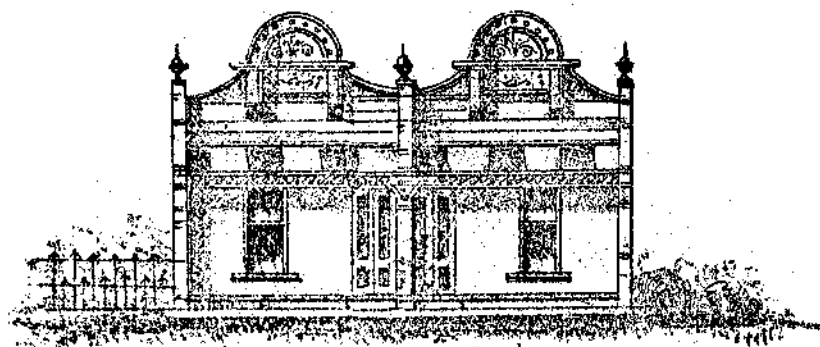
<sup>34</sup>

ibid., p.33.

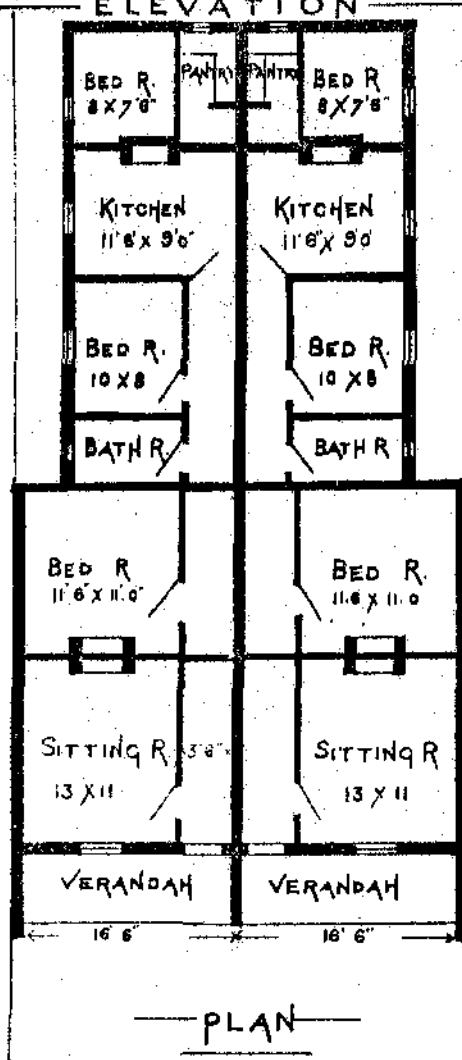


Figure 9

**TWO BRICK COTTAGES  
TO BE BUILT FOR  
£800.**



ELEVATION

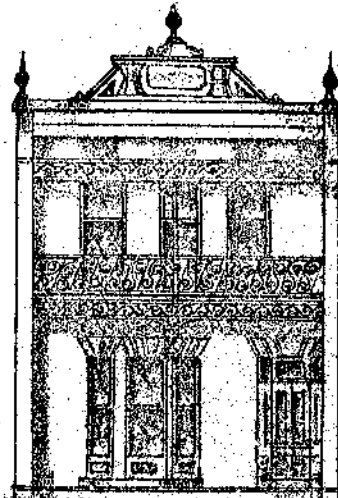


PLAN

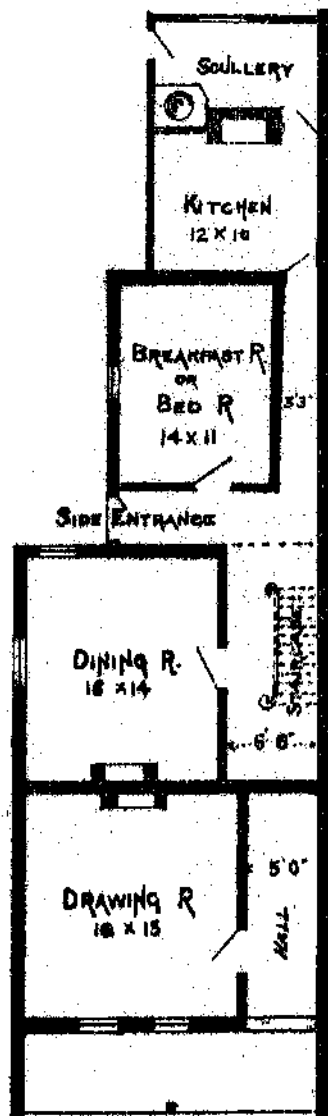
SOURCE: Sands and  
McDougall's Melbourne  
and Suburban Directory  
1886.

Figure 10.

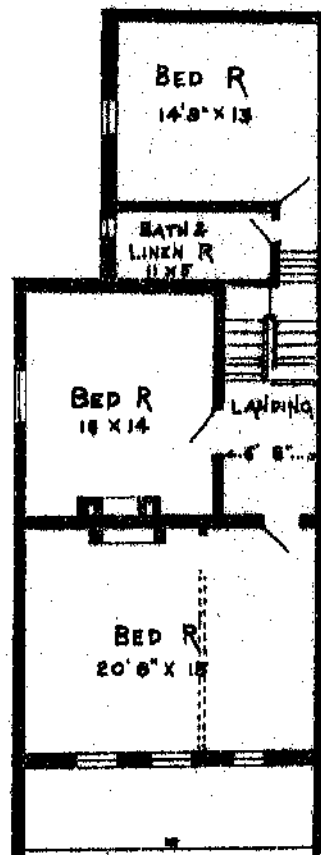
TWO  
STORY BRICK RESIDENCE  
TO BE BUILT FOR  
£,900



ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN



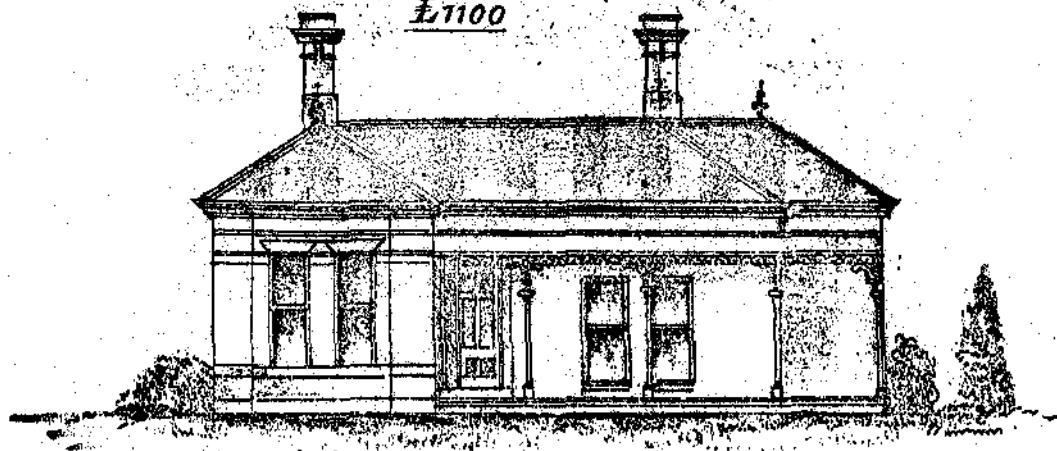
1ST FLOOR PLAN

SOURCE: Sands  
and McDougall's  
Melbourne and  
Suburban Direc-  
tory 1886.

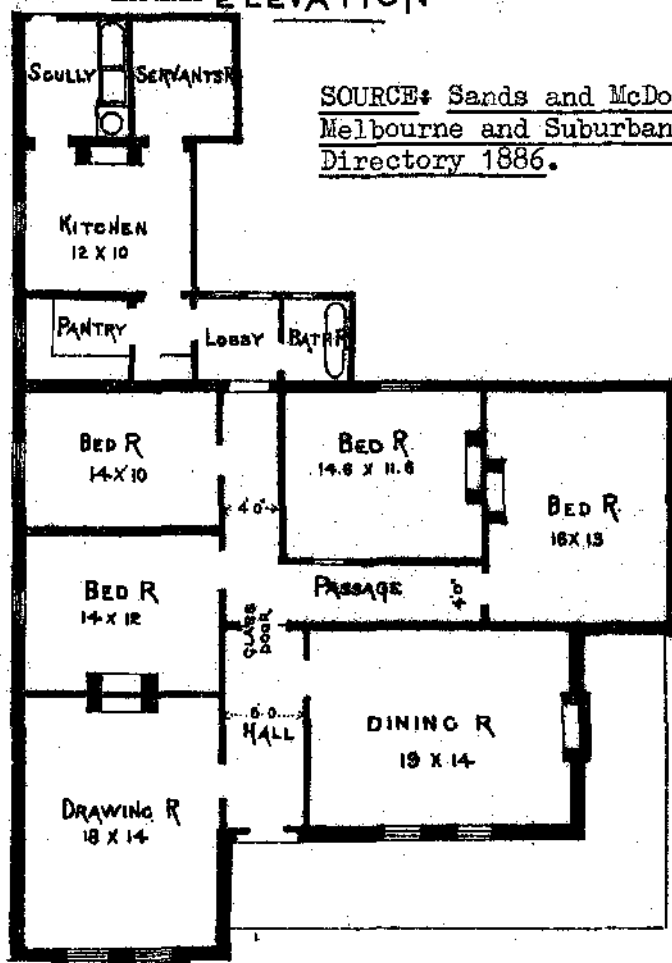
Figure 11.

147

BRICK DWELLING  
TO BE BUILT FOR  
£1100



ELEVATION



SOURCE: Sands and McDougall's  
Melbourne and Suburban  
Directory 1886.

SCALE 1/8" TO 1' INCH.

H. Billingdon  
Architects  
15 Collins St. W.

1890's, it fell from popularity to such an extent that by 1920, two metropolitan municipalities, Richmond and Prahran, had passed by-laws prohibiting its erection.<sup>35</sup>

The available evidence suggests that for the greater part of their history Carlton and North Carlton have been working-class suburbs. By 1886 Sir Redmund Barry's old villa had become the Children's Hospital<sup>36</sup> and as early as 1879 many of the other fine residences in Drummond Street had been converted into apartment-houses,<sup>37</sup> a function they serve even today. So far as North Carlton is concerned, even if some of its early residents had been well-to-do, by the beginning of the 1920's it had already become a social solecism to live north of the River Yarra and "the business and professional classes gradually abandoned the advantage of proximity and moved to more genteel environments. In their place the workers concentrated at the factory gates".<sup>38</sup>

Although Carlton and North Carlton have been working-class suburbs, they have unlike their neighbours been relatively free from industry; they have always been, as they are today, predominantly residential suburbs. In 1880 a directory of Melbourne described Carlton as a "residential suburb", with only "three flour-mills, one brewery, three ginger-beer etc.

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<sup>35</sup>

Saunders, Op. cit., p.47.

<sup>36</sup>

Finn, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1888), Vol. I, p.30.

<sup>37</sup>

Whitworth, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1880), p.33.

<sup>38</sup>

Grant and Serle, Op. cit., p.204.

manufactories, and several monumental masons' yards".<sup>39</sup> In the same directory Brunswick was described as an "industrial borough" whose population was chiefly employed in brickmaking, quarrying, and dressing bluestone (there were 33 quarries and 20 mills for grinding clay in Brunswick).<sup>40</sup> Fitzroy appeared as "one of the most important suburban cities", having a gasworks, boot manufactories, a brewery, furniture and clothing factories, etc.;<sup>41</sup> Richmond as a "mostly residential suburb" with a considerable number of tanneries and wool-washing establishments on the Yarra;<sup>42</sup> and Collingwood, with upwards of 100 factories within its city limits, as "the manufacturing centre of the colony".<sup>43</sup>

Since 1880 the industrial profile of the metropolitan area has changed. Even so the Richmond-Collingwood-Fitzroy district has remained the centre of Melbourne's textile industry; Collingwood and Fitzroy also contain a notable concentration of the shoe-industries.<sup>44</sup> In Carlton, industry and commerce have made inroads into former residential areas, and today Carlton south of Grattan-street and west of Lygon-street is largely given over to factories

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<sup>39</sup>

Whitworth, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1880), p.236.

<sup>40</sup>

ibid., p.230.

<sup>41</sup>

ibid., p.239.

<sup>42</sup>

ibid., pp.218-220.

<sup>43</sup>

ibid., pp.236-238.

<sup>44</sup>

Clifford M. Zierer, "Melbourne as a Functional Center", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, xxxi (Mar.-Dec. 1941), 251-288.

and business offices which have spread out from the city proper. Elsewhere in the Carlton area the ingress of industry has been less marked, being restricted on the whole to light industries. In North Carlton, still predominantly a residential suburb, the 1961 directory listed five knitting-mills, four clothing-factories, and one large hosiery mill. Italian women are an important source of labour in these industries.

The disposition of industry in Melbourne's inner suburbs is an important key to the understanding of Melbourne's Italian concentrations. Melbourne has long held a position ahead of Sydney as a manufacturing centre<sup>45</sup> and for this reason has attracted a disproportionate share of Italian migrants arriving in the post-war period. Just as Melbourne's history is concentrated north of the River Yarra in Richmond, Collingwood, Fitzroy, Brunswick, North Melbourne, and Port Melbourne,<sup>46</sup> so these and neighbouring suburbs have attracted dense Italian concentrations. In 1954 the Municipalities of the City of Melbourne, Brunswick, Fitzroy, Collingwood, and Richmond contained over half (16,667/29,890) the Italian-born persons in the metropolitan area.

Carlton today is recognised as Melbourne's "Little Italy".<sup>47</sup> It has not always, however, been known as an Italian

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<sup>45</sup>

Zierer, Op. cit., p.271.

<sup>46</sup>

ibid., pp.272-279.

<sup>47</sup>

Grant and Serle, Op. cit., p.258.

suburb, since Italians did not become a numerically important minority in Melbourne until the 1920's. What, then, has been the history of Italian settlement in Carlton, and when did it emerge as a suburb of marked Italian concentration?

Non-Britishers in the Carlton area, 1881 to 1960

One of the inevitable concomitants of urban growth is the segregation of a city's population into what have been termed "natural social areas".<sup>48</sup> The tendency for social groups, be they based upon differences in social or occupational class, ethnic origin, or religious persuasion, to assume a spatial dimension is universal. The post-war concentration of Italians in Carlton and North Carlton can be viewed as an instance of this general law.

The population of the City of Melbourne,<sup>49</sup> like that of Victoria as a whole, has been characterized by its high degree of ethnic homogeneity. Except for the recent period of extensive non-British immigration since the end of World War II, nine out of every ten persons in the City's population had been born in Australasia or Great Britain.<sup>50</sup> Even during the gold rushes, when there were 23,083 Chinese in the colony, 89 per cent of the

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<sup>48</sup>

Robert Ezra Park, Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology (Illinois 1952), p.79.

<sup>49</sup>

Since no continuous series of statistics for Carlton-North Carlton is available, the following discussion is based partly on the figures relating to the total population of the City of Melbourne.

<sup>50</sup>

Although birthplace statistics include persons of different stocks, Australasian- and British-born persons are hereafter in this chapter referred to as persons of British stock and other persons as non-Britishers.

Victorian population were still British (Table VI.3).

TABLE VI.3 Percentage of Non-Britishers in the Total Population of the City of Melbourne and Victoria - 1846 to 1954

Year of Census	City of Melbourne	Victoria
1846	-	0.97
1851	-	1.93
1854	-	5.51
1857	4.13	10.64
1861	5.15	8.68
1871	4.03	5.10
1881	5.06	3.57
1891	6.94	3.08
1901	6.03	2.51
1911	-	1.98
1921	3.81	1.81
1933	5.75	1.68
1947	7.16	1.99
1954	18.50	7.57

Until 1871 the City of Melbourne's population was more British than the Victorian population as a whole, since gold, which had attracted the first major influx of non-Britishers to the colony, also decreed that the first ethnic concentrations should be not in the metropolitan area but on the gold-fields. Thus in 1871, the proportion of non-Britishers in the gold-fields population (9.4 per cent) was still almost double the proportion in the colony as a whole (5.1 per cent). Among the Italians, whose distribution by local government areas was not provided until the 1881 census, the greatest concentration was in Walhalla, a gold-mining town in Gippsland where in 1881 5 per cent of the male population was Italian-born. Although by 1891 the importance



of gold had declined, many of the diggers had remained in the country engaged in other pursuits. In 1891 there was a huge Italian concentration in the wine growing towns of Tabhilk and Nagambie in the Goulburn shire, where 12 per cent of the male population had been born in Italy. In 1881 there had been only 6 Italians in this shire. The number had risen to 177 by 1891, and declined sharply to 45 persons by 1901. The emergence and decline of this Italian concentration coincided with the impetus given to the wine industry in Victoria during the 1880's.<sup>51</sup>

Sudden fluctuations in the size and location of Italian concentrations in the period before World War I reflect the rapidity with which these early Italians responded to new economic opportunities, as well as the temporary nature of much of this early settlement.<sup>52</sup> In 1881 94 out of 100 Italians in Victoria were males, and even by 1911 there were still 32 Italian-born males for every 10 Italian-born females in the State.

Two exceptions to the above generalization, that ethnic minorities did not appear in any marked form in the City of Melbourne until after 1871, must be noted, the Chinese and the Jews. The Chinese, however, who in 1861 accounted for 0.9 per cent of the

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51

The Australian Encyclopaedia (2 vols, Sydney 1920), Vol. II, p.626.  
H.E. Laffer, The Wine Industry in Australia (Adelaide 1949), p.47.  
T.W.H. Leavitt and W.D. Tilburn, Jubilee History of Victoria and Melbourne : Illustrated (2 vols, Melbourne 1888), Vol. II, Part II, p.73.

52

Borrie, Op. cit., p.52.

City's population, do not concern us directly here, since they have always been heavily concentrated in "Chinatown" in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne's Chinese quarter since 1854.<sup>53</sup> Although some Chinese did spread from this part of the City into Carlton in later years, the Chinese have probably never been a numerically large component of the population in the area under consideration.<sup>54</sup> In 1891 only 20 of the 1,563 Chinese in the City as a whole lived in the electorates of Carlton and Carlton South. The Jews, on the other hand, are of considerable relevance to the present study, since long before Carlton and North Carlton emerged as an area of dense Italian settlement, they had been known as suburbs of Jewish concentration.

According to Lyng<sup>55</sup> there were 117 Jews in Melbourne in 1846. By 1857 they numbered 1,139 in the City alone (Table VI.4), 2.2 per cent of its total population. Since 1857 Jews have never constituted less than 1.9 per cent of the population of the City of Melbourne. Within the boundaries of the City the distribution of Jews has varied considerably. Until 1891 they were concentrated almost exclusively in the City area proper, east of Elizabeth-street and north of Bourke-street, in what was known as the electoral district of East Melbourne.<sup>56</sup> In 1891 5.9 per cent of this

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53

Historical Sub-Committee, Op. cit., p.197

54

C.A. Price, Immigration and Group Settlement (in The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, ed. W.D. Barrie, Paris 1959), p.269.

55

J. Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia : Influence on Population and Progress (Melbourne 1935), p.151.

56

Victoria, The Victorian Statutes 1890, Vol. I, p.498 et seqq.

TABLE VI.4

Italians, Jews, and Chinese in the City of Melbourne : Numbers and Percentage of Total Population, 1854 to 1954.

Year of Census	Numbers			Percentages		
	Italians	Jews	Chinese	Italians	Jews	Chinese
1854	-	938	-	-	1.76	-
1857	-	1,139	251	-	2.17	0.48
1861	-	1,175	343	-	3.19	0.93
1871	-	1,486	402	-	2.70	0.73
1881	122	1,874	591	0.19	2.72	0.90
1891	232	2,246	1,563	0.32	3.06	2.13
1901	180	2,112	1,255	0.26	3.09	1.84
1911 <sup>*</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-
1921	237	1,959	1,443	0.23	1.90	1.40
1933	781	2,800	872	0.85	3.04	0.95
1947	1,612	3,003	654	1.61	3.01	0.65
1954	6,812	2,613	-	7.31	2.80	-

<sup>\*</sup> In the census of 1911 birthplace by local government areas was not given.

Note : Comparisons between birthplace groups (viz. Italians) and religious or racial groups (viz. The Jews or the Chinese) tend to be slightly biased, since in the first category Australian-born persons are excluded but in the second included.

electorate's population was Jewish, compared with 3.1 per cent of the City's population as a whole. This East Melbourne electorate, indeed, which included Fitzroy south of Gertrude-street and Carlton south of Pelham- and east of Leicester-streets, is of considerable importance in the study of Melbourne's early minorities; in 1891 it had the most heterogeneous population of any district in the metropolitan area; 15.5 per cent of its population were non-British,<sup>57</sup> compared with 6.9 per cent in the City of Melbourne as a whole and only 3.1 per cent in Victoria. East Melbourne in 1891 was what Fitzroy was in 1954: a depressed inner-city area with a large non-British population.<sup>58</sup> In 1888 a central part of the East Melbourne electorate was described as containing houses which were

...dirty, alive with vermin, close and foetid, with the sharp pungent odour of decaying wood ever appealing to your nostrils; roofs not waterproof; doors without fastenings...; windows patched with paper or stuffed with rags; floors rotten and full of holes, through which the rats come and devour the food they doubtless think has been left there for their use by the equally rattish and predatory dwellers above".<sup>59</sup>

An earlier commentator has described the same area (between Bourke- and Lonsdale-streets) as the home of Melbourne's "criminal classes"<sup>60</sup> and as "the headquarters of Melbourne vice and crime".<sup>61</sup>

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57

The largest minorities were Chinese (1,489 persons, 7.2 per cent) and Jews from Germany, Poland, the Ukraine and Russia (1,216 persons, 5.9 per cent).

58

Zubrzycki, *Op. cit.*, p.81.

59

Freeman, *Op. cit.*, p.115.

60

James, *Op. cit.*, 3rd series, p.63.

61

*Ibid.*, 2nd series, p.164.

At the end of the nineteenth century, then, this area contained some of Melbourne's worst slums and a numerous non-British population. Carlton by contrast was still a respectable residential suburb and in 1891 96 per cent of the population of the Carlton and Carlton South electorates were of British stock. In the oldest parts of Carlton, however, south of Pelham-street, living conditions had already begun to deteriorate. In 1891 the population of Cardigan division reached its peak and began to decline, from 5,240 persons in 1891 to 4,401 in 1901. In 1954 less than 3,000 persons were estimated<sup>62</sup> to be living in this part of Carlton, which is today more a business than a residential district.

As British-Australians moved out of Carlton the Jews spread from the city into this adjacent suburb, and by 1891 Jews constituted 4.3 per cent of Carlton's population south of Palmerston-street. By the turn of the century marked Jewish concentrations were found in Lygon-street and in Drummond-street.<sup>63</sup> From this early nucleus the Jewish settlement in Carlton grew, reaching its peak in the late 1920's and early 1930's, when perhaps as many as two of the three thousand Jews in the City lived in Carlton and North Carlton. If this estimate is correct, Jews in

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62

In the 1954 census 4,233 persons were enumerated in Carlton south of Grattan-street.

63

Price, *loc. cit.* (Paris 1959).

64

This estimate is based on information supplied by Mr. B. Gurewicz, a Jewish resident of North Carlton, in September 1960. It has not been verified, since statistics are not readily available.

the Carlton area must have accounted for 4 to 5 per cent of the total population, a degree of concentration surpassed only in St. Kilda, where in 1933 every twentieth person was a Jew. About this time there was a saying in Melbourne, that "the English have their St. George, the Scotch their St. Andrew, the Irish their St. Patrick, and the Jews their St. Kilda".<sup>65</sup> By the mid-thirties the Jews had already begun to move out of Carlton and North Carlton into better areas, such as Kew and Caulfield. This drift gained momentum after the war with the influx of thousands of Italians and other immigrants into the inner suburbs. By 1954 St. Kilda (10.6 per cent), Caulfield (4.8 per cent) and Kew (3.1 per cent) all had larger Jewish concentrations than the City of Melbourne, where only 2.8 per cent of the total population were Jews. Since 1954 the exodus of Jews from Carlton-North Carlton has proceeded apace, and while there are still numerous Jewish institutions and shops in this area,<sup>66</sup> many Jewish businesses have closed down. According to a Viggianese proprietor who moved into his shop on the east side of Lygon-street in 1949, eleven of the twelve shops between Faraday- and University-street were owned by Jews. By 1960 only five

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<sup>65</sup>

Lyng, Op. cit., p.153.

<sup>66</sup>

These included the Jewish National Library (Lygon-street, North Carlton), a synagogue (Palmerston-street, Carlton), Jewish funeral parlors (Pitt- and Canning-streets, Carlton), the Bialik Hebrew School (Drummond-street, North Carlton), a Jewish printing press (Faraday-street, Carlton), a Jewish book-shop (Rathdowne-street, Carlton), and numerous kosher butchers. Sands and McDougall's Directory of Victoria, 1961.

remained in Jewish hands. Four had been taken over by Italians and two were still vacant following the departure of their former Jewish proprietors.<sup>67</sup> The decline in the Jewish population of the Carlton area has been such that a few years ago the Jews sold one of their halls in Drummond-street, North Carlton, to the Turkish community.<sup>68</sup>

Even in 1960, however, the number of Jews in North Carlton must have still been considerable, and the decline in importance of this Jewish concentration has been the result not so much of a decrease in its numbers but of an increase in other minority groups. In 1947 there had been two Jews for every Italian in the City of Melbourne. By 1954 the position had been completely reversed and now for every Jew there were close to three Italians (2.6 to 1). Not only has the number of Italians increased but there has also been a remarkable growth in other minorities in the Carlton area. According to the alien registration figures, in 1958 8,460 adult alien nationals were registered in the Scullin electorate in addition to 11,269 adults of Italian nationality. The Carlton area has its Greek, Yugoslav, and Maltese concentrations as well as the Italians and the Jews.

The changes in the ethnic composition of Carlton's population is epitomized in its churches. The huge protestant buildings, such as St. Jude's Anglican Church in Lygon-street,

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<sup>67</sup>

Interview with Mr. E. Angerame, October 1960.

<sup>68</sup>

Interview with Mr. B. Gurewicz, September 1960.

built in 1866 to accommodate 750 persons, or the Eskine-street Presbyterian Church, built in 1874 for 500 worshippers,<sup>69</sup> are today silent memorials to a vanished population. In 1880 this Presbyterian church was open for divine service twice on Sunday and once on Wednesday.<sup>70</sup> Today the members of the Greek Orthodox community use it on Sunday mornings, and the evening Presbyterian service attracts only a handful of elderly people for whose sake alone, and the memory of the past, its doors remain open. The Roman Catholic churches, by contrast, are well attended. Even a Lebanese church thrives in Carlton. At the Church of the Sacred Heart one morning service is conducted entirely in Italian and another half in Italian and half in English.<sup>71</sup> Since 1956 an Italian-speaking priest has been attached to this parish,<sup>72</sup> and since June 1957 nine out of every ten marriages celebrated in this church have involved persons of Italian birth.<sup>73</sup>

The history of Italian settlement in Carlton has many similarities to the history of Jewish settlement in this area. The Italians, like the Jews, were concentrated originally in the city proper. By the beginning of the First World War they had

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<sup>69</sup>

Whitworth, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1880), p.234.

<sup>70</sup>

ibid.

<sup>71</sup>

Interview with Father J. Kelly, Carlton, September 1960.

<sup>72</sup>

The Australasian Catholic Directory (Sydney), 1956, p.263.

<sup>73</sup>

The Church of the Sacred Heart (Carlton), "Marriage Records".



spread into South Carlton and, in the 'twenties, into Carlton generally. Since 1947 North Carlton as well has become a suburb of Italian concentration. Although the earliest Italian immigrants in Victoria tended to be highly mobile and concentrated in rural rather than urban districts, already in 1881, the first year in which distribution of Italian-born persons by local government areas in Victoria is available, a perceptible Italian concentration had emerged in the City of Melbourne, where 0.18 per cent of the total population was Italian-born, compared with 0.10 per cent in the colony as a whole. By 1891 this concentration had increased both absolutely and relatively, to 232 persons of Italian birth or 0.32 per cent of the City's population, a figure which represented an early peak of Italian concentration in the City not surpassed until the 1933 census.<sup>74</sup> Of further interest is that the majority of these early Italian immigrants lived in the electorate of East Melbourne, which with an Italian population of 204 persons had a degree of Italian concentration (1.0 per cent) three times greater than the City as a whole (0.3 per cent). If Italians were evenly distributed throughout the several divisions of the East Melbourne electoral district, in 1891 approximately 51 Italian-born persons were living in Carlton south of Pelham-street (0.98 per cent of the total population) but only 15 north

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<sup>74</sup>

Although in 1921 there were 237 Italian-born persons in the City of Melbourne, this included North Melbourne, which in 1891 had been a separate municipality. In 1891 the Italian population of the City of Melbourne and North Melbourne numbered 257 persons.

of Pelham-street (0.05 per cent). This speculation on the existence of a small Italian concentration in this southern part of Carlton as early as 1891 is not altogether without foundation, since four out of every five Italians in East Melbourne were males and this southern part of Carlton had for some years been known as a boarding-house area.<sup>75</sup>

Even if there were a small Italian concentration in the Cardigan division as early as 1891, it is unlikely that these early settlers remained to form the nucleus of subsequent Italian settlement in this suburb. Most of them must have left their families behind them in Italy, and with the onset of the depression in the 1890's many Italians left Melbourne, some for other parts of Australia where conditions were better than in Victoria,<sup>76</sup> others for Italy and home. By 1901 the number of Italians in the City of Melbourne had dropped by one-fifth (Table VI.4). Although the majority of these early Italian immigrants were mobile, some did settle permanently,<sup>77</sup> among them a small but, so far as this study is concerned, a significant group of Italians who had been visiting Australia since the 1880's: the Viggianese street musicians, a picturesque band of itinerant harpists and violinists who travelled

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<sup>75</sup>

Whitworth, *Op. cit.* (Melbourne 1880), p.33.

<sup>76</sup>

Grant and Serle, *Op. cit.*, pp.196-197.

<sup>77</sup>

The 1911 census showed that 34 per cent of Italian-born persons in Victoria had been in Australia for twenty years or longer.

the world from the time they were boys in search of a living.<sup>78</sup>

A few Viggianese musicians, including a number from the neighbouring village of Marsicovetere, had already settled in Melbourne by the late 1880's, but not until about 1893 did this settlement begin to achieve any considerable size. Between 1893 and the beginning of the First World War at least twenty five Viggianese musicians settled in Melbourne, mostly in Carlton.<sup>79</sup>

By 1914 no less than twenty musicians from Viggiano or Mariscovetere were living only a hundred or two hundred yards from one another in the few blocks bounded <sup>by</sup> Lygon-, Victoria-, and Cardigan-streets, and Argyle-square.<sup>80</sup> According to the records of the Carlton parish church, all but one of the fourteen Carlton Italians married between 1890 and 1914 lived in that general area of Carlton.<sup>81</sup>

From this nucleus of Viggianese musicians Carlton's Italian population grew. But as it grew so its character changed. By the late 'twenties some Viggianesi, who since the end of the war had found employment in theatres all over Melbourne suiting their melodies to the mood of silent films, had moved to suburbs closer to their place of work, and they were followed not by other Viggianesi but by Italians from the north of Italy, from

78

Freeman, Op. cit., pp.202-205.

McDonald, Op. cit., p.129.

Foerster, Op. cit., p.102.

79

See below, Table IX.4.

80

Sands and McDougall's Directory of Victoria, 1914.

81

The Church of the Sacred Heart (Carlton), "Marriage Records".

Vicenza, Treviso and Udine.<sup>82</sup> Between 1922 and 1930 9,009 Italian-born persons arrived in Victoria,<sup>83</sup> and even though a considerable number of Italians left Australia during the depression, the number of Italian-born persons in Victoria trebled from 1,850 persons in 1921 to 5,860 persons in 1933. Throughout the intercensal period 1921-1933, there was a general tendency among Italians to concentrate in rural rather than urban districts, and while in 1921 56 per cent of Italian-born persons in Victoria had lived in the Melbourne metropolitan area, by 1933 this proportion had dropped to 42 per cent. Now the heaviest Italian concentrations were in rural Victoria, in the Ovens River Valley around Myrtleford, Wangaratta and Beechworth, in south Gippsland in the shires of Bass, Berwick, and Cranbourne, in the coal-mining town of Wonthaggi, and at Werribee. In the City of Melbourne, however, by contrast with the metropolitan area as a whole, the increase in the number of Italian-born persons (315 per cent) more than kept pace with that in Victoria as a whole (309 per cent). So far as Carlton was concerned, the main element in this increase was an influx of Italians from the Veneto and the Friulan province of Udine. Between the wars, indeed, relatively few Viggianesi settled in Australia. In an age of radio and talkies the street-musician had lost his place, and the Viggianese

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82

See below, Chapter X.

83

Borrie, Op. cit., p.54.

peasantry, which until the First World War had migrated to the great cities of the United States, did not come in large numbers to Australia until after the Second World War. The Viggianese element was engulfed in Carlton, which by 1940 had become largely a northern Italian suburb.

Throughout the 'twenties the growth of the Italian population in Carlton was spasmodic, hampered by the economic uncertainties of the depression. As early as 1922 employment in the city seems to have been scarce for Italian immigrants,<sup>84</sup> particularly for those with no special skills, and many Italians sought employment in the country. The few Italians who settled in Carlton comprised businessmen, such as fruiterers, cobblers, tailors and the like, and also a number of Italians from Vicenza and Udine who, unlike the peasant labourers from the other parts of Italy, had worked at terrazzo-paving and in general construction work in Italy and elsewhere on the continent prior to coming to Australia.<sup>85</sup> Many of these were from the Altipiano of Asiago in Vicenza, a district which in 1960 accounted for almost 10 per cent of Italians in the Carlton area.<sup>86</sup>

After the depression the Italian concentration in Carlton grew more rapidly, not so much as a result of increased migration from Italy but rather from a redistribution of the

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<sup>84</sup>

The Age (Melbourne), 30th December 1922.

<sup>85</sup>

McDonald, Op. cit., p.130.

<sup>86</sup>

See below, Chapter X.

Italian population within Victoria. Between 1935 and 1947 many Italians who had gone to the country in search of employment returned to the city. One typical example of this movement is provided by an Italian from the foothills of Vicenza, who arrived in Melbourne in 1924. He found employment on a farm on the edge of the metropolitan area, and in 1927, when his wife arrived from Italy, took a job with the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works at the Upper Yarra reservoir near Warburton.<sup>87</sup> In 1929 he worked a farm at Korumburra in South Gippsland, and in 1939 returned to Melbourne and his present residence in Carlton. Such examples could be multiplied. This urban movement among Italians in Victoria is reflected in the census data and also in the Carlton marriage records. Thus between 1933 and 1947 the number of Italians in the City of Melbourne increased by 203 per cent, compared with an increase of only 142 per cent in Victoria as a whole. Such a discrepancy in these rates of growth cannot be explained by migration to Victoria from Italy, since most of the Italians who arrived in Victoria between 1936 and 1947 were dependants of Italians already in Victoria,<sup>88</sup> and would therefore tend to reproduce rather than disturb the established pattern of Italian settlement. Such an increase in the Italian population of Carlton immediately before and after the Second World War is suggested also by the marriage records of the Carlton parish church.

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87

Cf. Lyng, Op. cit., p.97.

88

Borrie, Op. cit., p.54.

Between July 1921 and June 1933 only 2.0 per cent of the marriages celebrated in this church involved Italians (10/489) but between July 1933 and December 1939 this proportion rose to 13.7 per cent (39/284). Between January 1940 and June 1947 it rose even further to 27.3 per cent (115/421).<sup>89</sup>

Even by 1947, however, the Jews were probably still more numerous in the Carlton area than the Italians, and Carlton-North Carlton emerged as Italian suburbs only out of the flood of Italian immigration which swept into Victoria since 1949. In December 1950, 1,494 adult Italian nationals were registered in the Scullin electorate: by June 1958 this number had increased seven-fold to 11,269 persons, of whom 3,951 lived in Carlton-North Carlton. Although Victoria in 1958 contained an average of 293 electors for every 10 adult Italian nationals in Carlton-North Carlton this ratio was only 34 to 10.<sup>90</sup>

Just as Carlton, settled by Italians at a time when northern Italians were well-represented in Italian migration to Australia, became a predominantly northern Italian suburb, so North Carlton, whose Italian concentration has been the product of more recent Italian immigration, has tended to have a greater element of southern Italians, especially Basilicatans. While approximately half the Italians who settled in Australia between 1920 and 1940

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89

The Church of the Sacred Heart (Carlton), "Marriage Records".

90

Australia, Department of Immigration (Melbourne), "District Index of Aliens".

were northern Italians,<sup>91</sup> only 28 per cent of Italians leaving Italy for Australia between 1952 and 1956 came from north Italy.<sup>92</sup> This change in the composition of Italian migration to Australia was reflected in the Italian population of the Carlton area, and in November 1958 only 12 per cent of Italian nationals in North Carlton had been born in the provinces of Vicenza, Treviso, and Udine, compared with 26 per cent of those in Carlton.<sup>93</sup>

The magnitude of the increase since 1947 in the Italian-born population of the Carlton area, and in Melbourne generally, is evident from the Carlton marriage records, and whereas between July 1947 and June 1951 half (159/321) the marriages celebrated in the Church of the Sacred Heart, Carlton, involved Italians, between July 1951 and June 1953 this proportion rose to three-fifths (135/226) and between July 1953 and June 1957 to four-fifths (734/891). Since June 1957 nine out of every ten marriages celebrated in this church have involved persons of Italian birth.<sup>94</sup>

Perhaps the most striking reflection of the growth in Carlton's Italian concentration in the post-war period is seen in the number of Italian shops in Lygon-street. In 1945 only fourteen shops in the Lygon-street shopping centre between Queensberry- and

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91

C.A. Price, Personal Communication. See also C.A. Price, "European Minorities in Australia 1840-1940", *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, VI (Nov. 1954), pp.294-295.

92

Hempel, *Op. cit.*, p.2.

93

Jones, *Op. cit.* (Canberra 1959), Aliens Registration Index, Table 10.

94

The Church of the Sacred Heart (Carlton), "Marriage Records".



Elgin-streets had Italian proprietors, and of these the majority were the traditional Italian businesses: the Italian fruiterer, the Italian cobbler, the Italian grocer, and the Italian tailor. By 1960 forty-seven Italian shops were listed in the Melbourne directory, and now in addition to the traditional Italian shops there were nine expresso-coffee bars, three Italian hairdressers, three Italian butchers, two retailers of electrical goods, two photographers, two estate agents, a chemist, a florist, a motor-mechanic, and even an Italian hotel-proprietor.<sup>95</sup> In many suburbs today where there are Italian concentrations, shops carry in their windows the legend "Qui si parla italiano". In Carlton Italians are saying it may soon read "English spoken here".

#### Summary

Carlton and North Carlton are long-established inner suburbs of Melbourne built largely between sixty five to ninety five years ago. The pattern of original settlement in this area was from south to north, with the result that today the condition of its housing tends to improve the further north one goes. In individual cases, however, the difference between a house ninety years old and another seventy years old may have disappeared, and all housing in this area is, except for some parts of North Carlton, more or less dilapidated, consisting predominantly of terraces, a type of housing not particularly acceptable by modern

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Sands and McDougall's Directory of Victoria, 1961.

standards of architectural design.

Just as the southernmost regions of Carlton were the first parts of this suburb to be settled, so they were the first to deteriorate. Soon persons of British stock began to move to better areas, and by 1891 a number of Jews had already settled in South Carlton, to be followed twenty years later by the Viggianese musicians. During the 1920's and 1930's, as these suburbs deteriorated further, the Jews moved from Carlton into North Carlton, and in their place a substantial concentration of Italians from the Veneto and the Friulan province of Udine was established. By 1935, the Jews had already begun to move out of the Carlton area to other parts of the metropolis, a movement which grew apace after the Second World War with a sudden influx of Italians and other southern Europeans into the inner suburbs. During the post-war period North Carlton also emerged as a suburb of dense Italian concentration, the largest element of which was derived from Viggiano and its neighbouring comuni in Potenza. In 1960 the Carlton area contained an estimated 6,500 Italians (including their Australian-born children), not to mention other non-British minorities such as the Greeks, Jews, Yugoslavs, and Maltese. By the time of the present survey Carlton and North Carlton, like other inner suburbs of Melbourne, harboured a dense immigrant concentration, and had an estimated non-British population of 11,380 persons, 44 per cent of its total population.



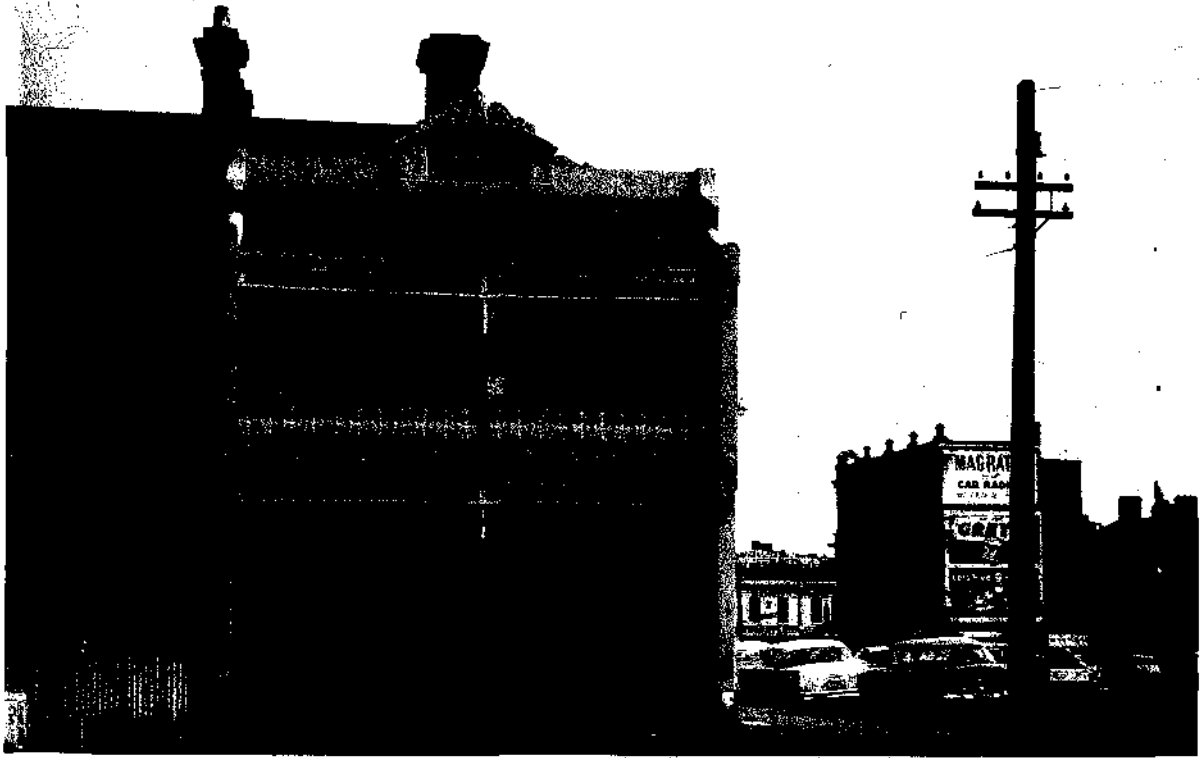
Photograph VI, 1    One-storeyed, single-fronted terraces  
North Carlton.

Although this type of terrace was built in a profusion of differing styles, these are typical of most, at least in their basic characteristics: narrow frontages, an entry hall providing access to all rooms, no space for a garden or lawn in front, and a paved verandah of sufficient dimensions only to permit the opening of the gate. The third house on the right has a "Room to let" notice in its window.

Photograph VI, 2 One-storeyed, single-fronted terraces

This pair of terraces represents an interesting variation on the basic pattern. They have been set back a little further, to allow for a small garden, but the windows are smaller and the amount of natural light available within the house poor, as the darkened hallways suggest. The television aerial and the ornate filigree, characteristic of terraces built in the 1870's and 1880's, symbolise the contrast of new and old in Melbourne's inner suburbs.





Photograph VI, 3      Louisa Terrace, Carlton.  
Drummond- and Queensberry-streets.

Typical of the smaller two-storeyed, single-fronted terrace, this pair was built in 1873. Entrance to the right-hand terrace is gained from Queensberry-street. The parking signs and meters in both streets reflect the spread of commerce and industry into this southern part of Carlton.

Photograph VI, 4    Malvina Terrace, Grattan-street,  
Carlton.

This terrace, consisting of four identical two-storeyed, single-fronted dwellings, was also built in 1873. It provides a good example of the more substantial early terrace. Each is wider than the two in Louisa Terrace, and there are two windows on the first floor instead of the more usual one. This block of terraces was owned by an Italian and his brother, who together had carried out extensive internal and external improvements. It is in exceptionally good condition for a building almost ninety years old.





Photograph VI, 5 Two-storeyed, single-fronted terraces  
North Carlton.

This magnificent trio of beautifully preserved terraces is found in Pigdon-street. Well-proportioned and ornately decorated these must be among the finest buildings of this type in Melbourne. They are structurally in their original condition: no external alterations have been made. But despite their imposing appearance they lack any space at the front and open onto a very narrow verandah.

Photograph VI, 6 One-storeyed, double-fronted terrace,  
North Carlton.

This dwelling is situated alongside those shown in the preceding photograph. Rarely built this type of double-fronted terrace possesses a charm and grace in its fine proportions unequalled in many detached houses erected many years later. This particular example is in an excellent state of preservation. An identical terrace on the left of the photograph (not included) was occupied by an Italian family at the time of the survey.







Photograph VI, 7 Two-storeyed, double-fronted terrace  
North Carlton.

Few houses of the terrace-type were ever built so grandly as this fine example in Drummond-street. Set well back in spacious grounds it is richly ornamented, even to the extent of having wrought-iron across the top of the roof. Majestic even today, it must have been a grand residence at the time of its erection. The terrace on its right was built in 1888.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE COMPOSITION OF ITALIAN HOUSEHOLDS

"There are thousands of migrants, particularly southern Europeans, living in unhygienic conditions in Melbourne."<sup>1</sup>

"Recently in the company of a certain health inspector, I inspected several residences in Drummond-street, Carlton. During my tour of inspection, I did not meet more than half a dozen people of British or Australian stock. In one house, there were 25 Greek migrants, who had lived in Australia for only twelve months. None of them could speak English. In another house there were 25 Italians, and, in fact, a similar situation obtained in almost all the houses visited."<sup>2</sup>

#### Definitions

Before we attempt to describe the households upon which this study has been based, it will be as well to define the terms used in the following description.

Household. A household may be defined as "a group of persons who live communally in a single dwelling". By "communal" living such things as eating at the same table and using the same living room are meant. In the Carlton survey households were commonly defined as those persons who watched the same television set. By a "single dwelling" a habitation having its own street number is meant. In some instances such dwellings had been internally

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1

Mr. Todd, Parliamentary Debates (Victoria, Legislative Assembly), Vol. 246 (1955-56), 245.

2

Mr. Clarey, Parliamentary Debates (Victoria, Legislative Assembly), Vol. 248 (1955-56), 3328.

sub-divided into separate flats. Such flats were treated as separate households.

Head of household. The head of household may be defined as "the person upon whose authority residence in a household is dependent". Thus the household-head was in most cases the senior married male in the household. In some cases the household-head was an unmarried male who had purchased a dwelling and subsequently taken in additional kin or boarders. In all such cases these single men owned the dwellings concerned. In two other households, widowed females were household-heads. In two group households it was impossible to identify a household-head, since occupancy of the two dwellings concerned was dependent not upon any of the residents but upon the owners, who rented the dwellings as apartment-houses.

Basic household. In extended-family and composite households the immediate family of procreation of the household-head (if he or she was married), or the household-head himself (if he was unmarried), was referred to as the basic household, in the sense that they constituted a relatively stable unit compared with the additional kin or boarders included in the household, who were likely in time to move out and form an independent household.

Single person, conjugal couple, and nuclear family households.

These terms are used in their conventional senses and are to this extent self-explanatory. They refer to households consisting of one person only, a conjugal couple, or a nuclear family (composed of husband, wife and unmarried children).

Extended family household. This type of household may be defined as a household whose members do not constitute a nuclear family or conjugal couple but are nevertheless related by birth or marriage to the household-head.

Composite household. This may be defined as a household which contains members who are not related by birth or marriage to the household-head, households which in other words contain unrelated boarders. Two such households, with basic households of three and six persons, contained five and eight boarders respectively, and could thus be classed as boarding-houses. <sup>owing</sup> ~~Due~~ to their informal nature (they could not be identified from the street as boarding-houses) they have been treated as private households.

Group household. This household-type may be defined as a household whose members are all males, do not constitute a familial group, but occupy a single dwelling, in order to lower per capita living-costs.

#### Occupants of Italian households

Carlton and North Carlton are today the centre of an Italian concentration unequalled in any other Australian city or among any other ethnic group. In 1954 7 per cent of the total population of Melbourne's inner suburbs, comprising the municipalities of the City of Melbourne, Brunswick, Fitzroy, Collingwood, and Richmond, were Italian-born, and this region of Melbourne alone contained 16,667 persons of Italian birth, only two thousands fewer than in the whole of the Sydney metropolitan area (18,796 persons) and almost exactly the number in the State

of Queensland (16,795). By 1960 Italian-born persons constituted probably 15 per cent of the population of this inner-suburban area of Melbourne. Between December 1954 and June 1958 the number of adult Italian nationals registered in this area had already increased from 10,303 to 20,205 persons.<sup>3</sup>

So far as Carlton and North Carlton are concerned, it can be estimated from the findings of the present survey that in June 1960 this area contained 6,350 to 7,034 Italians, between 25 per cent and 30 per cent of the total population. Moreover, the effective Italian concentrations in parts of these suburbs must have been even denser than these figures suggest, since according to the map showing the distribution of Italian-occupied dwellings in 1958, Italians were lightly represented in the oldest parts of Carlton (south of Pelham-street), and in the newest parts of North Carlton (above the cemetery and at the northern ends of Drummond- and Rathdowne-streets). In Carlton the heaviest Italian concentrations were north of Pelham-street and east of Cardigan-street, and in North Carlton east of Rathdowne-street. By the time of the present survey Italians occupied every third or fourth house in Carlton-North Carlton. Who were these Italians and what were some of their characteristics?

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<sup>3</sup>

Australia. Department of Immigration (Melbourne). "District Index of Aliens". Unpublished figures relating to the federal electorates of Melbourne, Scullin, and Yarra. See Table IV.6 above.

In the Carlton sample ninety-five Italian households were canvassed, fifty-three in Carlton and forty-two in North Carlton. Their occupants numbered 426 persons, of whom eight were non-Italians: in Carlton two households contained a Yugoslav and a Maltese, and a Yugoslav, respectively, and in two other households in Carlton and North Carlton, the Italians interviewed were boarding with a Jewish family of three and a Jewish couple respectively. These eight non-Italians have been excluded from all tables except those relating to household-size, household-type, and total number of occupants.

The analysis of census and other official statistics shows that in Australia a high proportion of Italian-born persons are young adults aged between twenty and thirty-four.<sup>4</sup> One fact to emerge from the Carlton survey is that an equally high proportion of the members of a viable Italian population in Australia are children under sixteen, the majority of whom have been born in Australia after their parents' arrival. In Carlton-North Carlton 26 per cent of the sample population were under the age of sixteen years and of these over half (68/122, see Table VII.1) had been born in Australia.

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<sup>4</sup>Zubrzycki, Op. cit., Figure 6, p.35.

TABLE VII.1 Sample: Occupants of Italian Households

Occupants	Carlton	North Carlton
<u>Children</u>		
Males	30	25
Females	28	39
<u>Adults</u>		
Males	79	96
Females	56	65
<u>Total</u>		
Males	109	121
Females	84	104
Persons	193	225

Children are defined as persons under the age of sixteen years, and Adults as persons sixteen years of age and over, to allow comparison with unpublished census figures relating to the total population of the Carlton area in 1954.

This Italian proportion was significantly higher than the proportion observed in the total population of this area in the 1954 census, 21 per cent.<sup>5</sup> This high Italian proportion seems to be a genuine and not a biased finding, since a comparison between the proportion of Italian-born persons 0-14 years in the sample in 1960 and in five collector's districts in Carlton in 1954, reveals that the sample proportion (15.4 per cent) was not significantly

<sup>5</sup> Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 16.69$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

higher than the 1954 proportion (13.4 per cent).<sup>6</sup>

If the proportion of children under sixteen was significantly higher in the Italian population than in the total population of this area, then it must have been likewise higher than it was among British-Australians. Carlton, indeed, like its neighbouring suburbs, has been largely abandoned by young British-Australians and their families. Today the population of these inner areas consists of immigrants, their children, and those elderly British-Australians who for a variety of reasons do not want, or are not able, to move to more distant suburbs. The census figures reflect this. In 1954 seventy five per thousand of Carlton-North Carlton's total population were over sixty-five years of age, compared with only seventeen per thousand among the Italians in 1960. Although a high proportion of Carlton's adult population was of foreign stock, the proportion was even higher among the children. It is estimated that 38 per cent of the children in the Carlton area but only 24 per cent of the adults were of Italian origin.<sup>7</sup> When we further bear in mind that in November 1958 there were approximately 2,410 adult aliens of other nationality in the Carlton area<sup>8</sup> in addition to the 3,951 of Italian nationality, clearly the number

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6

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 1.06$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

7

The ratio of children to adults derived from the Italian population of Carlton-North Carlton in 1960 has been applied to the age-structure of the total population of this area in 1954 to obtain these figures.

8

Australia. Department of Immigration (Melbourne). "District Index of Aliens". See Table IV.6 above.



of young British-Australian families must have been small indeed.

Table VII.2 illustrates two important points. Firstly, the household-heads,<sup>9</sup> like the Italians in Carlton-North Carlton generally came from geographically restricted parts of Italy. Thirty-six of the forty northern Italian padroni were from the eastern alps region of the Veneto and Friuli, and although there was a somewhat wider spread among the southern Italians, there was an important cluster in North Carlton of households whose head had been born in the province of Potenza. Secondly, as a result of the pattern of Italian settlement in Carlton and North Carlton, there was a tendency for different groups of Italians to be concentrated in different parts of the Carlton area. Thus, the padroni from the Veneto and Friuli, two-fifths of whom (14/36) had arrived in Australia before the Second World War, tended to be concentrated in Carlton,<sup>10</sup> while those from Potenza, all but one of whom were post-war arrivals, were concentrated in North Carlton.<sup>11</sup>

The different periods in which Italians settled in these two suburbs emerge more clearly in the next Table, Table VII.3.

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9

Household-heads are hereafter referred to by the alternative term padrone, (plur. padroni, feminine padrona).

10

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 2.99$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

11

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 8.04$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

TABLE VII.2

Sample : Origin in Italy of Italian Heads of Household

Province or Region of Origin	Carlton	North Carlton
Alessandria	1	1
Belluno	-	1
Padova	-	1
Torino	1	-
Treviso	6	2
Udine	6	2
Venezia	1	-
Vicenza	11	6
Trieste	-	1
Roma	-	1
Toscana	4	1
Abruzzi e Molise	7	-
Catanzaro	-	2
Cosenza	-	1
Foggia	1	2
Matera	1	-
Potenza	3	12
Reggio Calabria	3	3
Catania	-	1
Messina	1	1
Siracusa	3	3
Total	49 <sup>**</sup>	41 <sup>***</sup>

\* Four households not included (two group households, one household with a British-Australian head, and one Italian boarding with a Jewish family).

\*\*\* One Italian boarding with a Jewish couple not included.

TABLE VII.3 Sample: Period of Arrival in Australia of Italian Heads of Households.

Period of Arrival	Carlton	North Carlton
1st July 1958, to 30th June 1960	-	-
1st July 1954, to 30th June 1958	12	6
1st July 1947, to 30th June 1954	21	26
Prior to 1st July 1947	16	9
Total	49 *	41

\* See Table VII.2.

Although the proportion of pre-war padroni was not significantly higher in Carlton than in North Carlton,<sup>12</sup> it is important to note that eleven of the sixteen pre-war arrivals in Carlton had been living in Carlton before the war; none of the North Carlton padroni took up residence in North Carlton until after the war. Of the nine pre-war arrivals in North Carlton, one had been living in Carlton before the war, four in other parts of Melbourne, two in the country, and two in Queensland. Most of the household-heads had arrived in Australia during the intercensal period 1947-1954,

<sup>12</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 1.08$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.30 > p > 0.20$ .

and although a number had arrived since the 1954 census, none had entered Australia later than 30th June 1958. This does not mean that persons who had arrived between 1958 and 1960 were not represented in the sample but rather that no such person in the sample had yet established an independent household; many of them were living with kin or with other persons in the Carlton area. In addition, of course, the sample itself was based upon a 1958 list of addresses and consequently new arrivals could be represented only if they took up residence in houses previously occupied by Italians; if they moved into houses occupied in 1958 by non-Italians they were not included in the sample. Even so, Table VII.4 indicates that considerable mobility had occurred in the Italian households of this area since the drawing of the sample. By the time of interviewing, one in every ten households contained a household-head who had been in his present residence for less than two years. In spite of this mobility no padrone in the sample had been in Australia for less than two years.

TABLE VII.4 Sample: Length of Residence in Present Dwelling  
of Heads of Household

Length of Residence	Carlton	North Carlton
Less than one year	4	1
One year, less than two	3	1
Two years, less than three	6	4
Three years, less than four	7	7
Four years, less than five	4	8
Five years, less than six	2	4
Six years, less than seven	9	8
Seven years, less than eight	1	5
Eight years, less than nine	1	-
Nine years, less than ten	-	1
Ten years, less than fourteen	6	2
Fifteen years or more	7	-
Total	50 *	41 <del>xxx</del>

\* Two group households, and one Italian boarder not included.

~~xxx~~ One Italian boarder not included.

In a distribution as uneven as that shown in Table VII.4, little advantage is to be gained from the computation of averages. In North Carlton the majority of padroni (27/41) took up residence in their present dwelling between 1st July 1953 and 30th June 1957, and although in Carlton this same trend was apparent, residential mobility appeared to be greater in Carlton than in North Carlton. Thus, although in Carlton one out of every four padroni had been in his present residence for ten years or more, compared with only one in twenty in North Carlton,<sup>13</sup> this comparatively stable element

<sup>13</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 7.22$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

of early Italian arrivals from Vicenza, Treviso, Udine and Toscana was offset by a highly mobile element of more recent arrivals who had been in their present residence for less than two years.<sup>14</sup> From this evidence, and other more qualitative observations, it can be suggested that Carlton today is becoming an area of temporary settlement for recently arrived Italian immigrants. Most of the housing in this area is old and dilapidated, serving only as stop-gap accommodation where Italians in the first stage of their resettlement can live cheaply before moving into better accommodation. In North Carlton, by contrast, the housing is better, and the same degree of mobility is not evident among the post-war arrivals. Although boarders move out as they achieve economic independence a basic element in each household remains.

Table VII.5 reinforces this viewpoint, by showing that although the proportion of padroni who owned or were purchasing their residences was high in the Carlton area generally, the proportion of tenants was significantly higher in Carlton than in North Carlton.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 2.07$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

<sup>15</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 8.83$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

TABLE VII.5 Sample : Nature of Occupancy in Italian Households

Nature of Occupancy	Carlton	North Carlton
Owner-mortgagees	28	34
Tenant	24	7
Total	52 *	41 **

\* One Italian boarding with a Jewish family not included; the Jewish head of household was the owner-purchaser of the dwelling concerned.

\*\* One Italian boarding with a Jewish family not included; the Jewish head of household was the owner-purchaser of the dwelling concerned.

Two-thirds of the padroni in the Carlton sample were the owner-mortgagees of the dwellings occupied by them. Is this comparatively high proportion reliable, or does it reflect the bias introduced by replacement towards the <sup>INCLUSION OF</sup> less mobile members of the Italian population of this area, and therefore somewhat high? Let us treat Carlton and North Carlton separately. In North Carlton there were only five replacements in the original sample. All five replacements were owner-mortgagees. On the extreme assumption that all the padroni thus replaced had been renting their dwellings thirty of the original forty-one padroni in North Carlton were owner-mortgagees. Thus the sample proportion probably lies somewhere between this low figure of 73 per cent and the obtained figure of 83 per cent. In Carlton, there were ten replacements due to non-response in the original sample. Seven of these substitutes

were owner-mortgagees and three tenants. On the assumption that all the padroni thus replaced were tenants a low estimate of owner-mortgagees in Carlton of 40 per cent (21/52) and a high estimate of 54 per cent (28/52) are derived.

Combining these low and high estimates for the Carlton area as a whole, we may assume that between 55 per cent and 67 per cent of Italian padroni in these suburbs were owner-mortgagees of their residences. On either estimate the proportion of tenants is significantly low compared with the total population of this area. In the 1954 census 61 per cent of the occupants of private dwellings in the City of Melbourne were tenants, compared with no more than 45 per cent of the Italians in Carlton in 1960.<sup>16</sup> This tendency for Italians to purchase their residences has also been noted by Officers of the Slum Reclamation Section of the Victorian Housing Commission.<sup>17</sup>

No significant relationship between type of occupancy and origin in Italy was observed. Since a higher proportion of southern Italians lived in North Carlton, so a higher proportion of padroni from Basilicata-Calabria than those from Veneto-Friuli

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16

Test of significance (using the high sample estimate of tenants):  $\chi^2 = 10.20$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

17

According to a housing survey conducted in slum reclamation areas in Carlton between 1958 and 1960, two-thirds (58/86) of the dwellings occupied by British-Australians were rented, compared with only one-quarter (12/46) of those occupied by Italians (Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 20.59$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ ). Italians occupied almost one-third (46/152) of the dwellings covered. Source. Officers of the State Housing Commission of Victoria, 1st September 1960.



were the owner-mortgagees of the dwellings they occupied (20/24 compared with 23/36). This difference, while quite marked, was not statistically significant,<sup>18</sup> and appeared to reflect ecological differences between the two suburbs rather than a direct relationship between origin in Italy and type of occupancy. As already mentioned (Table VII.2) the proportion of household-heads born in northern Italy was significantly higher in Carlton than in North Carlton.<sup>19</sup>

#### Structure of Italian households

The modal household-size in both Carlton and North Carlton was four persons, consisting in most cases of a conjugal couple and two unmarried children: sixteen of the twenty-five four-person households were thus composed. The average household-size, on the other hand, differed significantly by suburb, being significantly smaller in Carlton (see Table VII.6).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>  
Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 3.06$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

<sup>19</sup>  
Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 4.56$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

<sup>20</sup>  
Test of significance:  $t = 3.96$ , d.f. = 93,  $p < 0.001$ .

TABLE VII.6 Sample: Size of Italian Households

Household-size	Carlton	North Carlton
One person only	2	1
Two persons	11	1
Three persons	11	5
Four persons	15	10
Five persons	7	6
Six persons	3	8
Seven persons	3	5
Eight persons	1	3
Nine persons	-	2
Fourteen persons	-	1
Total	53	42
Average household-size	3.8 (1.6) <sup>x</sup>	5.4 (2.3) <sup>x</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Standard deviations of the means

This discrepancy is partly explained by the presence in Carlton of a greater number of pre-war arrivals, since the average size of households whose head had arrived in Australia before the Second World War was significantly smaller than that among the post-war arrivals.<sup>21</sup> This cannot be the complete explanation of this discrepancy as more detailed analysis reveals: with regard both to pre-war and to post-war arrivals the average household-size was

<sup>21</sup>

Average household sizes were: pre-war padroni, 3.5 persons (S.D. 1.9); post-war padroni, 4.9 persons (S.D. 2.1). Test of significance:  $t = 2.905$ , d.f. = 88,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

significantly greater in North Carlton than in Carlton.<sup>22</sup> Since there was no significant relationship between average household-size and origin in Italy,<sup>23</sup> differences in average household-size seemed related primarily to ecological factors: dwellings tended to be slightly larger and in better condition in North Carlton than in Carlton and hence their occupants more numerous (see Table 13 below).

Related to household-size is household-structure. By contrast with British-Australian households, which consist ideally<sup>24</sup> of husband, wife and unmarried children, almost half the Italian households were not of this type: many contained additional kin, others lodgers, while a few consisted merely of a group of men living together. This tendency for Italian households to contain

22

Average household-sizes were: Pre-war arrivals: Carlton 25 persons (S.D. 1.1), North Carlton, 5.1 persons (S.D. 1.7),  $t = 4.466$ , d.f. = 23,  $p < 0.001$ ; Post-war arrivals, Carlton 4.3 persons (S.D. 1.5 persons), North Carlton 5.6 persons (S.D. 2.4),  $t = 2.576$ , d.f. = 63,  $0.02 > p > 0.01$ .

23

The average household-sizes among the largest relevant groups were: Veneti-Friulani, 4.3 persons (S.D. 2.3), Lucani-Calabresi 5.2 persons (S.D. 2.1). Test of significance:  $t = 1.517$ , d.f. = 58,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

24

Only qualitative evidence exists in support of this ideal household-type in Australia: quantitative data seems never to be cited. See Margaret R. Middleton, "Trends in Family Organization in Australia" (in Social Structure and Personality in a City, ed. O.A. Cser and S.B. Hammond, London 1954), p.118; also Harold Fallding, "Inside the Australian Family" (in Marriage and the Family in Australia, ed. A.P. Elkin, Sydney 1957), pp.56-57. Studies in Great Britain, by contrast, do offer quantitative evidence in support of this ideal type. See Peter Willmott and Michael Young, Family and Class in a London Suburb (London 1960), pp.40-46; and T. Brennan, Reshaping a City (Glasgow 1959), p.84 and p.105.

kin beyond the simple family or lodgers has been noted in studies in America<sup>25</sup> and also in Great Britain.<sup>26</sup>

The frequency with which the different types of household occurred is shown on Table VII.7.

TABLE VII.7 Sample: Structure of Italian Households

Type of Household	Carlton	North Carlton
Single-person household	2	1
Conjugal-couple household	9	1
Nuclear-family household	26	14
Extended-family household	7	16
Composite household	5	9
Group household	4	1
Total	53	42

Many comments could be made on this Table. Of immediate interest is that in North Carlton, where households were larger, the proportion of extended-family and composite households was significantly higher than in Carlton.<sup>27</sup> Here households tended to

<sup>25</sup>

Grace Peloubet Norton, "Chicago Housing Conditions, VII : Two Italian Districts", The American Journal of Sociology, XVIII (Jan. 1913), p.527; U.S. Senate, Committee on Immigration, Reports of the Immigration Commission : Immigrants in Cities (S. Doc. No. 338, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, 1910), Vol. I, Table 42, p.79.

<sup>26</sup>

Firth, Op. cit., pp.71-72.

<sup>27</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 14.47$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

be smaller, and in two out of every three cases consisted of a conjugal couple or a nuclear family.

Single person households. Three households consisted of one person only: in Carlton a bachelor aged 63 from Livorno who had lived by himself in the back of his shop in Lygon-street for almost thirty years; a divorcee aged 53 from Vicenza who had separated from his British-Australian wife six or seven years earlier and was now living by himself; and in North Carlton a bachelor of 52 years from Potenza who rented the upstairs of his two-storeyed terrace to an Australian family, while he himself took his meals down the street with his married sister.

Conjugal couple households. Ten households were composed of a solitary conjugal couple, of which a significantly high proportion were in Carlton.<sup>28</sup> Only two of these ten couples were recently married (both lived in Carlton), and all remaining eight couples were pre-war arrivals over the age of fifty whose children<sup>29</sup> had grown up, married, and moved to other suburbs. In no instance in Carlton had the married child of a pre-war arrival continued to reside in his parental home after marriage, although in North Carlton, four of the five pre-war arrivals with married children had a married child living with them at the time of interviewing.

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<sup>28</sup>  
Test of significance:  $X^2 = 6.15$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.02 > p > 0.01$ .

<sup>29</sup>  
Two couples had been childless.

Nuclear family households. The largest proportion of Italian households consisted of a nuclear, or elementary, family: one-half of the households in Carlton and one-third of those in North Carlton were thus composed.<sup>30</sup> The modal type of nuclear family household consisted of father, mother, and two unmarried children, although households with only one unmarried child still resident in the parental home occurred almost as frequently (Table VII.8). Four-fifths of the children (61/77) were dependants under the age of fifteen. The parents, by contrast with the members of the conjugal couple households, were mostly under forty-five: twenty-nine of the fathers and thirty-three of the mothers were in this broad age-group.

TABLE VII.8 Sample: Structure of Nuclear Families

Number of Children Resident with Parents	Carlton	North Carlton
One child only	10	4
Two children	12	4
Three children	2	4
Four children	-	1
Five children	2	-
Eight children	-	1
Total	26	14

<sup>30</sup>

These proportions were not significantly different:  $\chi^2 = 2.40$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

Whereas the padroni of eight of the ten conjugal-couple households had arrived in Australia before the war from northern Italy or Toscana, thirty-three of the heads of nuclear family households were post-war arrivals, and half (21/40) had come from southern or insular Italy.

Extended family households. One-quarter of the Italian households in Carlton-North Carlton were extended families varying in size from three to eight persons. Their modal size was six persons (9 households) and their average size 5.6 persons, of whom 4.4 persons were adults and 1.2 dependent children under the age of fifteen. Only 22 per cent (28/128) of the occupants of extended family households were under the age of fifteen, compared with 37 per cent (61/165) of those in nuclear family households. A smaller number of dependent children seemed conducive to the inclusion of kin outside the padrone's family of procreation.

Only six of the padroni of extended-family households were pre-war arrivals, four of whom had married children living with them (households 6, 7, 13, 19), the fifth (household 11) the widowed padrona's unmarried brother, and the sixth, a childless couple (household 4), an unmarried cousin. Half (13/23) of the extended-family households had heads from north or central Italy. There was no evidence that southern Italians or Sicilians were more prone to live in extended family groups than northern Italians.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 0.25$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.80 > p > 0.70$

TABLE VII.9

Sample : Composition of Extended Family Households\*

No.	Members of the Basic Household	Additional Kin
1	P (unmarried)	Ps, PsH, PsS, Psd
2	P (unmarried)	Ps(1), PsH, Psd, Ps(2), Ps(3)
3	P (unmarried)	PB, PBw, PBd, PC, PCw
4	P, w	PC
5	P, w	PB, PBw, PBS
6	P, w	PS, PSw, PSS, PSd
7	P, w	PS, PSw, PSd(1), PSd(2)
8	P, w, d	PC
9	p, S(1), S(2)	pC
10	P, w, d	PwB
11	p, d(1), d(2)	pB
12	P, w, d	PB, Pm
13	P, w, S	PS, PSw, PSS
14	P, w, d	Ps, PsH, Psd
15	P, w, d	PB(1), PBw, PB(2), Ps
16	P, w, S, d	PB
17	P, w, d(1), d(2)	PB
18	P, w, S(1), S(2)	Pd, PdH
19	P, w, d(2), S	Pd(1), PdH
20	P, w, S(1), S(2), d	PN, PNs, Pn
21	P, w, and 3 sons	PwB
22	P, w, S(1), S(2), d(2)	Pd(1), PdH, Pdd
23	P, w, d(1), S(1), d(2), S(2)	Pm

\* Letters in upper case refer to males, those in lower case to females

Code

P = padrone, male head of household  
 p = padrona, female head of household  
 H = husband  
 w = wife  
 S = son  
 d = daughter  
 B = brother  
 s = sister  
 m = mother  
 C = male cousin  
 N = nephew  
 n = niece



The twelve northern or central Italian households contained 60 persons, the eleven southern Italian or Sicilian households 64 persons<sup>32</sup> (Table VII.9).

The members of the basic households in the extended family households numbered seventy two persons, sixteen of whom were children under the age of fifteen. Fifty six additional kin, including twelve children, were also included. Eleven of these children were under five years of age, mostly (6/11) grandchildren of the padroni (households 6, 7, 13, 22). The number of additional kin, and their relationship to the padrone, varied from one household to another. Most commonly only one additional kin was included (households 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 21, 23), usually an unmarried male: three households included an unmarried brother of the padrone's wife, two an unmarried brother of the padrone, two his unmarried male cousin, and one the widowed male cousin of the padrona, herself a widow (households 10, 11, 21, 16, 17, 4, 8, and 9 respectively). The only female in these nine households where only one additional kin was included was the padrone's widowed mother, whom he had brought to Australia in 1956 upon the death of his father in Italy (household 23). In three other households (18, 19, 12) there were two additional kin: in two cases a married daughter and her husband were living with the daughter's parents;

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<sup>32</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 0.81$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

the third contained the padrone's mother<sup>33</sup> and an unmarried brother. In four of the five households (households 5, 14, 13, 12, and 20 respectively) containing three additional kin, these kin were married siblings or married children of the padrone: a married brother, a married sister, a married son and a married daughter, each with a spouse and one child; in the fifth household the additional kin were the padrone's nephew and two nieces, all unmarried. Finally, in six households, three of whose heads were unmarried, there were more than three additional kin, and again the majority were married siblings or married children of the padrone: in two households (6 and 7) married sons and their families were living with parents, two other households (1 and 3) contained the families of a married sister and a married brother of the padrone, and another (household 2) the family of a married sister as well as two unmarried sisters of the padrone; the remaining household (15) was composed of a basic household of three, the padrone's married brother and his wife, and also another brother and a sister, both of whom were unmarried.

Thus thirty eight of the fifty six additional kin included in the extended family households were married couples and their children. Six of these couples were married children, and six married siblings, of the padrone. Only one was a married cousin of

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33

This woman's husband was residing in the country with another married son at the time of interviewing. The mother had been in Australia for only a few months.

the household-head. If we exclude the married children, all but one of whom had been living in their parental homes since marriage, we find that only one couple had been living with the padrone for more than three years: two had been in the present dwelling for under one year, one under two years, and two under three years. Of the eighteen remaining adult additional kin, seven were siblings of the padrone, three siblings of his wife, two mothers of the padrone, and six cousins, nephews or nieces. Fourteen had been living with the padrone for less than three years. Apart from the six married children, three of whom were married sons and three married daughters, only four of the other thirty-two adult additional kin were not related directly to the padrone. This emphasis on the male line was noted in the London study of Italian kinship.<sup>34</sup>

Composite household. One in seven households in the Carlton survey, a proportion somewhat below that found in some American cities in 1910 (22.4 per cent),<sup>35</sup> contained persons not related by kinship to the household-head. Such households, since they are composed of diverse elements, have been called "composite households", a term used by Caradog Jones, in a slightly different sense, in his analysis of households in England and Wales in 1951.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>

Firth, Op. cit., p.73.

<sup>35</sup>

U.S. Senate, Committee on Immigration, Op. cit., Vol. I, p.81.  
Test of significance:  $X^2 = 3.22$ ,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

<sup>36</sup>

A.M. Carr-Saunders, D. Caradog Jones, and C.A. Moser, A Survey of Social Conditions in England and Wales as Illustrated by Statistics (Oxford 1958), pp.35-36.

The size of composite households varied considerably, from three to fourteen persons. Only one padrone of a composite household was a pre-war arrival, a retired man of seventy from Vicenza, who used his largish two-storeyed terrace in North Carlton as a boarding-house (household 8). Three padroni were from northern Italy (8, 10, 14), one from Toscana (4), six from southern Italy (1, 2, 6, 7, 12, and 13) and two from Sicily (9 and 11); two Italians in the sample were boarding with Jewish families (3 and 5). Thus although two out of every three of the heads of composite households were from southern Italy or Sicily, the number of instances was small and the tendency for more southern Italian or Sicilian households to contain unrelated boarders not statistically significant.<sup>37</sup>

Although five of the fourteen composite households contained fewer than six members, the modal size was seven persons and the mean size 6.6 persons. Forty two of the ninety three occupants of these fourteen households were boarders unrelated to the household-head. A relatively high proportion of the members of the basic household were dependent children (18/51, just over one third), which suggests that economic reasons were, as one would expect, the most important factor in accepting boarders in the household.

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<sup>37</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 1.77$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

TABLE VII.10 Sample: Structure of Composite Households

No.	Members of the Basic Household	Additional household members
1	P (unmarried)	PC; Br., w, S(1), d, S(2), S(3)
2	P, d(2)*	Pd(2), PdH; Br., w, d
3	P, w	Br.
4	P, w, S	Br.
5	P, w, S	Br.
6	P, w, S	Br.
7	P, w, S	Br., s, S
8	P, w, S	Five (5) male boarders
9	P, w, S(1), S(2)	Br., w, d, Br.ws. Br. wsd
10	P, w, S(1), S(2)	Br.
11	P, w, S, d(1), d(2)	Br., w
12	P, w, d(1), S, d(2)	Br.(1), Br.(2) <del>was</del>
13	P, w, d(1), S, d(2)	Br., w
14	P, w, d(1), S, d(2) and d(3)	Eight (8) male boarders

\* Pedrone's wife still in Italy

~~was~~ Married, wife still in Italy

CODE: As for Table VII.9. Br. = male boarder.

Seven young married couples were among the boarders in these households (1, 2, 7, 9, 11, and 13), and they, together with all their children, accounted for almost half (21/44) the boarders. All seven husbands had only cousins or married sisters in Australia. Four of these couples had been at their present lodgings for less than a year, and none had been there longer than two years; in fact none of the boarders' wives had been in Australia for longer than two years. Boarding with non-kin was for these couples obviously an expedient.

The remaining twenty-three boarders consisted of twenty unmarried males between nineteen and thirty-four years of age, thirteen of whom resided in two households; a married male aged forty-nine awaiting his wife's arrival from Italy, and a young widow aged twenty-four, who with her young daughter was boarding in the same household as her married sister. Ten of the twenty single male boarders had been in Australia for one year or less; eighteen had been at the present lodgings for one year or less. It is interesting to note that sixteen of the twenty had arrived in Australia on assisted passages from the Australian government or the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. Only one had any relatives in Australia.

Group households. Five group households, consisting of a group of men living together and sharing expenses,<sup>38</sup> were included in the survey. Four were in Carlton, three of which contained males over forty years of age: three bachelors, two widowers, a married male awaiting his wife's arrival from Calabria, and a divorcee who had been separated from his British-Australian wife since the end of the war. Four of these seven males had arrived in Australia between 1922 and 1927. The other group-household in Carlton was an apartment house containing five lodgers, all unmarried males between twenty-nine and thirty-seven

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<sup>38</sup>U.S. Senate, Committee on Immigration, Op. cit., Vol. I, p.79.

years of age, who had arrived in Australia between 1952 and 1956.

The only group household in North Carlton consisted of four Italians from Potenza, all unmarried males between twenty-eight and thirty years of age, the eldest of whom had bought a house in 1955 in an (as yet unsuccessful) attempt to increase his value on the marriage-market. They had all been in Australia for more than six years.

Out of this detailed discussion of the type of households occupied by Italians in the Carlton area, two general findings have emerged. Firstly, almost half these households contained persons not included in the padrone's family of procreation. This wider inclusiveness of Italian compared with British-Australian households partly reflected a preference on the part of some Italians at least for living in extended family rather than nuclear family groups. More often, however, particularly when boarders were included, this was a purely economic arrangement. Thus few of the pre-war arrivals lived in extended family groups, unless a married child had stayed on in the parental home after marriage, or in composite households.(Table VII.12). The boarders themselves were usually young unmarried men, more often than not assisted migrants with no relatives in Australia. In other cases young married couples, the wife recently arrived in Australia, were boarding with unrelated families when unable to find accommodation with relatives or privately. Many of the families with whom they boarded had young children, and in such cases taking boarders saved the wife from finding employment outside the home.

TABLE VII.11

Sample : Household-type Classified by Period of Arrival in Australia and Division of Origin in Italy of Household Head

Household-type	Period of Arrival		Division of Origin in Italy		TOTAL
	Pre-war	Post-war	Northern or Central	Southern or Insular	
Single person	2	1	2	1	3
Conjugal couple	8	2	9	1	10
Nuclear family	7	32	18	21	40
Extended family	6	15	12	11	23
Composite household	1	11	4	8	14
Group household	1	2	1	2	5
Total	25 <sup>*</sup>	65 <sup>*</sup>	46 <sup>*</sup>	44 <sup>*</sup>	95 <sup>*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> One British-Australian household-head, two group households, and two Italians boarding with Jewish families not included.



Secondly, no significant relationship was found between type of household and origin in Italy. There was no evidence, for example, that southern Italians or Sicilians were more prone than northern Italians to live in extended families or composite households. However, the smallness of numbers restricted this comparison, and a significant relationship might well have existed. The sample also showed the importance of period of residence as a factor influencing household-type (pre-war arrivals rarely took in boarders or additional kin), and this had to be taken into account in assessing differences in household-type between southern and northern Italians: a much lower proportion of the southern Italian padroni had arrived before the Second World War.

Since so many of these Italian households contained persons beyond the range of the padrone's family of procreation, it is relevant to ask to what extent these households were overcrowded; for parallels have already been drawn between immigrant concentrations in the Australian cities today and those in the cities of the United States fifty and sixty years ago.<sup>39</sup>

#### Living conditions

The pattern of ethnic concentration emerging in the Australian capital cities today is clearly not yet as pronounced as it was in the United States at the turn of the century.<sup>40</sup> Melbourne, for example, has no Italian concentration comparable

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39

Australia, Department of National Resources, Atlas of Australian Resources : Immigration (Canberra 1959), p.19.

40

ibid.

to Chicago's "Little Hell", where in the 'twenties 84 per cent of the population in six central blocks of this district were Sicilians.<sup>41</sup> Just as the Australian concentrations appear less marked than those in some American cities,<sup>42</sup> so the conditions in which they live are likewise not so depressed as they were fifty years ago in Chicago, New York, Boston, and other great North American cities.<sup>43</sup>

Before we discuss in detail the living conditions of Italians in Carlton-North Carlton, it must be emphasized that what we find for Italians in Carlton may not hold for Italians in other inner suburbs of Melbourne. The housing in suburbs like Fitzroy,<sup>44</sup> Collingwood, and Richmond, all of which have large Italian populations, tends to be more depressed and dilapidated than in Carlton, where slum clearance had already claimed the worst dwellings by the time the present survey was conducted. Moreover, the original housing in Carlton was both better-built and less crowded than that in Fitzroy, Collingwood or Richmond.

In the absence of published statistics relating to the total population of Carlton-North Carlton, it is impossible to

<sup>41</sup>

Harvey W. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum : A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side (ninth impression, Chicago 1955), p.161.

<sup>42</sup>

Norton, Op. cit., passim.

<sup>43</sup>

U.S. Senate, Committee on Immigration, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp.55-56.

<sup>44</sup>

Frederick Oswald Barnett, "Economics of the Slums" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Commerce, University of Melbourne, 1931), passim.

assess to what extent Italians enjoy better or worse living conditions than British-Australians in the Carlton area. According to unpublished census figures, however, the average number of occupants in all dwellings in the Carlton area in 1954 was 4.0 persons, compared with 4.6 persons in Italian-occupied dwellings in 1960. These figures suggest a slight degree of overcrowding in Italian households. The difference was not, however, statistically significant.<sup>45</sup> It is relevant to note that the proportion of children was significantly higher among the Italian than the total population (Table VII.1 above).

By 1880 almost all of Carlton, and by 1893 almost all of North Carlton, was already built. Today this housing is in the condition one might reasonably expect of houses built seventy or eighty years ago. Most (66/95) of the houses covered in the survey were in this "moderate" condition. Some had been given a touch of paint here and there, but most were the same structurally as when they were built (photographs VII.1 to VII.7). Some, however, particularly in Carlton, were in an extremely dilapidated condition: nine dwellings in Carlton and four in North Carlton were judged to be in poor or very poor condition. Two of these houses had already been purchased by the Housing Commission prior to demolition. A third was situated at the end of a blind right-of-way named in 1940 as a slum area.<sup>46</sup> Fifteen houses in

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<sup>45</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 2.37$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

<sup>46</sup>

Victoria, Housing Commission, "Report of Sub-Committee on Reclamation Areas", (Melbourne, undated), p.2.

or two storeys predominated. Only ten double-fronted terraces and seven detached houses, five of which were in North Carlton, were included. There was a uniform, but not significant, tendency for dwellings in North Carlton to contain more rooms than those in Carlton: the modal single-fronted, one-storeyed terrace had four rooms in Carlton but five in North Carlton, and likewise the modal single-fronted, two storeyed terrace had six rooms in Carlton but seven in North Carlton. As Table VII.13 shows, the average number of rooms was lower, but not significantly lower, in Carlton than in North Carlton.<sup>48</sup>

**TABLE VII.13** Sample: Average Number of Rooms per Dwelling

Type of Dwelling	Carlton	North Carlton
Single-fronted, one-storeyed terrace	4.3 (1.0) <sup>*</sup>	5.4 (1.0) <sup>*</sup>
Single-fronted, two-storeyed terrace	5.0 (1.5) <sup>*</sup>	6.1 (1.0) <sup>*</sup>
All dwellings	5.0 (1.3) <sup>*</sup>	5.5 (1.3) <sup>*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Standard deviations given in brackets.

Source. Information on the number of rooms per dwelling was obtained from the rating-records of the Melbourne City Council. It is essential to note that the definition of a "room" varies from one municipality to another. In the City of Melbourne the kitchen, if it served as a dining-room (as it almost invariably did in Carlton-North Carlton), counted as a room; bathrooms and laundries are not counted as rooms.

<sup>48</sup>

Tests of significance: (one-storeyed)  $t = 0.692$ , d.f. = 39,  $0.50 > p > 0.40$ ; (two-storeyed)  $t = 0.333$ , d.f. = 32,  $0.60 > p > 0.50$ .

The Italian-occupied dwellings covered in the Carlton sample contained 474 rooms and 418 persons.<sup>49</sup> After allowance is made for the fact that thirteen of these dwellings were also shops, and that perhaps two rooms in each were used for living purposes, a ratio of 0.93 persons per room is derived. This ratio seems relatively low and does not indicate general overcrowding. Compared with the degree of congestion recorded in immigrant households in the United States in 1910 this ratio is very low indeed: in the 2,057 Italian households canvassed in seven American cities the number of Italians per room averaged 1.65 persons, and 43 per cent of households contained more than two persons per room.<sup>50</sup> In Carlton only two of the ninety five households averaged more than two persons per room.

That overcrowding among Italian households in the Carlton area was not general does not imply that individual cases of overcrowding did not exist. The number of persons per room differed significantly according to whether the padrone had arrived in Australia before or after the war.<sup>51</sup> Differences also existed in the number of persons per room according to household-type.

<sup>49</sup>

Number of rooms was not available for two dwellings; their eight occupants have been excluded from the total of 418 persons.

<sup>50</sup>

U.S. Senate, Committee on Immigration, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp.52-53.

<sup>51</sup>

The 25 dwellings with a pre-war padrone contained 88 persons in 127 rooms; the 63 with a post-war padrone contained 313 persons in 315 rooms. Test of significance:  $X^2 = 21.13$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

Moreover, a degree of overcrowding acceptable in a family-group might be unacceptable when boarders were included in the household.<sup>52</sup> As we might expect there was no evidence of physical overcrowding in single-person and conjugal-couple households, and the twenty three persons living in such households shared a total of sixty rooms. Surprisingly little evidence was found to suggest that the seventeen males in the group-household were living in overcrowded or poor conditions. They shared a total of twenty one rooms, an overall ratio of 0.81 persons per room, a figure slightly below the Carlton-North Carlton average of 0.93 persons per room. It should be emphasized, however, these impressions of living conditions were formed mainly from observations in the two or three rooms seen during the interview. It was not usually practicable to view the upstairs rooms in two-storeyed terraces. In two group households the males were living in somewhat squalid conditions, but in view of the absence of a woman in the house this was not altogether surprising. The writer's general impression of these households was that, although the conditions in which these males lived were untidy and to a degree unpleasant, they could not be described as foul or slovenly. The Italian male, particularly the young Italian male, seemed better equipped for survival without a wifely influence than his Anglo-Saxon counterpart in Carlton.

While overcrowding was not general among the occupants

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Norton, *Op. cit.*, p.527.

of nuclear family households and the average ratio of persons per room was 0.86, again below the figure for all types of households in the survey, at least six nuclear families were living in overcrowded conditions. Five of these six households rented the dwellings in which they lived. In four of the households the degree of physical overcrowding was not severe (three persons in two rooms, four in three, another four in three, and five in five rooms), but in every case the house concerned was very dilapidated: two were in parts of Carlton where slum clearance is planned,<sup>53</sup> and a third in a street named as a slum area twenty years ago.<sup>54</sup> Two worse cases of overcrowding than these were also encountered in Carlton, among two families of seven persons both resident in very small terraces of three rooms, not unlike those shown on Figure 12, except that neither of these terraces contained the fourth room at the rear and were of even smaller dimensions. Both these houses were in a very dilapidated condition. In one the front gate and the front door were almost off their hinges, and in the other the hall was full of holes and broken boards; the kitchen consisted of a gas-stove set in what was designed originally as the back porch. In both, the middle room, no larger (and very probably smaller) than that shown on the plan, was occupied by four children sleeping two to a bed; this room had no ventilation except from

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The Herald (Melbourne), 26th July 1960.

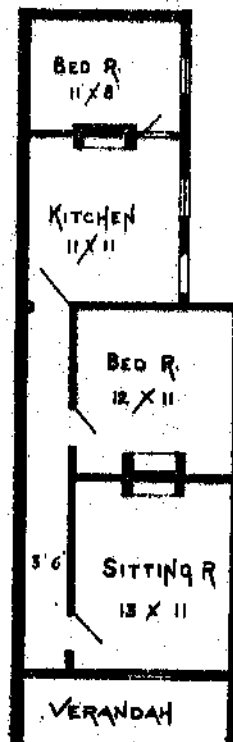
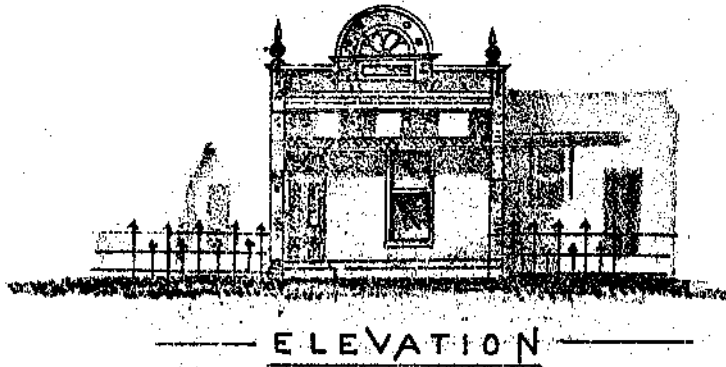
54

Victoria, Housing Commission, Op. cit., p.2.

Figure 12.

217

BRICK COTTAGE  
TO BE BUILT FOR  
£350  
ON LAND WITH ABOUT 17 FEET FRONTAGE



SOURCE: Sands and  
McDougall's Melbourne  
and Suburban Directory 1886

SCALE 16 FT TO 1 INCH.

H. Billingsdon  
Architects  
18 Collins St. W.



the hall. Even so, these examples of overcrowding are not so extreme as those found among Italians in Chicago fifty years ago. Not only were the Chicago houses in far worse condition than those in Carlton today,<sup>55</sup> but the degree of physical crowding appears to have been worse.

In some cases, especially in Gault Court, the overcrowding was appalling. In one apartment three adults and three children were sleeping in a room having less than 350 cubic feet of air, a room that could not legally be occupied even by one adult. In another case an Italian saloon-keeper had six lodgers who slept in a room containing only 504 cubic feet. One Italian family of three adults and three children slept in a room, also used as their parlor, which had only 718 cubic feet of air.<sup>56</sup>

It may be that comparable examples of overcrowding could be found in Melbourne: none as extreme as these were found Italians in Carlton.

The general degree of overcrowding was greatest in the extended family and composite households. In these households a high proportion of the occupants were adults, and 46 per cent (101 out of 221 persons) of their occupants were persons outside the family of procreation of the padrone. But although the general level of overcrowding was greatest in these households (among the extended families the ratio of persons per room averaged 1.01, and in the composite households 1.12), notable overcrowding occurred in only one extended family and four composite households. The

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73 per cent of houses in the Italian district on the lower north side of Chicago were built partly or wholly of timber; 53 per cent were over two storeys high; 15 per cent of the apartments visited were partly or wholly below ground level. Norton, Op. cit., p.509 et seqq.

56

ibid.

extended family household contained eight adults in a single-fronted, one-storeyed terrace of six rooms. The degree of overcrowding was more marked still in the four composite households: in one seven persons, including the padrone (whose wife was still in Italy) his adult daughter, his married daughter and her husband, and an unrelated family of three, occupied a dilapidated two-storeyed terrace of five rooms; in the second a family of five shared a six-roomed single-storeyed terrace with two adult male boarders; in the third a family of four, a boarder, his wife and child, and the widowed sister-in-law of the boarder and her daughter, lived in a poorly-kept five-roomed, two-storeyed terrace; and in the fourth fourteen persons, including eight adult male boarders were crowded into an eight-roomed cottage not unlike that shown on Figure 11.

In at least eleven Italian households, then, just over 10 per cent of those included in the sample, some evidence of overcrowding was noted. There was, however, no evidence that overcrowding was more prevalent among the southern Italians than northern Italians. Five of the eleven households mentioned above had northern Italian heads and six southern Italians or Sicilians. This distribution did not differ markedly from that of the sample as a whole.<sup>57</sup> At a more general level of analysis, we find that

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<sup>57</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 0.23$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.70 > p > 0.50$ .

the two largest groups, households with padroni from the Veneto-Friuli on the one hand and Basilicata-Calabria on the other, contained 154 persons and 124 persons in 176 and 123 rooms respectively.<sup>58</sup> Such a discrepancy is not at all marked, in view of the fact that only one of the latter but fourteen of the former padroni were pre-war arrivals.<sup>59</sup>

A popular comparison is that between Dutch and Italian immigrants, the two most numerous non-British groups in Australia today. The Dutch have settled predominantly in fringe suburbs of the Melbourne metropolitan area, the Italians in the depressed inner-suburban areas.<sup>60</sup> An important factor related to this differential pattern is that whereas 82 per cent of the 179,000 Italian nationals who arrived in Australia between October 1945 and June 1958 paid their own fares, 56 per cent of the 100,123 Dutch arrivals were assisted by the Australian government.<sup>61</sup> Italians in the post-war period have migrated to Australia with little governmental assistance. Most of them have found the money for their fares by selling what little property they have in Italy, or by borrowing from friends and relatives in Australia

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Test of significance:  $X^2 = 4.11$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

59

Test of significance (Yates' Correction):  $X^2 = 7.49$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

60

Zubrzycki, Op. cit., p.81.

61

W.D. Borrie, "The Growth of the Australian Population with Particular Reference to the Period Since 1947", Population Studies, XIII (July 1959), p.10.

and in Italy. Unlike the Dutchman, the Italian can rarely afford to bring his wife and family with him when he first comes to Australia. Typically the Italian husband precedes his wife to Australia by two, three or even more years. His first task upon arrival is to find a job, and cheap accommodation; for not only has he a wife and family still in Italy to support, but he must also begin to save so that he can repay what he borrowed for his own fare and arrange for his family to rejoin him. When his wife and children eventually arrive, after two or three years of hardship, the husband has to find a house or, if his family is only small, board and lodgings with a relative or paesano; in this case his wife is free to go out and find work too. Gradually he repays all his debts, and now at last he can begin life in his new country. After several years of cheap accommodation and unremitting toil he finds himself in the position which awaits the Dutchman as he and his family step from the boat that brought them across on their assisted passages.

Many Australians believe that Italian concentrations in the inner-city slums cannot be defended: they can at least be understood. To an increasing number of Italians arriving in Australia today, where prejudice against the "dago" has diminished remarkably since the end of the war, a house in the slums is not the end, but the beginning, of their resettlement. Many Italians live first in slums because they are poor, but as they gain financial independence they begin to move out of suburbs like Carlton, Fitzroy, Collingwood, and Richmond into less depressed

areas such as Footscray, Moonee Ponds, North Carlton, Brunswick, Northcote, or Preston. Probably the worst case of poverty and overcrowding encountered in the Carlton survey concerned a family from the Abruzzi living in a dingy, dilapidated terrace in Carlton. The husband, who married just after the war at the age of twenty two, had four children aged seven, four, two, and four days when he arrived in Australia in August 1955; but he was able by borrowing from his brother-in-law, who had been in Australia since 1952, to find sufficient money to bring out his family only eight months later. Although he had always worked as an unskilled labourer in a factory, by 1960, five years and another baby since his arrival, he had repaid £1,000 of the money he had borrowed for his and his family's fare. He pointed with pride to his first possession in this country, a new television set which looked strangely out of place amongst the rickety furniture of his crowded kitchen. But to him it was something more important: it symbolized his independence. For this he had laboured five years, and for this he is by many condemned.

#### Summary

The occupants of Italian households in Carlton and North Carlton differed from their British-Australian neighbours in many respects. While a high proportion of Britishers were middle-aged or elderly persons, between one-quarter and one-third of the Italians were children under sixteen. The Italians differed

again in that a very high proportion of them were the owner-mortgagees of the dwellings they occupied.

The pattern of past Italian settlement in this area was reflected in the present distribution of Italian households. Carlton still contained a higher proportion of pre-war settlers than North Carlton, whose Italian population consisted largely of post-war arrivals. Partly for this reason the proportion of northern Italian households in Carlton was high compared with North Carlton, where southern Italians, mainly from Potenza, predominated.

These broad historical differences were overlaid by differences in ecology. Thus, although the modal household-size was the same in both suburbs, in North Carlton, where dwellings also tended to have more rooms and to be in better condition, the average household-size was significantly larger than in Carlton. Similarly the proportion of extended family and composite households was also significantly higher. In such cases it is difficult to determine whether differences in ecology, in period of residence, or in origin in Italy are responsible for differences between the characteristics displayed by northern and southern Italians.

Italian households also differed markedly from the Australian ideal of a nuclear family household. Two out of every five Italian households contained additional kin or unrelated boarders. No significant relationship between type of household or overcrowding and origin in Italy was observed, but in a sample of 95 households statistically significant differences do not

readily appear. The evidence did suggest, however, that period of residence in Australia may have been a more important factor affecting household-type and overcrowding than origin in Italy.

Finally, although it seems likely on a priori grounds that Italian households were more crowded than British-Australian households in the same or similar areas, little evidence of general overcrowding was found. While individual cases of congestion could be cited, the incidence of overcrowding seemed well below that observed in the great cities of North America fifty years ago. To live in overcrowded or unhygienic conditions was not the choice of the Italian immigrant. Often he had no alternative. Unlike the Dutch with whom our Italian settlers are so frequently compared, the family migration of Italians to Australia receives negligible governmental assistance.



Photograph VII, 1

Drummond-street, Carlton

This row of two-storeyed, single-fronted terraces illustrates some better-preserved houses in the older parts of Carlton. Externally their appearance is reasonable for houses eighty or ninety years old, but inside conditions are very much poorer. The houses shown are in the boarding-house area of Carlton, as the closed-in verandahs of some suggest. On almost any day of the week dozens of houses having "Room to let" notices in their front windows can be found in this part of Drummond-street (south of Pelham-street). Although none of these houses was included in the sample, two were visited in the course of the survey, but the Italians registered at these addresses in 1958 had moved, being replaced by Yugoslavs.



Photograph VII, 2      Drummond-street, Carlton.

The housing illustrated below is typical of much of the Carlton area. Single-fronted dwellings predominate, but two-storeyed houses alternate with one-storeyed quite irregularly. In Drummond-, Rathdowne-, and Canning-streets, all of which are very broad and have plantations, the real condition of the housing tends to be disguised. The area shown is to be demolished and reclaimed as part of the slum reclamation activities of the Victorian Housing Commission. The Herald, Melbourne, 26th July, 1960.





Photograph VII, 3

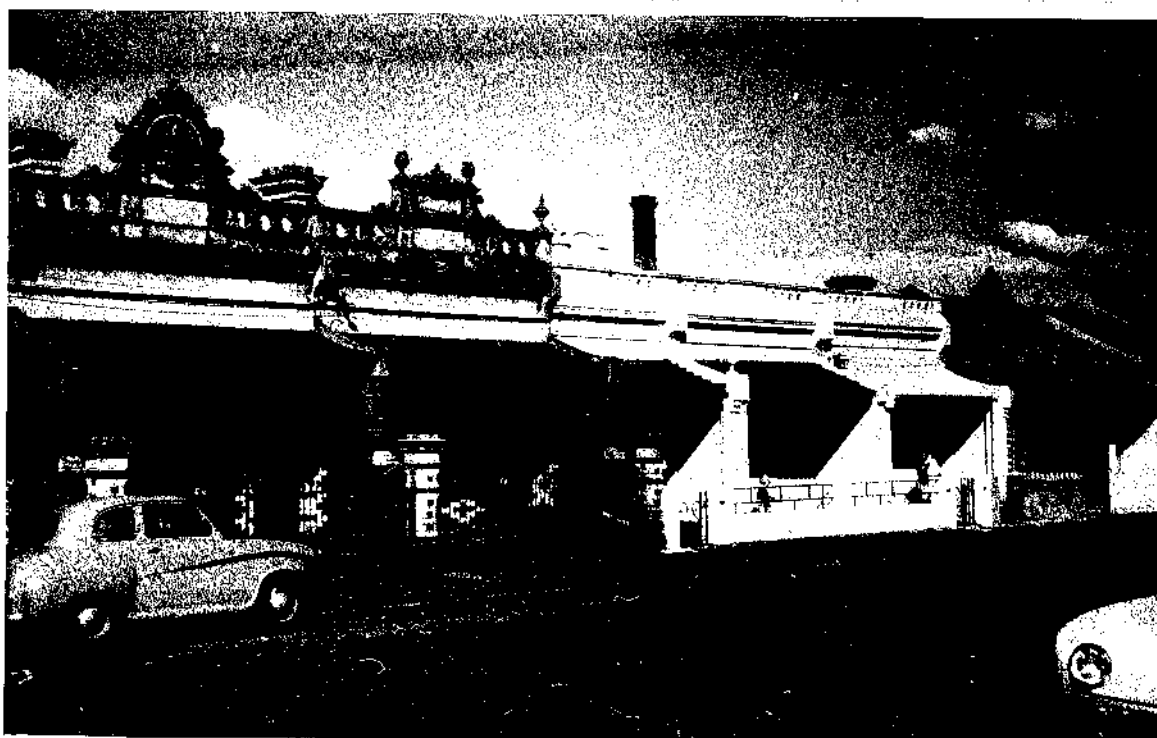
Cross-street, Carlton.

Narrow streets such as this occur frequently in Carlton, and usually harbour very dilapidated dwellings. More often than not their existence is not even suspected by the casual observer, and the passer-by readily assumes that no-one would live in such alleys and rights-of-way. The residences in the right foreground had been declared "Unfit for human habitation". They were built probably about 1873, the date given on a dwelling nearby in Lygon-street.

Photograph VII, 4      Amess-street, North Carlton.

Crowded, single-fronted terraces of this type and condition dominate Carlton and North Carlton between Palmerston- and Newry-streets. The lack of natural light and adequate ventilation can be easily imagined from this photograph. One terrace has an out-house on its verandah, probably in contravention of municipal regulations.





Photograph VII, 5      Station-street, North Carlton.

This is included to illustrate the way in which some residents, often Italians, have renovated and improved the old terraces in the inner suburbs. The wrought-iron and elaborate stonework have been cleared away and the exterior walls stuccoed. The centre house has had its iron roof replaced with tiles, and a new window (partly obscured) of greater dimensions than the original has been set in the front wall. In this way Italians and other immigrants have given some of the housing in this area a new lease of life.

Photograph VII, 6    Canning-street, North Carlton.

This quiet, peaceful section of North Carlton above Curtain-square contains some well-preserved terraces. The plantation adds to their appearance, giving an air of graciousness to this old housing. An interview was conducted with an established Viggianese family in the two-storeyed terrace nearest the camera, and the interior of this house, which had been extensively renovated, was in very good condition.





Photograph VII, 7      Station-street, North Carlton.

Terraces like these could be found anywhere north of McPherson- and east of Amess-streets in North Carlton. The blocks are quite narrow and the houses shoddier than in other parts of the same suburb built about the same time. Thus in 1961 Drummond- and Rathdowne-streets north of McPherson-street, areas where good houses can be found, contained only 137 and 165 dwellings respectively, compared with 220 and 219 dwellings in similar sections of Canning- and Station-streets.

Photograph VII, 8 Ormond-place, Carlton (rear view).

The true condition of the terrace-housing in Melbourne's inner suburbs can be gauged only from what lies behind the ornamented facades. These houses were exposed to the gaze of passers-by by the demolition of seven terraces in even worse condition in Lygon-street (The Herald, Melbourne, 25th May, 1960). Two of the houses shown below were occupied at the time of the present survey. The dome of the Exhibition Buildings can be seen in the background.





Photograph VII, 9

High-street, Carlton.

This is a proclaimed slum reclamation area. Some houses had already been demolished, but families were still living in the brick houses. An Abruzzese family included in the survey occupied the terrace at the extreme right of the photograph (almost wholly obscured). The timber dwellings at the top end of the street were in an extremely dilapidated state. Many parts of Carlton, such as University-street, McArthur-place, Cargidan- and Little Palmerston-streets, to name only a few, contain housing little if any better than the above.



## CHAPTER VIII

### DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

"...the population of Italy is divided into two distinct groups, but these are also geographically separated, and the result is a dual stream of immigration, rather than a single outflow due to racial antagonism. The inhabitants of northern Italy, the 'north Italians' as they are called, are Teutonic in blood and appearance....The southern Italians belong to the Mediterranean branch of the Caucasian race, are shorter in stature and more swarthy, and on the whole much inferior in intelligence to their northern compatriots." <sup>1</sup>

"...the worst kind were what we called Meridionali. These are Italians from the south of Italy. They are small dark people with black hair and what we considered to be bad habits. We are big fair people with blue eyes and good habits." <sup>2</sup>

#### Country of Birth

It was emphasized in the preceding chapter that the Carlton survey was not artificially restricted to persons who had been born in Italy or to persons of present or former Italian nationality. Although the majority in any immigrant population may have been born in a single country of emigration, a sizeable proportion has usually been born in the country of immigration and others even in countries to which their parents may have once emigrated. In the Carlton sample the majority of the 418 persons of Italian origin or connexion had been born in Italy. One in

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Pratt Fairchild, Immigration : A World Movement and Its American Significance (revised edition, New York, 1925), p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> D. P. O'Grady, They're a Weird Mob : A Novel by Nino Culotta (Sydney 1957), p. 10.

five persons had been born in Australia, of whom the greater part consisted of children born to post-war arrivals. Three-quarters (68/85) of these Australian-born persons were under ten years of age. Six Australian-born persons were Italian by connexion, having married persons of Italian origin. Five were British-Australian women, four of whom were married to pre-war arrivals. The sixth was a male, who had married a female from Ascoli Piceno in 1958. Seven children born to these six marriages were included in the sample; these children were aged 26, 21, 10, 9, 7, 5, and 1. Eight persons had been born in countries other than Italy or Australia (Table VIII.1).

TABLE VIII.1 Sample by Birthplace by Sex and Age

Birthplace and Sex	Age					TOTAL
	0-14	15-19	20-34	35-49	50 & over	
<u>Italy</u>						
Males	18	11	81	41	34	185
Females	32	8	57	24	19	140
<u>Australia</u>						
Males	35	2	5	-	-	42
Females	33	1	7	1	1	43
<u>Other Countries</u>						
Males	-	1	-	2	-	3
Females	-	1	-	2	2	5
<u>All Birthplaces</u>						
Males	53	14	86	43	34	230
Females	65	10	64	27	22	188

Two of these persons were not of Italian origin, a woman aged 56 born in the United Kingdom who migrated to Australia in 1928 and subsequently married a pre-war arrival from Vicenza (her three children were also included in the sample, two girls aged 24 and 20 and a son aged 16), and an Hungarian refugee who arrived in 1957 and married an Italian from Matera, whom she met on the ship to Australia; this latter couple had no children. The remaining six foreign-born persons had been born in countries to which their parents had once emigrated; a girl born in Abyssinia in 1942 just before her parents returned to Messina, a man born in Philadelphia whence at the age of six years he returned in 1923 to Reggio Calabria, another man from Vicenza whose parents had been in Germany at the time of his birth (1911); a woman aged 61 from Vicenza, whose father used to breed horses in Hungary until the First World War, when he returned to the Altipiano; and a woman aged 49 and her son, 18, both born in Fiume, which was once part of Italy but now belongs to Yugoslavia; this last woman had married an Italian from Udine.

In an area where very few Australian-born children of Italian immigrants remained in the inner suburbs after marriage, only one third-generation Italian was encountered. As he was a baby of two months at the time of interviewing his behaviour seemed to fall beyond the purview of this survey. Only two of the eighteen children born in Australia to Italian migrants in the Carlton area who had married by 1960 still lived in Carlton or North Carlton. Both these two had married Italian-born spouses. The other six

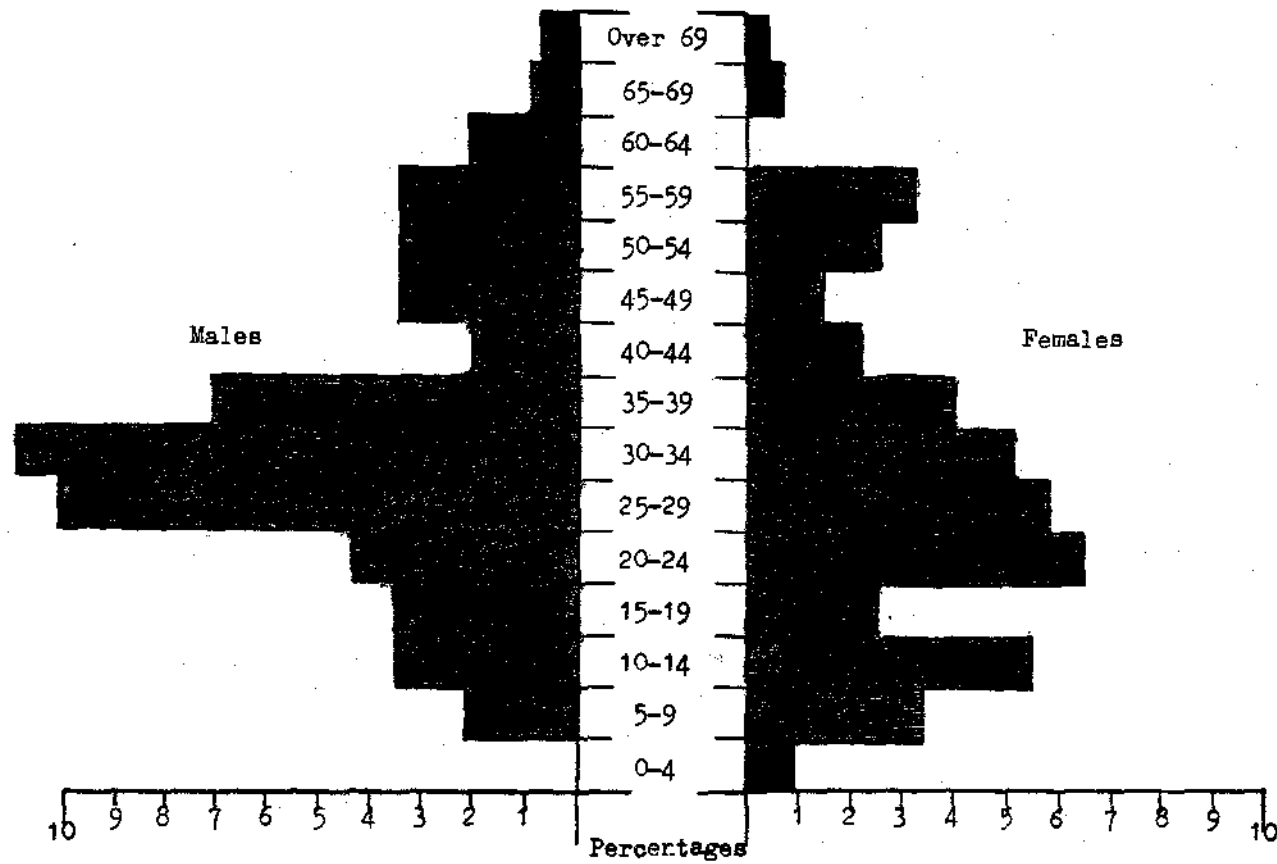
had moved into suburbs such as Northcote, Kew, Hawthorn, and Middle Park. The Italian population of the Carlton area consisted mainly of first-generation Italians and their unmarried children. 79 per cent (331/418) of those in the sample were first-generation immigrants, and 19 per cent (79 persons) second-generation Italians, born in Australia after their parents arrival from Italy. As almost all of these second-generation Italians were still of school age -- 71 were under fifteen -- there was no opportunity in this survey to explore systematically differences in the behaviour of first- and second-generation Italians.

#### Age composition

In the 1954 census the Italian-born population of Victoria was characterized by an extremely high proportion of persons between the ages of twenty and thirty four; 47 per cent of Italian-born males and 40 per cent of Italian-born females were between these ages, compared with only 23 per cent and 22 per cent of the total Victorian population. In Carlton this same characteristic age-distribution was found, and although the inclusion of the non-Italian-born members of this Italian population reduced substantially the proportions between these ages, the proportions of males and females between twenty and thirty four years of age were still very high (37 per cent and 34 per cent respectively. Table VIII.2).

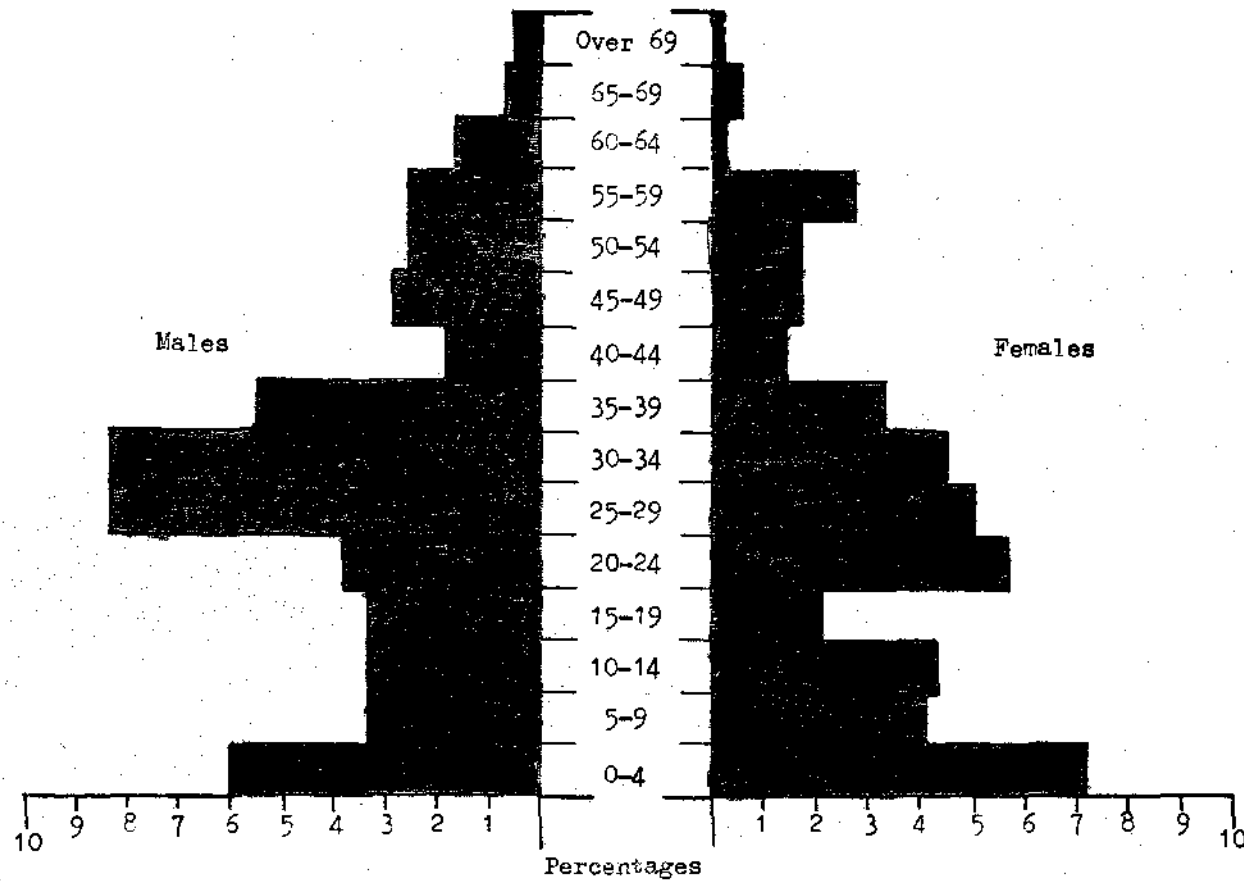
AGE PYRAMID  
of Persons of Italian Birth

Figure 13.



AGE PYRAMID  
of Persons of Italian Origin and Connexion

Figure 14.



onerous to undertake a trip to Australia at their own expense. It is, however, very interesting to compare the age-structures of the Netherlands-born and the Italian-born at the time of the 1954 census, since unlike the Italians a very high proportion of the Dutch receive Governmental assistance. This facilitates family migration among the Dutch and thus in Australia in 1954 approximately 39 per cent of the Netherlands-born were under twenty years of age, compared with only 18 per cent of the Italian-born.<sup>3</sup> These proportions are, however, affected by the fact that since the Italians have been migrating to Australia for a much longer period than the Dutch, whose migration has assumed numerical importance only in the post-war period, a far greater proportion of Italians were fifty years of age and over.<sup>4</sup>

#### Conjugal Condition

According to unpublished figures relating to the 1954 census, 41 per cent of Italian-born males in Victoria, but only 15 per cent of Italian-born females, fifteen years and over were "never married". For every one unmarried Italian-born woman in this broad age-group there were almost six unmarried Italian-born men (10,116 males to 1,800 females, a masculinity rate of 562 males per 100 females). In the sample this same trend was evident. Table VIII.3 indicates that whereas 91 per cent of the women over

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<sup>3</sup> Zubrzycki, op. cit., Table 3; and Figures 3 and 6.

<sup>4</sup> ibid.

TABLE VIII.3

Sample : Conjugal Condition by Sex and Age

Conjugal Condition and Sex	Age					TOTAL
	0-14	15-19	20-34	35-49	50 & over	
<u>Never Married</u>						
Males	53	14	49	5	4	125
Females	65	10	9	1	-	85
<u>Married</u>						
Males	-	-	37	37	27	101
Females	-	-	54	25	20	99
<u>Other</u>						
Males	-	-	-	1	3	4
Females	-	-	1	1	2	4
<u>All Conjugal Conditions</u>						
Males	53	14	86	43	34	230
Females	65	10	64	27	22	188



nineteen were married or widowed, 36 per cent of the men in the corresponding age-bracket were "never married". In the most critical age-group, 20-34, there were over five times as many unmarried men as unmarried women, and of the nine unmarried women in this age-group three had only just turned twenty and another three twenty one. Among the married persons, the balance of the sexes was quite even, a somewhat unexpected finding in view of the tendency among Italians for husbands to precede their wives to the country of resettlement. Of the 49 males in the sample who had married in Italy prior to their emigration only 8 were accompanied by their wives. Only three husbands, however, all from Calabria, who were still awaiting their wives' arrival from Italy were encountered in the survey. This unexpectedly low proportion, compared with Hempel's proportion of one-fifth of the married men in his sample drawn in Queensland in December, 1957,<sup>5</sup> must be related to the large number of wives who joined their husbands between 1958 and 1959 (see Tables VIII.4 and VIII.5 below), years in which seven wives rejoined their husbands in Carlton. Only one married Italian male who arrived in Australia during the same years was included in the sample, and he had been accompanied by his wife. If the Carlton sample had been drawn in December 1957, when Hempel's was, then presumably a higher proportion of the married men would have still been separated

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5Hempel, Op. cit., p.103.

from their wives. In addition, since 1957 the inflow of Italian males has been controlled (Table VIII.5 below).

#### Imbalance between the Sexes

The overall masculinity rate in the Carlton sample (122 males per one hundred females) was extremely low compared with the 1954 census, when it was 188 among Italian-born persons in Victoria. A possible bias towards the inclusion of family units may have meant that the sample rate was artificially low. On the other hand, the imbalance of the sexes so strongly marked among Italian-born persons in 1954 has to a considerable extent been corrected since that time, and in three years (1957, 1958, and 1959, Table VIII.5) more female than male Italian nationals arrived in Australia as permanent immigrants. Notwithstanding this low overall masculinity rate, which as Table VIII.3 indicates, was the result primarily of a surplus of females in the 0-14 age-groups, among the unmarried men the sex-imbalance was still strongly marked. Of the eighty-one unmarried persons of Italian birth over the age of fourteen four-fifths (66/81) were males, a proportion not significantly lower than that observed in the 1954 census (85 per cent).<sup>6</sup> It is worthwhile noting at this point that two out of every seven of these unmarried men in the sample had been assisted to Australia by the Commonwealth Government (thirteen males) or by the Intergovernmental Committee

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<sup>6</sup> Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 0.88$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

for European Migration (six males). None of these nineteen men had turned thirty five at the time of interview. Half of them were under twenty seven.

Two-thirds (27/40) of the forty Italians who arrived in Australia between 1922 and 1939 were males. As Table VIII.4 suggests, both before and after the war the first Italian arrivals tended to be the men, whose wives and children, or very often fiancées, followed later. Thus eight of the twenty two males who arrived between 1922 and 1930 were married before they left Italy. None of them was accompanied by his wife. Three wives followed a year later, another five years later, two others ten and eleven years later. The remaining two did not arrive in Australia until after the war, twenty one and twenty three years after their respective husbands. This general pattern has held true for the post-war arrivals in the sample and only eight of the thirty nine males who were married prior to emigration were accompanied by their wives. The majority of the remaining wives (24/31) reached Australia within four years of their husbands' arrival.

TABLE VIII.4 Sample: Year of Arrival in Australia of Males,  
Females, and Persons of Present or Former  
Italian Nationality

Calendar Year	Males	Females	Persons
1922 to 1924	12	3	15
1925 to 1927	9	4	13
1928 to 1934	2	2	4
1935 to 1939	4	4	8
1940 to 1945	1	-	1
1946 to 1948	1	2	3
1949	15	8	23
1950	15	5	20
1951	20	5	25
1952	23	11	34
1953	19	14	33
1954	11	13	24
1955	15	17	32
1956	24	17	41
1957	3	9	12
1958	2	14	16
1959	4	11	15
1960	8	4	12
Total	188	143	331

High masculinity in an immigrant Italian population has been correctly identified as a problem endemic to Italian migration itself, and to the temporary separation of families in the migratory movement. Foerster's classic generalization, however, that "...the Italian immigration, since its infancy, has been composed, four parts out of five, of males and of these chiefly in the productive years of life...",<sup>7</sup> has not held true

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7

Foerster, Op. cit., p.43.

of Italian immigration to Australia for at least thirty years, since his remark related to a period in which few governmental controls were applied to migratory currents. Since the middle of the 1920's Italian migration to Australia has been continuously subject to administrative controls,<sup>8</sup> and although at any point of time the masculinity rate among Italians arriving in Australia or among Italians settled in Australia may be high, since there is always a backlog of wives waiting to follow their husbands to the country of resettlement, these controls and the high cost of immigration to Australia have tended to reduce the number of temporary male migrants and to increase the relative number of permanent settlers, mainly family groups among which the balance of the sexes tends to be more even. The effect of administrative controls on the sex-composition of Italian migration to Australia in the post-war period is seen clearly in Table VIII.5. In the early years of post-war Italian immigration to Australia masculinity rates were high. In 1949, a year in which wives and dependent children of pre-war immigrants were still arriving in Australia,<sup>9</sup> the masculinity rate among permanent arrivals of Italian nationality was 280: by 1952 it had soared to 461, a peak not exceeded in this period. Since 1952, when an economic recession necessitated the application of administrative controls to the

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8McDonald, *Op. cit.*, Chapter V.

9

In the sample one male and four females among those who arrived in Australia in 1949 were dependants of pre-war Italian immigrants.

TABLE VIII.5

Distribution by Year of Arrival in Australia of Italian Nationals in the Sample Compared with Permanent Arrivals of Italian Nationality in Australia, January 1949-June 1960. Percentages.

Calendar Year	Sample			Australia		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
1949	5.2	2.8	8.0	3.7	1.3	5.1
1950	5.2	1.7	7.0	4.6	1.7	6.3
1951	7.0	1.7	8.7	5.9	2.1	8.0
1952	8.0	3.8	11.8	11.1	2.4	13.5
1953	6.6	4.9	11.5	3.4	3.3	6.7
1954	3.8	4.5	8.4	3.8	3.9	7.7
1955	5.2	5.9	11.1	8.1	4.9	13.1
1956	8.4	5.9	14.3	8.8	4.6	13.4
1957	1.0	3.1	4.2	3.8	4.5	8.3
1958	0.7	4.9	5.6	2.1	4.1	6.2
1959	1.4	3.8	5.2	3.2	3.6	6.8
1960*	2.8	1.4	4.2	3.2**	1.8**	5.0
Total	55.4	44.5	100.0	61.8	38.2	100.0
Numbers	159	128	287	128,050	79,089	207,139

\* January-June only

\*\* estimated figures

Source : Australia, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography Bulletins.

immigration of Italian males, the proportion of females in the Italian intake has increased. In 1953 and 1954 the balance of the sexes was quite even, and although the proportion of males rose sharply again in 1955 and 1956,<sup>10</sup> the masculinity rate has never exceeded 189 since 1952, while in the three years 1957-59 it has fallen considerably below 100.

The comparison between the proportion of post-war Italian immigrants in the sample who arrived in a particular year with the corresponding proportions arriving in Australia as a whole is not intended to represent an exact or precise parallel. Not only do the Australian figures include those who may have subsequently left the Commonwealth but, more importantly, the annual number who settled in Victoria is unknown and probably varied. Even so the extent to which the Carlton sample reflects the fluctuations in the total Australian intakes with regard to changes both in the relative size of each arrival intake is interesting. Except for two years (1953 and 1957), no marked differences between the corresponding proportions are apparent, while it would be dangerous to place overmuch confidence in a comparison which may conceal as much as it reveals, it provides no evidence of a disproportionate number of recently arrived Italian immigrants in the Carlton area. It should be further remembered, however, that sampling bias may have been responsible for the relatively low proportions of recent

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This relaxation was due to a relaxation of restrictions on certain categories of personal nominees in the Italian immigration of these years. MacDonald, Op. cit., p.147.

Italian arrivals recorded in the sample.

Italian migration to Australia in much of the post-war period has been composed of two distinct elements, those who have been personally nominated by relatives and friends in Australia and who have paid their own passages to this country, and those who have received governmental assistance.<sup>11</sup> Although assistance, in the form of subsidized passages and land-grants, to certain categories of immigrants has been a feature of Australian immigration policies since 1830,<sup>12</sup> an assisted passage scheme for Italians was introduced only in March 1951 by an agreement between the Italian and Australian governments.<sup>13</sup>

Since the end of the First World War, when Italian emigration to the United States was severely restricted, there has been a surplus of Italians wishing to emigrate to Australia. The question of an assisted scheme did not arise, since the problem was not how to attract Italians to this country but how to restrict their entry to what was considered a reasonable number. There might, for this reason, appear to be something paradoxical in the Australian government's assisted passage agreement with Italy when controls

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The Department of Immigration has never made public the methods by which it administers the assisted passage scheme or the personal nominations system. MacDonald, who was given access to confidential files, gives an interesting and authoritative summary of policy changes since 1920. MacDonald J., Op. cit., 1959. Chapter V.

12

Borrie, Op. cit. (July 1959), p.5.

13

MacDonald, Op. cit., p.152.



on full-fare Italian immigration were being applied through the personal nominations system. This paradox is apparent and not real, however, since the assisted passage scheme has tended to operate largely in northern Italy in areas which might otherwise have contributed very few migrants to Australia. Most of the full-fare migration to Australia today, on the other hand, stems from the south and from Sicily.<sup>14</sup> In the Carlton sample seventeen of the fifty northern Italian adult males who had arrived in Australia since 1949 came as assisted migrants: only three of the sixty eight southern Italian or Sicilian male adults were assisted.<sup>15</sup> Thus it is mainly the southern Italian immigration which is being restricted under the personal nominations system.

The types of passage under which the members of the Carlton sample arrived in Australia are summarised in Table VIII.6.

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<sup>14</sup>  
Hempel, Op. cit., p.74 and p.88.

<sup>15</sup>  
These proportions were significantly different. Test of significance  $\chi^2 = 22.26$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

TABLE VIII.6 Sample: Type of Passage of Italian Immigrants to Australia

Type of Passage	Males	Females	Persons
Full-fare	157	140	297
Assisted under the Italo-Australian Assisted Passage Scheme	24	3	27
Assisted by ICEM	6	-	6
Total	187*	143	330

\* One Catanian merchant-sailor who arrived in Australia during the war as a civilian prisoner-of-war excluded.

All the pre-war arrivals paid their own passages, and only 11 per cent of post-war arrivals received any governmental assistance. Of this 11 per cent four-fifths arrived under the Italo-Australian passage scheme, and one fifth were assisted by I.C.E.M., an international organization in which Australia is a foundation member; I.C.E.M. plays a notable role in assisting migration from Europe to many transoceanic countries.<sup>16</sup> The proportion of persons who arrived under the assisted passage agreement (27/290, or 9.3 per cent of all post-war arrivals in the sample) was significantly lower than the proportion among all Italian arrivals in the

16

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. ICEM Handbook 1959 (Switzerland 1958), p.6.

post-war period, 18.4 per cent of whom arrived under this scheme.<sup>17</sup> At least three explanations can be afforded for this discrepancy. Firstly, a considerable number of assisted migrants have been from the free Territory of Trieste, and few Triestini settled in the Carlton area. Secondly, many assisted migrants, whose employment for the first two years after arrival is controlled by the government, are sent initially to States other than Victoria: only sixteen of the twenty four male assisted migrants in the sample were given initial employment in Victoria; two arrived in Queensland, three in New South Wales, and three in South Australia. All but seven of the 136 full-fare male Italian nationals to arrive in the post-war period came straight to Victoria; only two arrived in Queensland, two in New South Wales, one in the Australian Capital Territory, and two in Western Australia. This proportion was significantly lower than among the assisted migrants.<sup>18</sup> Thirdly, the writer's impression, one which is to some extent substantiated by Hempel's researches,<sup>19</sup> is that the rate of repatriation to Italy may be higher among assisted than full-fare Italian immigrants.

The relevance of this digression into assisted Italian migration is that the masculinity rate among assisted migrants was

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17

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 15.66$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

18

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 18.44$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

19

Hempel, Op. cit., pp.10-12.

higher than among the full-fare arrivals. According to Table VIII.6 proportionately six times as many males as females arrived under the Italo-Australian Assisted Passage Scheme. This sex distribution differed significantly from that of the full-fare arrivals.<sup>20</sup> Since the Carlton figures relating to assisted migrants are small, and since the proportion of assisted migrants in the sample was low compared with the total Australian intake, some analysis of the sex composition of the total intake is required.<sup>21</sup>

The Italo-Australian assisted passage scheme came into operation on 1st August, 1951.<sup>22</sup> Although only 59 assisted Italian immigrants (all males) arrived during the remainder of this year, 1952, the peak year of post-war Italian immigration to Australia, witnessed the arrival of 9,913 assisted Italian immigrants, all but ten of whom were unaccompanied adult males. This was a most unfortunate contribution to the already high masculinity rate among Italian immigrants. Fortunately, from this point of view, the assisted scheme was suspended in November 1952, because of a recession in the Australian economy.<sup>23</sup> Thereafter the balance of the sexes was more even. In recent

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20

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 13.242$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

21

This discussion is based upon figures published in the Demography Bulletin (Australia. Bureau of Census and Statistics) and the Quarterly Statistical Bulletin (Australia. Department of Immigration).

22

MacDonald, Op. cit., p.152.

23

ibid., p.153.

years indeed, although the number of assisted Italian immigrants has since June 1957, averaged only 3,000 persons per annum, the balance of the sexes has been extremely favourable and between July 1956 and June 1960, more adult females than males arrived under this scheme (6,410 females compared with 5,167 males).

Despite the more even sex-balance among assisted Italian immigrants since July 1956, the long-term effects of the high masculinity rates of earlier years are probably still with us; for many more assisted migrants arrived in the years of high masculinity. In 1952 and 1955, a total of 18,150 assisted migrants arrived under the Italian scheme, and of these 80 per cent were adult males, 12 per cent adult females, and 8 per cent children; the masculinity among adults in these two years averaged 689 males per 100 females. Among the full-fare Italian arrivals in these years the masculinity rates must have been far below this very high figure, since among all arrivals of Italian nationality in 1952 and 1955 (including assisted migrants) the rate was only 263 males per 100 females.<sup>24</sup> This high masculinity among assisted arrivals has not continued since 1955, and only 46 per cent of the 17,574 persons arriving under the Italian scheme between January 1956 and

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It should be noted in passing that a precise comparison of sex ratios among full-fare and assisted Italian immigrants is not possible, since children arriving under the assisted scheme are not classified by sex, only adults. As the total figures include children among whom the balance of the sexes tends to be more even, the masculinity rates for all Italian arrivals are lower than if adults only were considered. While this might affect the details of these rates, the general findings would be the same.

June 1960 were adult males; 35 per cent were adult females, and 19 per cent children. This low masculinity rate of 133 compares favourably with the figure among all arrivals of Italian nationality during the same period, 43,729 of whom were males and 38,530 females (a masculinity rate of 114).

Finally we may compare the family status of persons arriving in Australia under the Dutch assisted passage scheme with that of those arriving under the Italian. Firstly, in both relative and absolute terms the number of assisted migrants among the Dutch has exceeded that among the Italians. Secondly, whereas an extremely high proportion of Dutch assisted migration has been composed of family units, the majority of assisted Italian immigrants have tended, until recent years, to be unaccompanied adults. These differences are seen clearly in the following figures based on statistics published by the Department of Immigration, brought together for the period January 1951 to June 1960.

<u>Family Status</u>	<u>Dutch Scheme</u>	<u>Italian Scheme</u>
Men	15,440	22,696
Women	12,643	8,298
Children	27,517	4,789
Total	55,600	35,783

Thus, between these two dates one and a half times as many adult males were assisted under the Italian as under the Dutch

scheme, accounting for 63.4 per cent and 27.8 per cent of their respective totals. By contrast, the number of Dutch women and children receiving assistance to Australia over the same period exceeded the corresponding Italian figure more than three-fold. This anomalous situation has far-reaching repercussions on the pattern of resettlement shown by the two groups. The Dutch are favoured from the outset, since compared with them family migration of Italians to Australia receives negligible governmental assistance.

#### Age at Arrival

A high proportion of the overseas-born persons of Italian origin in the Carlton sample had arrived in Australia as dependent children under fifteen years of age (86/331, or 26 per cent). Only one unaccompanied person, a girl from Sortino, was under fifteen on arrival, and she had been nominated at the age of fourteen by her married brother, with whom she was living at the time of interviewing.

Most persons in the sample had arrived as young adults aged between twenty and twenty nine. Half the pre-war immigrants were between these ages at the time of their arrival, as were 44 per cent of the post-war male immigrants and 34 per cent of the females (Table VIII.7).

TABLE VIII.7 Sample: Age at Arrival in Australia of Pre-war and Post-war Italian Immigrants

Age at Arrival	Pre-war arrivals		Post-war arrivals	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-14	3	4	37	43
15-19	3	-	11	12
20-24	6	3	39	24
25-29	8	3	31	20
30-34	6	1	21	12
35 & over	2	2	21	19
Total	28	13	160	130

The lower proportion<sup>25</sup> of female post-war arrivals in this age-group is to be explained by the fact that a significantly smaller proportion of females than males had been unmarried on arrival (19/80 compared with 79/123),<sup>26</sup> and as Table VIII.8 shows age at arrival in Australia tended to be lower among unmarried than married arrivals.

All but twelve persons (five males and seven females) were under forty five on arrival. Hempel indeed estimates that the Italian is the youngest immigrant to Australia.<sup>27</sup> Comparative evidence on this point is not readily available, and from Hempel's own calculations the average age at arrival among male adults of

<sup>25</sup>

These female and male proportions did not, however, differ significantly.  $\chi^2 = 2.867$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

<sup>26</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 22.82$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>27</sup>

Hempel, Op. cit., p.39.



German nationality may be equally as low as, if not lower than, that among Italian nationals. Thus in Queensland in 1954 the average age among Italian national males in the 15-64 years age bracket was 31 years, compared with an average of 29.5 years among German national males. But since a higher proportion of the German than Italian nationals had arrived in Australia in the two years immediately preceding the census (35 per cent and 23 per cent respectively), this would have tended to reduce the average age among the Germans more than among the Italians in the census.<sup>28</sup> Clearly the question of comparative ages at arrival among different ethnic groups needs closer investigation, before one group can be shown to be younger on arrival than another.

In the Carlton sample the average age at arrival for adult males before the war was 26.1 years and in the post-war period 27.9 years; the corresponding figures for females were 28.6 years and 29.7 years. Although these differences between the average age at arrival among the pre-war and post-war immigrants relate to a small number of observations, they agree with the findings of Price that "...the average age for male migrants who arrived at the beginning of the century was considerably lower (than in the post-war period)".<sup>29</sup> The post-war figures for age at arrival of Italian adults derived from the Carlton sample,

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28

ibid.

29

Quoted by Hempel, Op. cit., p.41.

27.9 years for males and 29.7 years for females, correspond very closely to those obtained by Hempel, 27.5 years and 30.5 years respectively.<sup>30</sup>

Age at arrival in the Carlton sample was also related to sex, and among the post-war arrivals (Table VIII.8) the average age at arrival among unmarried and married females was slightly below that among unmarried and married males. Since, however, a higher proportion of females than males were married, and therefore older on arrival, the overall figure for average age at arrival was higher for females than males. The relatively low average age among unmarried females resulted from the fact that seven of them had been nominated by fiancées, whom they married soon after arrival, and another seven young unmarried sisters called out by brothers. The lower average age among the married females is also interesting, since most of them arrived one to four years after their husbands. However, the fact that the average Italian wife in the sample was over two years younger than her husband more than offset this time lag between the arrival of husband and wife.

Hempel has suggested that age at arrival is also related to five factors other than sex: type of passage, region of origin in Italy, year of arrival in Australia, conjugal condition on

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<sup>30</sup>  
ibid.

TABLE VIII.8

Sample : Average and Modal Age at Arrival of Adult\* Italians  
by Sex, Conjugal Condition and Period of Residence in Australia

Sex, Conjugal Condition and Period of Residence	Number	Average Age	Modal Age
<u>Pre-war Arrivals</u>			
Unmarried Males	15	22.8	26
Married Males	10	31.0	31
All Males	25	26.1	26
Unmarried Females	2	23.0	-
Married Females	7	30.1	-
All Females	9	28.6	-
<u>Post-war Arrivals</u>			
Unmarried Males	79	23.8	25
Married Males	43	35.0	32
All Males	123 <sup>xxx</sup>	27.9	25
Unmarried Females	19	21.9	19
Married Females	59	31.5	29
All Females	80 <sup>xxx</sup>	29.7	29

\* An adult arrival is defined in these tables as a person who arrived in Australia unaccompanied by a parent.

<sup>xxx</sup> One widowed male and two widowed females included.

arrival, and place of settlement in Queensland.<sup>31</sup> Hempel's evidence for year of arrival and place of settlement is slender. It is not clear that the age-structure of Italian arrivals did differ from one year to another,<sup>32</sup> and even if it did then differences in the geographical composition of the annual intake were probably responsible for such variations. Similarly Hempel's emphasis on place of settlement as a factor related to age at arrival is based on questionable statistical evidence. Thus his claim that the average age at arrival among Italian females was higher in the Brisbane metropolitan area than in the rest of the State was based on averages of 30.4 and 30.2 years respectively.<sup>33</sup>

The relationship between type of passage and age at arrival is well substantiated. In Hempel's sample 86 per cent and 75 per cent respectively of adult assisted males and females were under thirty on arrival, compared with only 67 per cent and 57 per cent respectively among the full-fare arrivals.<sup>34</sup> Although no averages were calculated it seems clear that the average age at arrival in Australia was lower among assisted than full-fare arrivals. This finding accords with expectation, since among Italians assisted passages <sup>tend to be</sup> ~~were~~ restricted to persons between eighteen and thirty years of age.<sup>35</sup> In the Carlton sample the average age of arrival among assisted males was lower, but not

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<sup>31</sup> ibid., p.39.

<sup>33</sup> ibid., p.71.

<sup>35</sup> Petrolias, Op. cit., p.21.

<sup>32</sup> ibid., p.42.

<sup>34</sup> ibid., p.39.

significantly lower,<sup>36</sup> than that among the full-fare males (26.1 years and 28.4 years respectively). In the Carlton sample, however, two assisted males were married men from Trieste, a category probably not well represented among Hempel's assisted migrants, most of whom were young and unmarried, being selected as labourers on the cane-fields.<sup>37</sup> If we exclude these two males from consideration, the average age among the assisted males drops sharply from 26.1 years to 24.8 years, a figure significantly below that recorded among the full-fare arrivals.<sup>38</sup> Since age is related to conjugal condition, in that more young than older men tend to be unmarried, type of passage was related to conjugal condition on arrival, and a significantly lower proportion of the assisted than the unassisted males (2/21 and 40/96) were married on arrival in Australia.<sup>39</sup>

Age at arrival seems also to be related to region of origin in Italy. Differences in the average age at arrival among persons from different parts of Italy are, however, to some extent a function of the type of passage, since as Hempel found a high proportion of assisted migrants were from the Veneto-Friuli.<sup>40</sup> In the Carlton sample, two out of every three (14/21) of assisted

36

Test of significance:  $t = 1.60$ , d.f. = 115,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

37

Hempel, Op. cit., p.41.

38

Test of significance:  $t = 3.75$ , d.f. = 113,  $p < 0.001$ .

39

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 7.69$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

40

Hempel, Op. cit., p.74.

males but only one in three (32/102) of the unassisted males were from this part of Italy. Thus a discrepancy would be expected between the average age at arrival of males from the Veneto-Friuli and that among those from Basilicata-Calabria, almost all of whom were unassisted. In the Carlton sample, no significant differences between the average age at arrival of males from different regions of Italy were found. Among males from the Veneto-Friuli the average was 27.0 years, among those from the Abruzzi, Basilicata, and Calabria 28.8 years,<sup>41</sup> and among the Sicilians, many of whom were unmarried on arrival, 26.4 years.<sup>42</sup> The absence of significant findings in the Carlton sample seemed to be the small number of observations involved.

In so far as regional differences in age at arrival did exist they appeared to reflect differences in the proportion of males in each regional group who were married on arrival. As Table VIII.8 shows the average age at arrival among married adults was several years above that among unmarried adults. The proportion of males married on arrival varied widely, from less than one-quarter (10/46) of those from the Veneto-Friuli (or one-third, 9/26, if we exclude assisted males), to slightly less than one-third of the Sicilians (10/34) and over one-half of those from the Abruzzi, Basilicata and Calabria (27/51). The Carlton

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<sup>41</sup>

This average was not significantly lower than that among the Veneti-Friulani:  $T = 1.08$ , d.f. = 96,  $0.30 > p > 0.20$ .

<sup>42</sup>

This was not significantly lower than the Abruzzi-Basilicata-Calabria figure:  $t = 0.92$ , d.f. = 59,  $0.40 > p > 0.30$ .

sample is unfortunately too small to permit any meaningful interpretations of these discrepancies. Future research might examine in a larger sample differences in the marriage patterns by regions in Italy, and differences in the permanency of resettlement among the different regional groups of Italian immigrants. Discrepancies in the average age at arrival and the proportion of unmarried males might reflect differences in age at marriage, or an intention on the part of young, unmarried males to reside only temporarily in the country of immigration.

#### Residential Mobility in Australia

Nine out of ten Italians in the sample had come direct to Victoria from Italy. Few had settled elsewhere in Australia first (Table VIII,9).

TABLE VIII.9 Sample: State of First Permanent Residence in Australia of Italian Immigrants

State of First Permanent Residence	Males	Females	Persons
Victoria	166	137	303
New South Wales	5	1	6
Australian Capital Territory	1	-	1
Queensland	9	5	14
South Australia	4	-	4
Western Australia	3	-	3
Total	188	143	331

As we might expect in a population in which most females had been called out from Italy by menfolk emigrating before them, significantly fewer females than males had moved to Victoria after residing elsewhere in Australia.<sup>43</sup> No doubt the males did not bring their wives and families to Australia until they themselves were relatively permanently settled. Another factor also operated, in that few of the women had been assisted. Among the males, eight of the twenty-two who had settled initially in States other than Victoria had arrived as assisted migrants and had been directed to New South Wales (3), Queensland (2), and South Australia (2). This significantly high degree of interstate mobility<sup>44</sup> of assisted Italian migrants is explicable in terms of their contract with the Australian government to work as directed for the first two years of their settlement in Australia, after which they tend to move to places of their own choice.<sup>45</sup>

Since the pattern of settlement of the Italian female is determined largely by the male who precedes her, Tables VIII.10 and VIII.11 have been restricted to adult male arrivals. The most interesting finding emerging from Table VIII.10 is that the pre-war arrivals in the sample exhibited a significantly greater mobility than those who came to Australia in the post-war period.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 6.73$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.02 > p > 0.01$ .

<sup>44</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 8.94$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

<sup>45</sup>

Hempel, *Op. cit.*, p.56.

<sup>46</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 15.16$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .



TABLE VIII.10

Sample : Place of First Permanent Residence in Australia of  
Adult Male Pre-war and Post-war Italians Arrivals

Place of First Permanent Residence	<u>Adult Male Arrivals</u>		Total
	Pre-war	Post-war	
Melbourne Metropolitan Area	9	93	102
Other Parts of Victoria	9	16	25
Other States of Australia	7	14	21
Total	25	123	148

TABLE VIII.11

Sample : Place of Subsequent Residence in Australia of Adult Male  
Italian Arrivals Who Resided Initially in Victoria

Place of Subsequent Residence	<u>Initial Place of Residence</u>		Total
	Melbourne Metropolitan Area	Other Parts Of Victoria	
Always in Inner Suburbs <sup>x</sup>	81	-	81
Always in Melbourne Metropolitan Area	10	-	10
Always in Victoria	7	23	30
Temporarily Interstate	4	2	6
Total	102	25	127

<sup>x</sup> Comprising the municipalities of the City of Melbourne, Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond, South Melbourne, Port Melbourne, and Brunswick.

Whereas three-quarters of the post-war immigrants settled first in the Melbourne metropolitan area, almost two-thirds of the pre-war arrivals came to Melbourne only after prior residence elsewhere in Victoria or interstate. This discrepancy partly reflected the effect of the depression and the difficulties experienced by these early immigrants in finding permanent employment, but it resulted partly also from a natural movement of successful Italians from rural to urban areas. Thus five of the seven pre-war arrivals who settled initially in other states of Australia had been cane farmers in Queensland, who, as they grew older and prospered, decided to leave the heat and toil of the cane-fields for the cooler climate of Melbourne. Among the post-war arrivals, the pattern was quite different, and even though a substantial number of full-fare immigrants, particularly among those arriving in the late 'forties and early 'fifties, had been nominated by Italians resident in Victorian country towns, the majority settled immediately in Melbourne and stayed there. As Table VIII.11 shows, only 5 per cent of the adult males who settled initially in Victoria had resided outside of Victoria by the time of interviewing, and 80 per cent had always lived in Melbourne's inner suburbs.

#### Origin in Italy: territorial composition

The changing composition of Italian migration to Australia has already been mentioned in preceding chapters. A summary of these changes is contained in Table VIII.12, according to which in the early period of Italian migration to Australia,

TABLE VIII.12

Territorial Composition of Italian Migration to Australia  
1882-1917, 1920-1940, and 1952-1956,  
Percentages

Region of Birth in Italy	1882-1917	1920-1940	1952-1956
Piemonte	10.4	8.1	1.2
Lombardia	41.0	15.3	2.3
Trento	0.5	1.4	0.5
Veneto	{ 5.7	{ 23.9	10.4
Friuli			5.5
Trieste	-	-	6.7
Liguria	2.0	0.3	0.6
Emilia	0.7	0.7	1.2
Toscana	3.7	4.3	2.6
Umbria	0.1	0.1	0.2
Marche	0.9	0.7	1.8
Lazio	0.7	0.1	2.9
Abruzzi e Molise	0.2	2.0	12.8
Campania	3.5	2.5	7.5
Puglie	3.5	4.1	3.2
Basilicata	2.6	0.8	1.5
Calabria	0.7	12.1	21.3
Sicilia	23.8	23.6	17.0
Sardegna	-	-	0.5
Not Stated	-	-	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numbers	3,869	11,144	109,276

Source : 1882-1917, and 1920-1940, C. A. Price's analysis of Naturalization Records. See also C. A. Price, "European Minorities in Australia 1840-1940," Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, VI (November 1954), pp. 292-294.

1952-1956, Official Italian statistics, quoted in Hempel, Op. cit., Table I. 2.

1882 to 1917, two out of every three Italian settlers were from Lombardia or Sicilia (mainly the Lipari Islands). Between World War I and World War II the proportion of Italians from Lombardia dropped sharply, and the Veneto-Friuli became the major northern Italian source of immigrants so far as Australia was concerned. Although the proportion from Sicily remained constant at roughly one-quarter of all Italian settlers in this period, many came now not from the Lipari Islands but from Catania and to a lesser extent Siracusa, two adjacent provinces on Sicily's eastern seaboard. In the interwar period southern Italians, from Calabria and Puglia, began to settle permanently in Australia. These trends have continued in the Italian immigration since 1945, and while the proportion of Italians from northern Italy and Sicily had steadily decreased, the proportion from southern Italy has increased. As emphasised in Chapter VI, these changes in the composition of Italian immigration in Australia were reflected in the Carlton area. Thus Carlton, settled by Italians mainly between the wars, became a predominantly northern Italian suburb, whereas in North Carlton, whose Italian population has been almost entirely the produce of Italian Immigration since 1945, southern Italians are far more numerous.

None of the members of the sample had arrived in Australia prior to 1922. Of those who arrived between 1923 and 1942 however, a significantly high proportion had come from the Veneto-Friuli, compared with the post-war arrivals (24/41

Figure 15. ORIGIN IN ITALY OF ITALIAN-BORN PERSONS  
IN THE CARLTON SAMPLE  
1960.

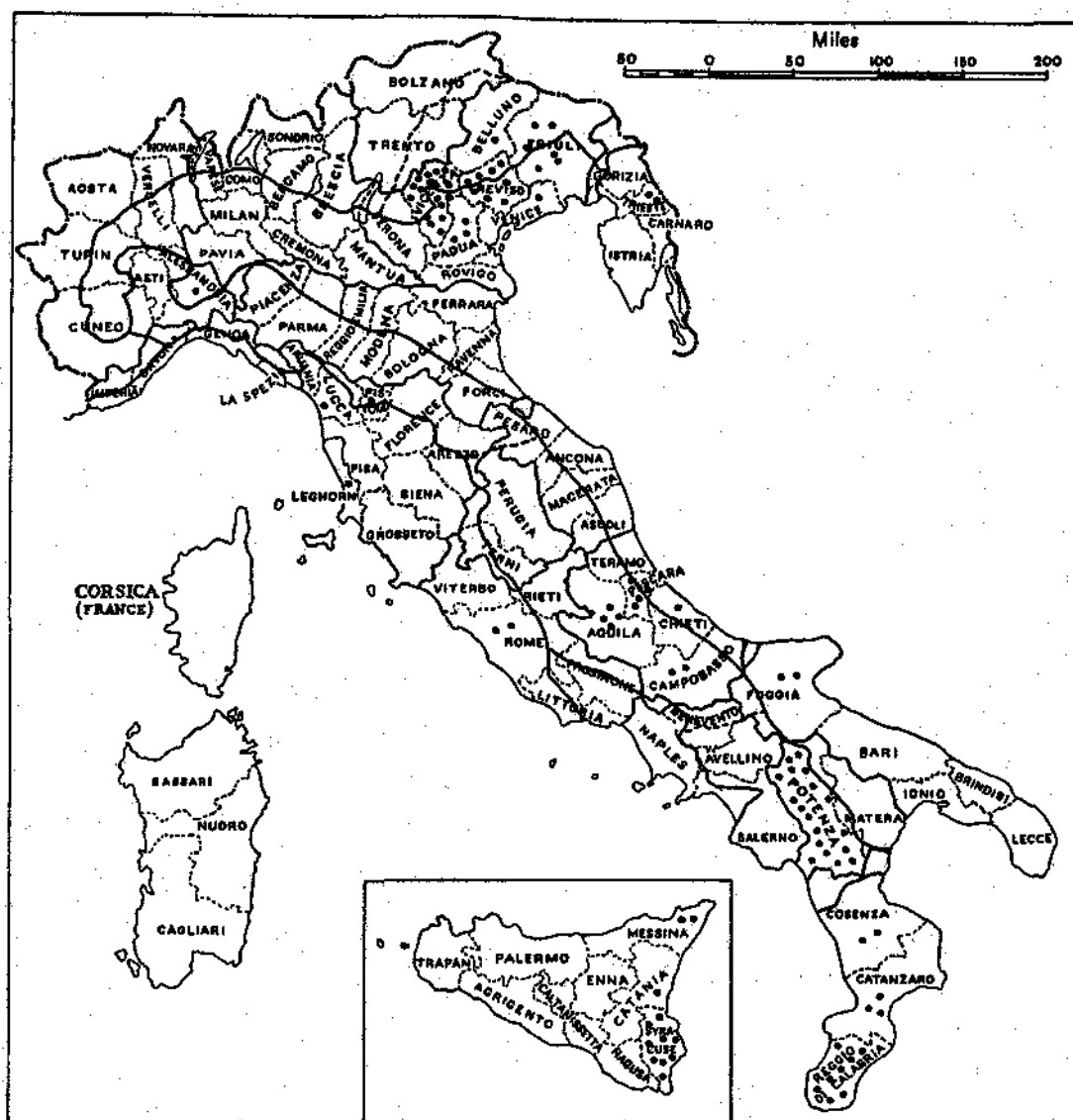


Fig. 55. The Provinces; the compartments are indicated by solid black lines, and the physical regions (Vol. I) by red lines  
 Reproduced from Naval Intelligence Division. Geographical Handbook Series  
 Italy, (Oxford 1945) Vol. 2.

One dot = 1 per cent or three persons

TABLE VIII.13

Sample : Geographical Origin of Italian Immigrants and their Children

Geographical Origin	Immigrants		Native-born <sup>*</sup>	Total
	Pre-war	Post-war		
Vicenza	20	33	17	70
Treviso	1	25	6	32
Other Veneto	-	16	3	19
Udine	3	18	6	27
Other North Italy	3	2	1	6
Toscana	6	5	3	14
Other Central Italy	-	8	1	9
Abruzzi e Molise	-	36	8	44
Foggia	1	7	5	13
Potenza	3	56	10	69
Calabria	1	41	6	48
Other South Italy	-	3	-	3
Siracusa	1	27	8	36
Other Sicilia	2	7	4	13
Trieste	-	5	-	5
Total	41	289	78	408 <sup>***</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Classified according to the origin of father

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Eight persons of Italian connexion, one Yugoslav-born female, and one Australian-born child of a British-Australian father excluded.

compared with 92/289).<sup>47</sup> Among the post-war immigrants the largest provincial group was from Potenza in south Italy (Table VIII.13).

Pre-war arrivals. A small proportion (one-sixth) of the pre-war immigrants in the sample had arrived as children (Table VIII.14).

TABLE VIII.14 Sample: Geographical Origin in Italy of Pre-war Italian Immigrants, Adults and Children

Geographical Origin	Adults		Children		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Vicenza	12	5	1	2	20
Treviso	1	-	-	-	1
Udine	1	1	1	-	3
Alessandria	2	-	-	-	2
Sondrio	-	-	-	1	1
Toscana	4	1	-	1	6
Potenza	1	1	1	-	3
Foggia	-	1	-	-	1
Reggio Calabria	1	-	-	-	1
Messina	1	-	-	-	1
Catania	1	-	-	-	1
Siracusa	1	-	-	-	1
Total	25	9	3	4	41

Only one of these child-arrivals, a female from Vicenza (aged thirty seven) was still unmarried. Two males, from Vicenza and

<sup>47</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 75.69$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

Udine, had married British-Australians, and the remaining four persons had married Italian-born spouses: a male from Potenza had married a post-war arrival from the same province, a female from Vicenza had married her second cousin, and two females from Sondrio and Toscana, who had settled initially in Queensland, had married Italians from Alexandria and Toscana respectively. The parents of only two of these seven child-arrivals (the unmarried female from Vicenza and the male from Potenza who had continued to live in his parental home after marriage) were included in the sample. The parents of the others were either deceased or resident elsewhere.

A very high proportion of the adult pre-war arrivals had been males, and although ten of them had been married in Italy prior to emigration, four of their wives did not arrive in Australia until after the war. The wife of a fifth had died in 1954. Moreover three other males, from Vicenza (2) and Siracusa, had married British-Australians, who do not appear on Table VIII.14. Another, from Vicenza, was divorced from his British-Australian wife. In addition, three males, from Vicenza, Toscana and Reggio Calabria, had never married. So far as the adult females were concerned, seven had been married before leaving Italy. Three arrived within two years of their husbands, and two eleven years later. A sixth arrived in 1939, three years after a proxy marriage. The seventh, who was unable to emigrate to Australia in the 'twenties to join her fiance because of Mussolini's



restrictions on the departure of unmarried women,<sup>48</sup> was married during her fiance's brief return to Italy in 1929, whereupon both re-embarked for Australia. The remaining two females arrived as fiancées and were married soon after reaching Australia.

Half of the pre-war arrivals in the sample originated from one province in northern Italy, Vicenza, and most of these came from the Altipiano of Asiago, a plateau 1,000 metres above sea-level some twenty miles from the city of Vicenza.<sup>49</sup> Two other early arrivals were the first Italians from their villages to come to Australia and set in motion migration-chains which are still operating. One, who arrived from his native commune of Montemurro in Potenza in 1925, was known among his fellow paesani as the "Cristofero Colombo" of his village; the other, who arrived in 1922 with several others from his village Sortino (Siracusa), numbered himself among the first eleven "Captain Cooks" from his commune.

Few of these early Italian arrivals had been living in Carlton or North Carlton before the war. In 1935, only nine of them had settled in Carlton, and of these all but one (a Tuscan) were from Vicenza, Treviso, or Udine. By 1939 the number had doubled to eighteen persons, as a result of a movement to the city of Vicentini from country centres such as Heathcote, Myrtleford,

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<sup>48</sup>

MacDonald, Op. cit., p.139.

<sup>49</sup>

See below. Chapter X.

Shepparton, Korumburra and Wonthaggi. Even so over half of the pre-war arrivals in the sample did not settle in the Carlton area until after the war, when the urban movement of Italians not only from country areas in Victoria but interstate as well continued. Six persons in the sample, from Alexandria (2), Vicenza (1), Sondrio (1), and Livorno (2) had spent many years on the northern Queensland canefields around Ingham and Innisfail before settling in Carlton.

Post-war arrivals. By contrast with the pre-war arrivals, seven of whom took British-Australian wives, only one post-war Italian male, an assisted migrant from Torino, had married an Australian girl. This fact, in conjunction with the smaller proportion of married men still separated from their wives, had the effect of lowering the apparent masculinity rate among the post-war arrivals to below, but not significantly below, that among the pre-war arrivals (Table VIII.15).<sup>50</sup> There seemed to be some evidence in support of Hempel's finding that masculinity rates varied from one region of Italy to another,<sup>51</sup> but owing to the small numbers involved these differences were not statistically significant in the Carlton sample. The slightly higher masculinity among the northern Italians can be attributed to two factors, the high proportion of assisted migrants from these parts of Italy, and differences in the pattern of migration from each area. These

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<sup>50</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 1.65$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

<sup>51</sup>

Hempel, Op. cit., pp.72-74.

differences are best illustrated by comparing the ratio of children to adults among the arrivals from the several regions and provinces of Italy.<sup>52</sup>

The proportion of children among the post-war arrivals as a whole (89/290 or 30 per cent) seems quite high, in view of the fact that only 35 per cent of the adult males in the sample were married prior to leaving Italy (Table VIII.8). Two-thirds of them (59/87) were under ten on arrival, and even by 1960 over half of them (50/87) were still under fifteen years of age. But while the overall child-adult ratio averaged 4.3, it varied widely from one regional group to another. There was no simple northern-southern Italian differential, however, and the differences within one division of Italy were as great as the differences between divisions. Among the northern Italians for example, very few of post-war migrants from Treviso, Padova, Belluno or Venezia had been children (a ratio of 1.1). Among those from the neighbouring province of Vicenza, on the other hand, the proportion of children was very high (a ratio of 7.4) and was exceeded only among migrants from Potenza (8.1), while being itself well above the proportion of children among persons from Calabria (4.3), or Sicilia (2.6). The main reason for the high proportion of children among the post-war immigrants from Vicenza, and also Udine (a ratio of 6.4), compared with other parts of northern Italy, was that many persons from Vicenza and Udine, but few from other parts of the Veneto-Friuli,

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This ratio is expressed as the number of children per 10 adults from a particular part of Italy.

TABLE VIII.15

Sample : Geographical Origin of Post-war Italian Arrivals,  
Adults and Children

Geographical Origin	Adults		Children		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Vicenza	13	6	5	9	33
Treviso	15	7	3	-	25
Other Veneto	9	6	-	1	16
Udine	8	3	4	3	18
Other North Italy	2	-	-	-	2
Toscana	2	2	1	-	5
Lazio	3	2	-	1	6
Other Central Italy	-	2	-	-	2
Abruzzi e Molise	12	11	5	8	36
Foggia	3	2	1	1	7
Potenza	19	12	10	15	56
Catanzaro	4	2	2	3	11
Cosenza	3	3	-	-	6
Reggio Calabria	11	7	2	4	24
Other South Italy	3	-	-	-	3
Catania	-	1	-	1	2
Messina	1	2	1	1	5
Siracusa	13	10	1	3	27
Trieste	2	1	2	-	5
Fiume (Yugoslavia)	-	1	-	-	1
Total	123	80	37	50	290

had settled in Carlton before the war and ~~had~~ since brought out relatives. Most of the post-war arrivals from elsewhere in this part of Northern Italy had been assisted migrants, mostly unmarried. Thus eleven of the fifteen post-war male arrivals from Treviso had been assisted migrants. Only one (a full-fare arrival) had been married prior to emigration and even he had been nominated by a brother who arrived three years earlier on an assisted passage.

Similar discrepancies in the child-adult ratio existed among the southern Italians. The highest ratios were recorded among the migrants from Potenza (8.1) and the Abruzzi (ratio 5.6), figures which were substantially higher than among the Calabrians (4.3), and significantly higher than among the Sicilians (2.6).<sup>53</sup> Since only 3 per cent of the adult migrants from southern Italy or Sicily were assisted, the type of passage could not have been responsible for such discrepancies. Further investigation is necessary before we can explain why the migration from Potenza and the Abruzzi tends to be more a migration of conjugal families than that from Calabria or Sicily, and why almost twice as many adult males from Potenza and the Abruzzi than from Calabria and Sicily (17/31 compared with 9/31)<sup>54</sup> were married prior to emigration. Socio-cultural differences, including variations in family structure, age at marriage, or family size, may be important

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<sup>53</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 4.40$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

<sup>54</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 4.24$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

here in explaining why in the Carlton sample emigration from Potenza and the Abruzzi tended to occur after marriage but that from Calabria and Sicilia before marriage.

Although, as we have said, the Italian population of Carlton reflected in a general way the changes which have occurred in the territorial composition of Italian migration to Australia, and that the proportion of southern Italians among the post-war arrivals was significantly higher than it had been among the pre-war settlers, in other respects its territorial composition was quite atypical (Table VIII.16). Whereas the most numerous regional groups leaving Italy for Australia between 1952 and 1956 were from Calabria, Sicilia, the Abruzzi and the Veneto, in Carlton two regions alone, the Veneto and Basilicata, accounted for half the post-war arrivals. The Basilicatans indeed represented a proportionately huge concentration compared with their proportion in the total Australian intake: Melbourne is the centre of Basilicatan settlement in Australia, and within Melbourne, North Carlton. By contrast with the Basilicatans the proportions of Sicilians and Calabrians, who are reputed to be concentrated in North Melbourne and Fitzroy respectively, were relatively low.

Australian-born persons of Italian origin. Seventy-seven persons were second-generation Italians (Table VIII.17) and one, as mentioned above, third-generation, being born in Australia to first or second generation Italians. All those over ten years of age were children of pre-war arrivals, as their distribution

TABLE VIII.16

Geographical Origin of Post-war Italian Arrivals in the Sample,  
Compared With Italian Emigrants to Australia, 1952-1956,  
Percentages

Region of Origin in Italy	Sample	Australia <sup>*</sup>
Piemonte	0.3	1.2
Lombardia	-	2.3
Trento	-	0.5
Veneto	25.6	10.4
Friuli	6.2	5.5
Trieste	1.7	6.7
Liguria	-	0.6
Emilia	0.3	1.2
Toscana	1.7	2.6
Umbria	0.3	0.2
Marche	0.3	1.8
Lazio	2.1	2.9
Abruzzi e Molise	12.5	12.8
Campania	0.3	7.5
Puglie	2.8	3.2
Basilicata	19.7	1.5
Calabria	14.2	21.3
Sicilia	12.1	17.0
Sardegna	-	0.5
Not Stated	-	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Numbers	289	109,276 <sup>*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Based on official Italian statistics, quoted in Hempel, Op.cit.,  
Table I. 2.

by origin suggests. Three were aged sixteen (1), or seventeen (2), and the remainder were between twenty and twenty nine. Only two of these adult children were married, both to Italian-born spouses from Vicenza. <sup>Due</sup> ~~Due~~ to the small number of adult second-generation Italians included in the sample, few observations of their behaviour could be made. It was interesting, however, that of the seven males over the age of fifteen, one was still at High School, five had entered trades (four as mechanics and one as a jeweller), and one had become a clerk with an Insurance Company.

TABLE VIII.17 Sample: Father's Origin in Italy of Children of Italian Parentage born in Australia.

Father's Origin in Italy	Age of Children		Total		
	0 - 10	Over 10	m.	f.	p.
Vicenza	12	5	13	4	17
Treviso	6	-	2	4	6
Other Veneto	3	-	2	1	3
Udine	6	-	4	2	6
Piemonte	1	-	-	1	1
Toscana	1	2	3	-	3
Lazio	1	-	-	1	1
Abruzzi e Molise	8	-	3	5	8
Foggia	3	2	2	3	5
Potenza	10	-	3	7	10
Calabria	6	-	5	1	6
Catania	2	-	1	1	2
Messina	2	-	-	2	2
Siracusa	6	2	3	5	8
Total	67	11	41	37	78*

\* One female born to a British-Australian father excluded.



Ten of the sixty-seven children ten years of age or younger had ~~also~~ been born to pre-war arrivals, mostly to persons who arrived as children. The remainder were all children of post-war arrivals, as their age-distribution suggests. Two-thirds of them (37/57) were still under three in 1960.

Finally, the distribution of the native-born by origin in Italy showed some interesting, but not statistically significant, differences compared with the origins of the foreign-born. As we might expect the proportion of Australian-born persons of northern Italian or Sicilian origin was relatively high compared with the southern Italians, a greater number of whom had married in Italy and begun their families prior to emigration. Since, however, the figures in Tables VIII.16 and VIII.17 relate only to children resident with parents at the time of interviewing and not to all children ever born to these parents, no inferences can be drawn at this point on family-size. This will be discussed in Chapter IX.

#### Naturalization

Immigrant populations in Australia are composed of three distinct categories of persons, so far as nationality is concerned: the foreign-born of alien nationality, the foreign-born who have become British nationals by naturalization, and the native-born, who are in most cases British nationals by birth.<sup>55</sup>

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It is usually possible of course for a person of alien nationality to claim that nationality for his child, regardless of the child's birthplace, should he so desire.

In the Carlton sample 19 per cent of the Italian population were British nationals by birth (Table VIII.18).

TABLE VIII.18 Sample: Nationality of Males, Females and Persons of Italian Origin

Nationality	Males	Females	Persons
British by Birth	41	38	79
Naturalized British, formerly Italian	57	23	80
Italian	131	120	251
Total	229 <sup>*</sup>	181 <sup>**</sup>	410

\* One non-Italian excluded: the British-Australian husband of a female from Ascoli-Piceno.

\*\* Seven non-Italians excluded: six British-Australians married to Italian males, and one Hungarian national married to an Italian male.

Among the foreign-born persons 74 per cent and 54 per cent of males and females respectively (138/188 and 78/143) had been resident in Australia for more than five years and thus fulfilled the residential qualification necessary for naturalization. In fact only 42 per cent of the eligible males and only 30 per cent of the eligible females had adopted British nationality. Of these eighty naturalized persons half (41) were the pre-war arrivals, two-thirds of whom were naturalized by 1939; the remaining third (14/41), bestirred no doubt by the restrictions

on the personal freedom of enemy aliens in time of war, were naturalized between 1945 and 1948.<sup>56</sup> Among the post-war arrivals very few of those <sup>ELIGIBLE</sup> for naturalization had renounced their allegiance to Italy. Only 26 per cent of the eligible males (29/114) and 18 per cent of the eligible females (10/57) had been naturalized. Although in the absence of comparable figures it is difficult to assess the relative significance of such proportions, in absolute terms they seem quite low, particularly when we consider that sixteen of the thirty-nine naturalized post-war arrivals had been children under sixteen when naturalized and had acquired British nationality by virtue of their fathers' naturalization.

In his analysis of naturalization among males and females of Italian birth in Queensland at the time of the 1933 and 1947 census, Borrie noted that a higher proportion of females than males was naturalized, from which he concluded tentatively that "marriage and the establishment of a home was an important incentive (among Italian women) towards naturalization".<sup>57</sup> The findings of the Carlton Survey present a rather different picture. Excluding pre-war arrivals, all of whom had been naturalized by 1948, we find that among the post-war arrivals sixteen years of age or older who had been in Australia longer than five years at the time of the present survey, a significantly higher proportion of males than

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This impetus towards naturalization after the war was commented on by Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), p.124.

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ibid., p.140.

females had become naturalized (24/98 and 5/48 respectively).<sup>58</sup> In the light of this finding it appears that the high proportion of Italian-born females in Queensland naturalized in 1933 and 1947 was the product not of a differential incentive towards naturalization on the part of females, but of other factors, namely, the institutional framework governing naturalization at those times. Until 31st March 1937, the wife of an Italian subject who became a naturalized British subject automatically acquired British nationality herself,<sup>59</sup> and until 26th January 1949, although her assumption of British nationality was no longer automatic, she could acquire British nationality if her husband was naturalized simply by making a Declaration of Acquisition. Since 26th January 1949, however, it has been necessary for wives to submit to the whole process of naturalization independently of their husbands, a far more arduous procedure than it had been prior to the changes in the Act in 1937 and 1948. The high proportion of naturalized women of Italian birth in 1933 and 1947 was therefore probably little more than a reflection of the facts that, (1) since the proportion married tends to be higher among Italian-born females than males, (2) since until 1937 the naturalization of a married male was automatically accompanied by that of his wife, and (3) since between 1937 and 1949 it was a

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58Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 3.96$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

59

Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), p.24.

comparatively easy matter for a woman to become naturalized once her husband had done so, the proportion naturalized was higher among Italian-born women than among Italian-born men. With subsequent changes to the Act this is no longer the case and fewer women have become naturalized. The Italian woman indeed has little immediate advantage to gain from naturalization. The franchise interests her little; privileges other than Social Service benefits mean little to most women,<sup>60</sup> and to qualify for the old-age pension she has in any case to fulfil a residential qualification (twenty years continuous residence in Australia) in addition to being naturalized. For the alien male naturalization is probably more attractive -- after all he has to work. But for the woman, who spends most of her time in the home, it brings at first more responsibilities than rewards; she reasons that if she is still alive in twenty years that will be soon enough to think about naturalization, in nice time to collect the old-age pension.

The number of naturalized females was too small to test for a relationship between origin and naturalization. Among the post-war male arrivals sixteen years or over at the time of interviewing who were eligible for naturalization, however, there

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These other privileges include: use of a British passport and the right to return to Australia at will and without a permit; entitlement to hold a commissioned rank in Australia's armed forces; the full range of Social Service benefits (subject to residential qualifications); entitlement to sit on juries; and eligibility for permanent Government positions; and the right to seek election to Federal or State Parliaments or to local government bodies.

was no evidence at all that northern Italians tended to become naturalized to a greater extent than southern Italians: slightly less than one-quarter (8/37) of the eligible adult northern Italians, and slightly more than one-quarter adult southern Italians, had become naturalized.<sup>61</sup>

#### Occupational Distribution of Males

Proportions in the work force. In view of the marked differences between the age-structures of the Italian and total populations of the Carlton area (see above, Table VII.1), the similarity between the proportions of males in the work-force seems at first surprising (Table VIII.19). This similarity arose from the fact that while the proportion of males under sixteen was higher among the Italians than in the total population of this area in 1954, the proportion over sixty-five was lower, and these differences counterbalanced each other: 74 per cent of the males in the sample and 74 per cent of the total population in 1954 were between sixteen and sixty five years of age. Among the females, on the other hand, a lower (but not significantly lower) proportion of the Italian than the total population was in the work-force.<sup>62</sup> This discrepancy was entirely accounted for by differences in the proportions of working-age: 69 per cent of all females in Carlton-North Carlton in 1954 were between sixteen and sixty five, compared with 63 per cent of the females in the sample.

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<sup>61</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 0.52$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

<sup>62</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 3.41$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

There was no observable tendency for Italian women of adult ages to enter the work-force in greater numbers than the adult female population of this area as a whole.

Occupational status of males. Characteristic of the distribution of Italian-born males in Australia at the time of the 1954 census was the relatively high proportion "self-employed".<sup>63</sup> This tendency reflected the large number of independent rural settlers among Italians in Queensland and Western Australia, and was not generally typical of Victoria, where the main Italian concentration was in the metropolitan area. In Victoria in 1954 the proportion of self-employed Italian-born males was relatively low (2.5 per cent of all self-employed males in the State) compared with Queensland and Western Australia (3.5 per cent and 5.5 per cent respectively).<sup>64</sup>

In the Carlton survey difficulty was experienced in distinguishing self-employed males from employers. There were for example eight shop-proprietors, some of whom used family-labour. The writer failed to elicit clear information on the occupational status of these males. Thus the distinction between "employer" and "self-employed" on Table VIII.19 is not definitive. Even so, it is clear that while the sample proportion of males in the "employer" and "self-employed" categories as a whole (14 per

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<sup>63</sup>

Zubrzycki, Op. cit., p.102; Table 10, p.104.

<sup>64</sup>

ibid., Statistical Supplement, Tables LXXI, LXXII, and LXXIV.

cent) was somewhat below the Victorian figure for Italian-born males in 1954 (16 per cent), it was slightly above<sup>65</sup> the comparable Carlton figure in 1954 (11 per cent).

**TABLE VIII.19.** Distribution of Males and Females in the Carlton Sample by Occupational Status, compared with the Total Population of Carlton-North Carlton at 30th June 1954.

Occupational Status	Sample				Carlton-North Carlton	
	Numbers		Percentages		Percentages	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Employer	7	1	3.0	0.5	3.4	1.0
Self-Employed	16	2	7.0	1.1	4.6	2.4
Employed	145	43	63.0	22.9	64.7	29.6
Helper	-	6	-	3.2	0.2	0.5
Unemployed	-	-	-	-	1.4	0.5
Total in Work Force	168	52	73.0	27.7	74.3	34.0
Total Not in Work Force	62	136	27.0	72.3	25.7	66.0
Grand Total	230	188	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the sample a number of employers or self-employed males were shop-proprietors: greengrocers (2), espresso-bar proprietors (2), grocers (2), one fishmonger, and a wine-saloon proprietor. The remainder were either building-contractors or independent tradesmen: six concrete-contractors (all from the

<sup>65</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 1.46$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.30 > p > 0.20$ .



Veneto-Friuli), four bootmakers, a plasterer, a monumental mason, a jeweller, a tailor, and an interior decorator. A disproportionate number of these twenty-three males were pre-war arrivals, who constituted half (12/23) of all males in the "employer" and "self-employed" categories, but less than one-tenth of the employees (12/145).<sup>66</sup> This general relationship between occupational status and period of residence in Australia was also evidenced in the 1954 census, and according to unpublished figures 75 per cent and 52 per cent of male Italian-born employers and self-employed persons had been in Australia for fifteen years or more. Despite this high proportion of early immigrants, many of whom were as mentioned above from northern Italy, the proportion of northern Italians in the employer and self-employed categories was not significantly higher than the proportion of southern Italians and Sicilians (Table VIII.20).<sup>67</sup>

TABLE VIII.20 Sample: Occupational Status of Males by Division of Origin in Italy.

Division of Origin	Occupational Status		Total
	Employer or Self-employed	Employee	
Northern Italy	12	63	75
Central Italy	1	10	11
Southern Italy	7	55	62
Insular Italy	3	16	19
Total	23	145 <sup>6</sup>	168 <sup>7</sup> *

<sup>66</sup>

Test of significance (Yates' correction):  $X^2 = 27.59$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>67</sup>

Test of significance:  $X^2 = 0.632$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

\* ONE BRITISH-AUSTRALIAN EXCLUDED.

Occupational grade. According to official Italian statistics a large number of Italian males coming to Australia are unskilled. Between 1950 and 1955, 43 per cent of males leaving Italy for Australia were agricultural labourers.<sup>68</sup> In the Carlton sample, an even higher proportion described their pre-migration background as agricultural, 58 per cent stating that they had been contadini, an inclusive Italian term denoting a peasant background. When interviewees were asked what their occupation had been prior to emigration, contadini seemed the natural reply, uttered with a typically Italian shrug of the shoulders as though to imply, "Well, what else there to do in my part of Italy?" It should not be assumed, however, that these agricultural workers were without other occupational experience. Seasonal migration within Italy, and to other continental countries, has a history even longer than that of transoceanic migration.<sup>69</sup> One in eight of the contadini in the sample (12/84) said that he had worked in the factories of northern Italy, as building labourers or miners in France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. The real proportion may well have been higher than this, since a number of the informants were reticent to discuss their pre-migration background at length.

One-third of the males had been craftsmen in Italy. Although the proportion of craftsmen was not significantly

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<sup>68</sup>  
Hempel, Op. cit., Table IV. 1, p.131.

<sup>69</sup>  
Foerster, Op. cit., pp.4-5.

higher<sup>70</sup> among the northern Italians than among males from other parts of Italy (Table VIII.21) the type of craftsmen differed to some extent. Whereas half the Northern Italian craftsmen were bricklayers (8) or mechanics (4), one of every two craftsmen from southern Italy was a carpenter (6), tailor (2), or bootmaker (2). The "miscellaneous" workers comprised three commercial travellers, three clerks, three shop assistants, a policeman, and a merchant-sailor.

TABLE VIII.21 Sample: Pre-migration Background of Adult Males of Present or Former Italian Nationality, classified by Division of Origin in Italy.

Occupational Background	Division of Origin				Total
	Northern Italy	Central Italy	Southern Italy	Insular Italy	
Agricultural	36	3	35	10	84
Craftsmen	23	3	21	3	50
Miscellaneous	4	2	2	3	11
Total	63	8	58	16	145

As we might expect in a population, most of whose members were unskilled or at most semi-skilled workers on arrival in Australia, half the males in the sample were employed as operatives (mostly in factories) or as general labourers. The number of

<sup>70</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 0.13$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.80 > p > 0.70$ .

craftsmen (Table VIII.22) was only slightly above the number who had possessed skills on arrival, and the increase of ten males in this occupational grade was due to the movement of pre-war arrivals into trades which required no qualifications other than capital and experience, such as concreting and plastering. In addition to this occupational mobility among the early arrivals, five youths who had been still at school in Italy had learnt crafts in Australia: four had become apprentice motor-mechanics and one an apprentice plasterer.

There was only one professional or semi-professional male in the sample, a musician who had arrived from Vicenza in 1938 with his mother and was employed by an Italian night-club in the city. The proportion of males in the administrative grade was relatively high, and of these the majority were shop-proprietors. Six of these eight proprietors had businesses in Carlton or North Carlton; two, the wine-saloon and a grocery, were in Northcote and Brunswick respectively. Six of these eight proprietors were southern Italians or Sicilians, which while not a statistically significant proportion<sup>71</sup> is suggestive evidence in support of an opinion commonly voiced among Italians that southern Italians and Sicilians show a greater preference for retail business than northern Italians. The other males in the administrative grade were the Friulan managing-director of a

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Test of significance (Yates' correction):  $\chi^2 = 0.85$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

TABLE VIII.22

Sample : Occupational Grade of Males and Females of Italian  
Origin and Connexion

Occupational Grade*	Males	Females
Professional and Semi- Professional	1	1
Administrative	10	3
Commercial and Clerical	5	14
Domestic and Protective	7	8
Craftsmen	60	-
Operatives	51	24
Labourers	33	-
Not stated	1	3
Total in Work-force	168	52
Total Not in Work-force	62	136
Grand Total	230	188

\* Classification based on that used in official publications. Australia, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Classifications and Classified Lists of Occupations and Industries (revised June 1947).

TABLE VIII.23

Sample : Occupational Grade of Males by Division of Origin in Italy

Occupational Grade	Division of Origin in Italy				Total
	Northern Italy	Central Italy	Southern Italy	Insular	
Professional and Semi-Professional	1	-	-	-	1
Administrative	4	-	3	3	10
Commercial and Clerical	2	1	-	1	4
Domestic and Protective	3	1	2	1	7
Craftsmen	33	5	17	5	60
Operatives	12	3	28	8	51
Labourers	20	1	11	1	33
Not stated	-	-	1	-	1
Total in Work Force	75	11	62	19	167
Total Not in Work Force	27	2	29	4	62
Grand Total	102	13	91	23	229*

\* One British-Australian excluded

large Italian concreting firm, which he had founded in 1929 five years after his arrival in Victoria and which in 1960 employed 57 men, and the manager of a service station in Ascot Vale, a post-war arrival from Vicenza employed by one of the oil companies.

Few males were in clerical or commercial occupations. Two, a British-Australian married to an Italian-born female and an Australian-born son of a pre-war arrival from Siracusa, were clerks with city firms. A third, an Italian from Roma, worked in an Italian butchery in North Carlton. A fourth, from Vicenza, was employed in an Italian delicatessen in North Coburg, and a fifth, a pre-war arrival from Alexandria, was an agent for a South Australian winery.

Seven males were in occupations classified as domestic or protective: two chefs, both pre-war arrivals from Toscana and Catania, one of whom worked in a North Melbourne hotel and the other in a restaurant in Toorak; two espresso barmen from Treviso and Reggio Calabria, employed respectively by a Swiss in the city and an Italian in St. Kilda; two hospital cleaners, from Belluno and Potenza, working in the Children's Hospital, Carlton, and St. Vincent's Hospital, Victoria-parade; and a pre-war migrant from Vicenza, who was employed as a handyman and gardener by the local Roman Catholic church.

Taking these first four occupational grades together, we may make three general observations. Firstly, there was no significant tendency for occupational grade to be related to division of origin in Italy. Secondly, almost all of them worked

in Carlton or in the inner suburbs (21/23. Table VIII.24).

Only two males were employed in suburbs more than three miles distant from the centre of the Carlton area (a chef in Toorak and an expresso barman in St. Kilda). Thirdly, comparatively few worked for non-Italians: nine were employers or self-employed and four of the fourteen employees worked for Italians.

Craftsmen. Slightly more than a third of the males in the sample work-force were craftsmen, employed in a wide variety of occupations. The largest class was the motor mechanics (10), followed by carpenters (8), bricklayers (6), plasterers (5), concrete-contractors (5), bootmakers (4), electricians (3), and truck-drivers (3). Also there were two jewellers, two bakers, two monumental masons, two oxy-welders, a fitter and turner (these last three were employed by General Motors-Holden at Fisherman's Bend, Port Melbourne), a panel-beater, a tailor, a painter, an interior decorator, and a linesman with the State Electricity Commission.

Fourteen of these sixty craftsmen were employed or self-employed: five concrete-contractors (all from the Veneto), four bootmakers, a tailor, a jeweller, a monumental mason, a plasterer, and an interior decorator. Many of the other tradesmen were employed by Italians, and eleven craftsmen in the sample (mainly bricklayers) were employed by Italian contractors in Carlton or nearby suburbs. Such Italian craftsmen frequently made employment for their fellows, and in the Carlton flat occupied by the writer and his wife in 1960, the concreting and



TABLE VIII.24

Sample : Place of Employment of Males by Occupational Grade

Occupational Grade	Place of Employment			Total
	Carlton-North Carlton	Inner Suburbs*	Other Suburbs**	
Professional and Semi-Professional	-	1	-	1
Administrative	7	3	-	10
Commercial and Clerical	2	3	-	5
Domestic and Protective	3	2	2	7
Craftsmen	24	26	10	60
Operatives	8	38	5	51
Labourers	20	10	3	33
Not Stated	-	-	-	1
Total in Work Force	64	83	20	167

\* Suburbs within a three-mile radius of the Carlton area, mainly South Melbourne, Port Melbourne, the City proper, North Melbourne, Ascot Vale, Brunswick, Coburg, Northcote, Fitzroy, Collingwood, and Richmond.

\*\* Suburbs beyond a three-mile radius of the Carlton area, mainly Preston, Heidelberg, Toorak, St. Kilda, Brooklyn, and Sunshine.

and bricklaying had been done by the Italian owner, who was a concrete-contractor; the carpenters, the painters, and the french-polisher were all Italians. Only the floor-sanding and the carpet-laying were carried out by non-Italians.

The remaining tradesmen, who were not employers, self-employed, or employed by other Italians, worked in factories or for Australian contractors. Again the majority were employed in suburbs close to Carlton (Table VIII.24), mainly in Brunswick, the city proper, Port Melbourne, and the Fitzroy-Collingwood-Richmond area. Even so, a comparatively high proportion (Table VIII.24) was employed in more distant suburbs. Half the persons employed at places more than three miles distant from Carlton were craftsmen.<sup>72</sup>

Although with regard to pre-migration background occupational grade did not seem to be significantly related to division of origin in Italy (Table VIII.21), by the time of interviewing the proportion of craftsmen of northern Italian origin was significantly higher than among southern Italians and Sicilians.<sup>73</sup> The emergence of this discrepancy after migration was the effect of two equally important factors. Firstly, as suggested above, occupational mobility tended to assume a different form among the different regional groups, so that

<sup>72</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 1.70$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.20 > p > 0.10$ .

<sup>73</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 13.72$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

whereas the successful northern Italian tended to become an independent contractor, that is a craftsman, the southern Italian or Sicilian was more likely to become a shop-proprietor, thus entering the administrative grade of occupations. Secondly, the work-forces shown in Tables VIII.21 and VIII.22 are not directly comparable, in that the Carlton work-force had been affected by the retirement of elderly Italians from the work-force and the entry into it of youths who had not been employed in Italy. This latter factor was of considerable importance, since whereas four youths of northern Italian origin (including two Australian-born males) had entered trades after leaving school in Australia, all six of the southern Italian youths who had completed their schooling in Australia had found employment as operatives in factories.

Operatives. Since all factory-workers in the Carlton sample (excluding tradesmen) were classed as operatives, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing semi-skilled from unskilled factory workers, it is not permissible to conclude from Table VIII.23 that a high proportion of southern Italians and Sicilians were "semi-skilled" but a high proportion of northern Italians "unskilled". This table simply reflects the fact that whereas most of the unskilled workers from southern Italy and Sicily had found jobs in factories, the typical northern Italian contadino was employed by Italian concrete-contractors, most of whom were from the same part of Italy. Some of them had even nominated

these northern Italians so that they could employ them as concrete-labourers.

Four out of five operatives in the sample were factory-workers (43/51). Although little analysis of occupational mobility was made, the frequency with which these Italians changed employers, while considerable, was not so great as one might expect. The thirty-three adult male factory-workers who arrived between 1947 and 1956 had been in Australia for an average of 6.9 years, and had been with their present employers an average of 3.4 years. Twelve had been employed in the same factory less than three years.

Little pattern emerged from the analysis of the types of factory in which these Italians worked. The largest number of operatives working at a single factory were four males employed by General Motors-Holden at Fisherman's Bend, where according to one estimate<sup>74</sup> every fourth wages employee is an Italian. Italians say that the Holden is the all-Australian car built with American capital and New Australian labour.<sup>75</sup> Two other operatives were also employed by motor manufacturers, by the Ford Company in Fawkner and the Austin Distributors in South Melbourne. The other operatives were distributed in a wide variety of factories, including a tobacco factory, a soft-drink factory, a glass

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<sup>74</sup>

Petrolias, Op. cit., p.49.

<sup>75</sup>

This quip is not of course quite accurate, since American technical skill rather than American dollars had been the basis of General Motors-Holden's success in Australia.

manufactory, paint-works, shoe-factories, food manufactories, a spring factory, and so on. Only four factory workers were employed in suburbs more than three miles distant from Carlton. As Table VIII.24 shows, although fewer operatives than labourers were employed in Carlton area itself, most operatives were employed in factories in the inner suburbs (South Melbourne, Port Melbourne, North Melbourne, Brunswick, Fitzroy, Collingwood, and Richmond).

Finally, in addition to the forty three factory employees, there were eight other operatives: four railway assistants, a tram conductor, a P.M.G. assistant, a wine cellerman employed by an Italian merchant in Carlton, and a rigger who worked for an Australian demolition company.

Labourers. Thirty-three males described themselves as labourers, the majority of whom consisted of concrete labourers (20/33). All except two concrete labourers were northern Italians from Vicenza, Treviso, or Udine (15/20). As mentioned above, many of the early arrivals from this part of Italy had gone into business as concrete-contractors, a trade favoured by Italians in Melbourne. Only two southern Italians worked as concrete labourers, and most southern Italian labourers were employed by governmental or semi-governmental bodies such as the State Railways (5), the Melbourne City Council (1), and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (1).<sup>76</sup> Three were wharf-labourers, and the

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<sup>76</sup>

Petrolas, Op. cit., pp.53-54.

TABLE VIII.25

Sample : Occupational Grade of Males Classified by Period of Residence in Australia in Conjunction with Occupational Status

Occupational Grade	Period of Residence and Occupational Status						TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL
	Pre-war Arrivals		Post-war Arrivals		Australian-born				
	High Status	Low Status	High Status	Low Status	High Status	Low Status	High Status	Low Status	
Professional and Semi-Professional	--	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Administrative	4	-	5	1	-	-	9	1	10
Commercial -Clerical	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	5	5
Domestic-Protective	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	7	7
Craftsmen	8	2	6	40	-	4	14	46	60
Operatives	-	1	-	50	-	-	-	51	51
Labourers	-	4	-	29	-	-	-	33	33
Not Stated	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Total in Work Force	12	12	11	127	-	6	23	145	168

Note : The "high status" category comprises employers and self-employed males, the "low status" employees and helpers.

remainder (3) were employed by builders or other contractors of non-Italian origin. Like the operatives, only a handful of the labourers were employed at any distance from the city: one worked at Preston, one at Sandringham, and another at Altona.

Among the craftsmen, operatives, and labourers, then, some interesting differences emerged. A significantly high proportion of the craftsmen were northern Italians, a number of whom were pre-war arrivals who had advanced themselves to the status of employers or self-employed persons. Among the operatives, on the other hand, most of whom worked in factories, a relatively high proportion were southern Italian and Sicilians. The majority of unskilled northern Italian labourers had found work as concrete labourers, mainly with Italian contractors. Finally, most males in these three occupational grades worked either in the Carlton area itself or in the inner suburbs, very few were employed in suburbs more than three miles away from Carlton.

#### Occupational Distribution of Females

Owing to the peculiar composition of the sample female population, with its high proportion in the under sixteen age-groups and the deficiency of unmarried adult women, the proportion of females in the work-force was somewhat lower than it had been among females generally in the Carlton area at the time of the 1954 census (Table VIII.19 above). Further, as a direct result of the deficiency of unmarried females sixteen years of age and over in the sample population, almost two-thirds of the women in the work-force were married (Table VIII.26). The total number

of unmarried females of Italian origin in the sample was very small compared with the number married.

Married Women in the work-force. According to unpublished figures relating to the employment among married women,<sup>77</sup> 12.6 per cent of married women were estimated to have been in the work-force in 1954. This proportion varied significantly from one birth-place group to another, while quite low (10.9 per cent) among Australian-born wives, it was far higher among wives of foreign birth-places, excluding the United Kingdom (29.2 per cent). This latter figure compares very closely with the sample proportion. Three out of ten married women in the sample were in the work-force (Table VIII.26).

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Australia. Bureau of Census and Statistics. "Unpublished Report by the Commonwealth Statistician Relating to Families in the 1954 Census." (Canberra 1959), Table 25a. Hereafter cited as The 1954 Survey of Families.



TABLE VIII.26

Sample : Women in the Work-force Classified by Age in Conjunction With Conjugal Condition

Conjugal Condition	In Work-force		Not in Work-force		TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL
	0-15	Over 15	0-15	Over 15	0-15	Over 15	
Never Married	3	16	64	2	67	18	85
Married	-	31	-	68	-	99	99
Widowed	-	2	-	2	-	4	4
Total	3	49	64	72	67	121	188

TABLE VIII.27

Sample : Working Wives Classified by Division of Origin in Italy in Conjunction With Age

Division of Origin	Wives in Work-force				All Wives			
	20-29	30-39	Over 39	Total	20-29	30-39	Over 39	Total
Northern Italy	3	1	1	5	14	7	12	33
Central Italy	1	1	-	2	2	3	3	8
Southern Italy	3	9	1	13	12	18	6	36
Insular Italy	2	1	2	5	6	1	5	12
ALL ITALY	9	12	4	25 <sup>SE</sup>	34	29	26	89 <sup>SE</sup>

<sup>SE</sup> Six wives of Italian connexion excluded<sup>SE</sup> Ten wives of Italian connexion excluded

Only six of these thirty-one working wives in the sample, however, had a child under the age of five, and in three of these six cases the wives concerned worked in shops where they also resided. Two others worked part-time only and in the sixth case the husband worked night-shift and was at home during the day to mind his two-year old daughter while his wife went out to work. There was no evidence that working-wives of Italian origin neglected their children by taking employment outside the home. Indeed the writer's impression, formed from a variety of observations in the field and during interviews, was that in Carlton and North Carlton the Italian child compared more than favourably in dress, appearance and general conduct with children of other ethnic origins, including British-Australian.

According to Table VIII.27 a much higher proportion of married women from southern Italy and Sicily were in the work-force:<sup>78</sup> less than one-sixth of the northern Italian wives but more than a third of those from southern Italy were employed. An important factor in this discrepancy, which arose largely from the large number of southern Italian wives between thirty and thirty nine years in the work-force appeared to be the different pattern of migration from southern Italy. Only nine of the thirty three northern Italian wives but twenty five out of

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<sup>78</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 3.50$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

thirty six of those from southern Italy had been married prior to migration.<sup>79</sup> Thus, whereas most of the northern Italian wives had married in Australia, by proxy, or in Italy to successful Italian immigrants who had returned temporarily from Australia to find a bride, a much higher proportion of the southern Italian wives had already begun their families prior to their husbands' emigration and consequently had heavier financial responsibilities on arrival in Australia. For this reason, the southern Italian wife frequently found paid employment soon after arrival and in some cases deferred the birth of further children in the initial years of resettlement: six of the nine southern Italian women between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine who were in the work-force had not had a child subsequent to their arrival in Australia, even though they had on the average been in Australia for 5.3 years.

Also related to the high proportion of southern Italians wives in the work-force was a difference in age-structure. A significantly high proportion of them were between thirty and thirty five years of age,<sup>80</sup> but relatively few over thirty nine, compared with the northern Italian wives. The fact that northern Italian wives tended to be older meant that there was less need for them to work.

Occupational status and occupational grade. Three females in the sample were proprietors. Two were self-employed

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<sup>79</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 3.50$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.10 > p > 0.05$ .

<sup>80</sup>

Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 5.691$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.02 > p > 0.01$ .

and owned a confectionery in North Carlton and a haberdashery in Kew respectively. The third, who owned a ladies' hairdressing salon, employed two hairdressers (Table VIII.19 above). These three females are classified in the administrative grade of occupations (Table VIII.22 above).

Although the greatest proportion of females in the work-force were employers a number were classified as "helpers". All six "helpers" were in fact females working in shops owned by their husbands (3), father (1), father-in-law (1), and married son (1). These six females were all in commercial occupations.

In addition to these six "helpers" there were also eight employees in the commercial and clerical grade of occupations: three shop-assistants and five typists. Three of these typists were Australian-born girls of Italian parentage. The two other typists and two of the three shop-assistants were all under ten years of age on arrival in Australia.

Comparatively few women in the sample were employed in domestic or protective occupations. As Odencrantz<sup>81</sup> found in New York almost fifty years ago, the immigrant Italian woman does not turn readily to domestic or personal service. Only eight women in the sample were thus employed, and two of these eight were Italian by marriage and not by birth or descent: a Yugoslav

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Louise C. Odencrantz, Italian Women in Industry: A Study of Conditions in New York City (New York 1919), p.33.

hospital cleaner and a Hungarian nurse in a mental hospital. The remaining domestic and protective workers comprised a hospital cleaner, two kitchen-hands, two hairdressers, and a doctor's receptionist. This last was an Australian-born girl of Italian parentage who worked for an Italian doctor in an inner suburb of Melbourne.

Half the females in the work-force were operatives and worked in factories in the inner suburbs. The clothing trades led in the employment of these women, as they did in New York at the turn of the century.<sup>82</sup> All twenty-four factory workers were employed in clothing factories in and around the Carlton area, mostly as machinists (17), cutters (2) and cotton-winders (2). Even though in most cases their employers were non-Italians, the majority worked with other Italian women and did not speak English at work. Only three of these clothing factory employees were not first-generation Italians: an Australian-born girl of Italian parentage and two British-Australian wives of Italian immigrants. The occupations of three women (including two British-Australian wives) were not ascertained.

#### Summary

Australian censuses and official statistics do not classify persons according to the birthplace of their parents. For this reason the study of ethnic groups in Australia, in so far as it has been based upon such statistics, has been confined

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ibid., p.37. See also Petrolas, op. cit., p.44.

to the consideration of persons of foreign-birth. Persons of foreign origin, those born in Australia to persons of foreign birth, cannot be investigated except by means of a field-survey.

The Carlton sample consisted of first generation immigrants and their Australian-born children. Only one third-generation Italian was encountered, since Carlton-North Carlton is an area of initial immigrant settlement and few Australian-born persons of Italian origin had remained in this area after marriage. They tended to move to better suburbs.

The inclusion of the second generation of immigrants had interesting effects on the demographic structure of this population, and served to correct the heavy concentration in the young adult age-groups. The inclusion of persons of Italian connexion had a slight effect on masculinity rates, since more Italian-born males than females marry non-Italians.

Other factors relevant to the study of an immigrant group were also considered: type of passage, age at arrival, conjugal condition, residential mobility in Australia, origin in Italy, naturalization, and occupational distribution. Throughout this analysis the complexity of the relationships between variables has been emphasized. Cause and effect are linked together chain-wise, in a fashion that renders extremely complex comparisons between northern and southern Italians, or between Italians and other immigrant groups. In the analysis of one variable, such as origin in Italy, other variables must be held constant: type of passage and period of residence are, for

example, closely related to origin in Italy. In a small sample it is almost impossible to hold such variables constant and still have enough instances to make valid comparisons. Tendencies rather than statistically significant differences are the result.

Despite these complexities relationships between origin in Italy and behaviour in Australia were found. Thus a higher proportion of northern Italian males had been unmarried prior to emigration. This implies that they likewise tended to be younger on arrival in Australia and that they had fewer financial responsibilities than most of the southern Italians, a higher proportion of whom were married prior to emigration. Naturalization and origin in Italy were not significantly related. Northern Italians did not tend to become naturalized to a greater extent than southern Italians. In occupational distribution, however, some interesting patterns did emerge. A significantly higher proportion of southern Italian wives were in the work-force. A significantly higher proportion of northern Italian males were tradesmen in Australia, but not prior to emigration. This difference emerged only after arrival, as a result of a differential pattern of occupational mobility and also a difference in the occupational distribution of northern and southern Italian youths not employed prior to emigration. Again, whereas the unskilled northern Italian worker tended to become a builder's labourer, the unskilled southern Italian usually found a job in a factory. In so far as this sort of discrepancy has a bearing on assimilation, presumably the southern Italian occupational

pattern is more acceptable than the northern, since at least southern Italian men worked with British-Australians. Most of the northern Italian labourers were employed by Italian concrete-contractors in the inner suburbs and worked only with other Italians.



## CHAPTER IX

### MARRIAGE AND THE ITALIAN FAMILY

"Lack of balance between the sexes in migrants coming to Australia from Southern Europe was seen by speakers in last night's Meet The Press discussion as a major factor behind the recent growth of a vice traffic involving teen-age girls in Victoria. One suggested solution, the provision of more assisted passages to family groups from Southern Europe, would seem to merit close study, although at first glance it seems to challenge the present basis of our migration policy."<sup>1</sup>

"We pay immigrants to come to Australia from northern Europe; we permit them to come from southern Europe and we reject those from Asia."<sup>2</sup>

#### General

Until recent years information on the family in Australia had been restricted to what could be gleaned from official statistics and to the passing comments, often based on partial and incomplete observations, of persons with some interest in the structure of the Australian family. Thus Borrie could write in the first chapter of the first book devoted exclusively to the study of marriage and the family in Australia that "the Australian family is a subject which until now has escaped the serious attention of scholars in this country."<sup>3</sup> Borrie had himself, however, made a preliminary analysis

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<sup>1</sup> The Herald (Melbourne), leading columns, 30th January 1961.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Cairns, Parliamentary Debates (Australia, House of Representatives), 9 Eliz. II, Vol. H. of R. 28, p. 1760.

<sup>3</sup> W. D. Borrie, Australian Family Structure : Demographic Observations ( in Marriage and The Family in Australia, ed. A. P. Elkin, Sydney 1957), p. 1.

of the basic demographic characteristics of the Australian family, in which he noted not only a secular decrease in family size from the turn of the century to 1947 but also an urban-rural differential in family size and a possible relationship between family size, economic status, and religion.<sup>4</sup> Since economic status and religious affiliation are partially related to ethnic origin, we might further ask to what extent family composition is related to ethnic origin. None of these suggested relationships has received much investigation, and they remain as areas in which further study is required. Some attempt will be made here to examine the composition of the Italian family and the ways in which it differs from what appears to be the Australian family type.

Although the birthplaces of the members of the sample have already been discussed some recapitulation of this earlier analysis, with special reference to persons over the age of fifteen, is necessary, to provide a proper perspective for the discussion of the Italian family. As we have already seen considerable discrepancies in the proportion married existed among Italians from different parts of Italy. The proportion of children among immigrants from the Udine-Veneto, for example, was relatively low compared with that among persons from the Abruzzi, Potenza, or even Calabria. The number of adults from each part of Italy varied, and whereas in the total foreign-born sample population Italians from the Udine-Veneto constituted 34 per cent but those from the Abruzzi, Potenza, or

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<sup>4</sup> W. D. Borrie, "Observations on the Family in Australia," The Australian Quarterly, XXV (Dec. 1953), pp. 55-56.

Calabria 41 per cent of persons of all ages, these proportions were reversed when persons over fifteen only were considered, becoming 39 per cent and 36 per cent respectively (Table IX.1). The consideration of adults only increased the weight of groups among which a high proportion was unmarried on arrival in Australia and decreased the weight of those in which a larger proportion of the arrivals consisted of children born in Italy prior to their parents' emigration. In short, the proportion married among southern Italians was low relative to their total number, since a high proportion of them was under sixteen: 37.3 per cent of southern Italians but only 22.4 per cent of northern Italians were fifteen years of age or younger.

The second effect of restricting this analysis to adults only was that the number of persons in any particular analysis was somewhat reduced. Persons under sixteen constituted 29 per cent of the sample population. Thus some of the detailed analysis attempted in this chapter founders for want of numbers, and only the numerically important categories of origin in Italy have been considered: the provinces of Udine, Vicenza, Potenza, and Siracusa, in addition to broader regional groupings such as "Other Veneto" (the Veneto excluding the province of Vicenza), Abruzzi e Molise, and Calabria. The "other Italian" category consists of persons from Toscana, Lazio, and other parts of central Italy, a few northern Italians from Piemonte, Trieste, and Emilia-Romagna, a number of southern Italians from Puglie and Campania, and a few Sicilians from Messina and Catania. The characteristics of this residual category are not analysed except in the overall figures.

TABLE IX.1

Sample : Origins of the Adult\* Population Classified by Place of Birth

Origin	<u>Foreign-born</u>		<u>Native-born</u>		<u>All Birthplaces</u>		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Persons
Udine	13	5	-	-	13	5	18
Vicenza	30	20	3	1	33	21	54
Other Veneto	26	14	-	-	26	14	40
Abruzzi e Molise	14	11	-	-	14	11	25
Potenza	25	16	-	-	25	16	41
Calabria	21	13	-	-	21	13	34
Siracusa	14	10	1	1	15	11	26
Other Italian	25	19	2	2	27	21	48
Foreign non-Italian	-	2	-	-	-	2	2
British-Australian	-	1	1	6	1	7	8
Total	168	111	7	10	175	121	296

\* Persons sixteen years of age and older

A third effect deriving from the exclusion of children under sixteen was that the number of Australian-born persons of Italian parentage was reduced to negligible proportions, to 3.4 per cent of the total adult population. Only two second-generation Italians were married, and their effect on the figures presented below can be ignored. One, a male aged twenty seven whose father had been born in Toscana, had married an Italian-born girl from Vicenza in 1958 and had a son aged two months at the time of interviewing. The other, a female whose father had been born in Vicenza, was married to a post-war Italian arrival from the same province in 1959; they had no children. Both these persons are classified in the tables according to their fathers' origins. Two females of non-Italian origin and eight British-Australians had married persons of Italian origin, and separate figures for these persons of Italian connexion have been provided where relevant. The female British-Australian of foreign birth (Table IX.1) was the English wife of an Italian immigrant, and was herself a first-generation immigrant.

#### Conjugal condition

Although at their time of arrival in Australia marked discrepancies existed in the proportion married among Italian immigrants from different parts of Italy (Table VIII.2 above), by the time the present survey was conducted these discrepancies had to some extent disappeared. Many of the young men from northern Italy who had been single on arrival in Australia had subsequently married, while a number of the southern Italians who had been dependent

children on arrival had since grown to adulthood. As Table IX.2 shows, in 1960 the number of unmarried adults from the Udine-Veneto (hereafter in this chapter called "northern Italians") was not significantly higher than among persons from the Abruzzi, Potenza, Calabria, and Siracusa (hereafter in this chapter called "southern Italians").<sup>5</sup> Even so it should be noted that the masculinity rate among "never married" persons was very high (3.9 males to 1 female), and that 16 of the 32 unmarried adult males from the Udine-Veneto had been assisted to Australia by the Australian government or by I.C.E.M. This high masculinity rate reflected the shortage of marriageable females of Italian origin, and there was some evidence that because of this imbalance between the sexes Italian girls reared in Australia tended to marry at relatively young ages. Price, for example, found whereas the average age at marriage for northern Italian females married prior to emigration had been 23.3 years, in Australia it dropped to 20.4 years for females who arrived as children, or who were born in Australia of northern Italian parents. He also observed a similar trend among southern Italian females, the corresponding figures being 20.3 and 19.4 years respectively.<sup>6</sup>

According to Table IX.2, 200 married persons were included in the Carlton sample, and of these all except four were married couples enumerated together. Three married males, all from Calabria, had wives and families still in Italy, and the husband of one married

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<sup>5</sup> Test of significance:  $X^2 = 0.29$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.70 > p > 0.50$ .

<sup>6</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Canberra 1955), Table VIII.A.

TABLE IX.2

Sample : Conjugal Conditions of the Adult Population Classified by Origin

Origin	Never Married		Married		All Conjugal Conditions		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Persons
Udine	5	-	8	5	13	5	18
Vicenza	13	5	17	16	33	21	54 <sup>x</sup>
Other Veneto	14	2	11	11	26	14	40 <sup>xx</sup>
Abruzzi e Molise	2	-	12	11	14	11	25
Potenza	11	1	14	15	25	16	41
Calabria	10	4	11	8	21	13	34 <sup>φ</sup>
Siracusa	6	2	9	8	15	11	26 <sup>φ</sup>
Other Italian	9	4	18	16	27	21	48 <sup>φ</sup>
Foreign non-Italian	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
British-Australian	-	-	1	7	1	7	8
Total	70	18	101	99	175	121	296

<sup>x</sup> Two divorced and one widowed male included,<sup>xx</sup> One widowed male and one widowed female included.<sup>φ</sup> One widowed female included in each case.

woman, who had arrived from Siracusa in late 1959 and was resident with a married son in Carlton, was not enumerated with his wife, since he was living temporarily with another married son in a Victorian country town. These four married persons who were enumerated separately from their spouses have been excluded from the subsequent analysis. The origin in Italy of the remaining 98 married couples enumerated together in the Carlton survey is shown on Table IX.2, and as mentioned above only two persons of Italian origin were Australian-born, a male of Tuscan origin ("other Italian") and a female of Venetian origin (Vicenza).

#### Type of Marriage

As only half the couples in the sample had been married prior to emigration (Table IX.3), the means by which the remainder married is obviously important. To what extent did Italian men find it necessary to return to Italy for wives, how many married by proxy, and how many married Italian girls brought out from Italy as fiancées? How many married women they met for the first time in Australia, and how many married non-Italians? Tables IX.3 and IX.4 answer these questions for the Carlton survey. Only half (26/49) of the men who had been single on arrival in Australia married women whom they met for the first time in this country; 10 had married proxy brides, 9 fiancées imported from Italy, and 5 had to make a special trip home before they could find a suitable wife.

Type of marriage was closely related to origin in Italy. A significantly higher proportion of southern Italian than northern Italian husbands had married prior to emigration (Table IX.3).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 4.72$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .



TABLE IX.3

Sample : .Type of Marriage by Origin of Husband

Origin of Husband	Type of Marriage					TOTAL
	Married prior to Emigration	Married after Emigration				
		By Proxy	In Italy <sup>1</sup>	In Australia <sup>2</sup>	In Australia <sup>3</sup>	
Udine	5	1	-	1	1	8
Vicenza	7	-	1	2	7	17
Other Veneto	1	2	2	2	4	11
Abruzzi e Molise	6	2	1	1	2	12
Potenza	12	-	-	-	2	14
Calabria	6	2	-	-	-	8
Siracusa	2	2	1	2	2	9
Other Italian	9	1	-	1	7	18
British-Australian	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	48	10	5	9	26	98

<sup>1</sup> Husband returned to Italy with express intention of marrying.<sup>2</sup> Husband married a female to whom he had been engaged prior to emigration.<sup>3</sup> Husband married a female whom he met for the first time in Australia.

Price also noted this relationship in Griffith, where he found that 59 per cent of southern Italian, but only 37 per cent of northern Italian, husbands had been married prior to emigration.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, a slightly, but not significantly, higher proportion of southern Italians who married after migration had married by proxy, compared with the northern Italians, most of whom had married women they met for the first time after migration, fiancées brought out from Italy, or women whom they met when they returned to Italy intending to find a wife.<sup>9</sup> Price did not report any evidence of this tendency in his Griffith study.<sup>10</sup>

Since fewer of the northern Italians in the sample were married on arrival in Australia, a higher rate of intermarriage with British-Australians would be expected among northern than southern Italians. Slight evidence of this tendency was found, and five males from the Udine-Veneto but only one from southern Italy had married British-Australians.<sup>11</sup> It should be noted, however, that all six of these intermarriages involved pre-war arrivals, among whom the proportion of northerners was in any case high. Only one post-war arrival, from Torino, had married a British-Australian girl. With an increase in the proportion of females in the Italian immigrant intake and in the number of Australian-born females of Italian parentage reaching marriageable ages, post-war Italian

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<sup>8</sup> Price, *Op. cit.* (Canberra 1955), Table VIII.B.

<sup>9</sup> Test of significance (Yates' correction):  $X^2 = 1.32$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.30 > p > 0$ .

<sup>10</sup> Price, *Loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Test of significance (Yates' Correction):  $X^2 = 0.75$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.50 > p > 0.30$ .

arrivals have been able to find wives of Italian origin far more readily than in previous times. Interestingly enough, Price, who studied an area where southern Italians had been a substantial element in the pre-war Italian population, found that "...the males of all Southern groups have tended to marry British females more than males of all Northern groups."<sup>12</sup> Conclusions such as this make it difficult to find a rational basis for the stereotype that northern Italians are more easily assimilated than southern Italians, if intermarriage is to be used as an index of assimilation.

#### Interval between arrival of husbands and wives

In a migration from a country in parts of which per capita income is by Western European standards still quite low,<sup>13</sup> it is not surprising that Italian families, very few of which receive any sort of governmental assistance towards the cost of their passage, find it impossible to emigrate as a family unit. Hempel found that only 30 per cent of married males in his sample had been accompanied by their wives during the initial emigration,<sup>14</sup> and in the Carlton sample the proportion was even lower, less than one-fifth (Table IX.4). Although the average period of separation was quite long, this average figure was affected by two extraordinary separations of 19 and 24 years. Three out of four wives whose husbands had emigrated to Australia without them had in fact been reunited with their husbands by the end of three years, Hempel also reported that most

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<sup>12</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Ganberra 1955), p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> G. Parenti, Italy (in Economics of International Migration, ed. Brinley Thomas, London 1958), p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> Hempel, Op. cit., pp. 104-106.

TABLE IX.4

Sample : Differences in Relative Arrival in Australia of Husband and Wives Married  
Prior to Emigration Classified by Origin of Husband

Origin of Husband	Husband and Wife Arrived Together	Husband and Wife Arrived Separately	Total	Average Number of Years By Which Husbands Preceded Wives to Australia*
Udine	2	3	5	4.33 (4.03)
Veneto	1	7	8	4.29 (8.10)
Abruzzi e Molise	-	6	6	3.83 (2.26)
Potenza	-	12	12	3.17 (2.30)
Calabria	1	5	6	3.20 (1.26)
Siracusa	1	1	2	2.00 ( N/A)
Other Italian	4	5	9	7.60 (6.44)
Total	9	39	48	3.77 (4.86)

\* For husbands and wives who arrived separately only. Standard deviations are given in brackets.

wives had rejoined their husbands within four years, and that after the third year of separation the proportion of wives rejoining their husbands fell substantially.<sup>15</sup>

The period of separation involved in this sort of delayed family migration appears to have decreased since the pre-war period. Borrie found that in 1951 only three in ten wives were reunited with their husbands by the end of the third year of separation, and that four in ten couples had been separated for ten years or longer.<sup>16</sup> Separations as long as these seem attributable to the disturbing effects of the depression and later the war. Such disturbing influences have been largely absent during the immediate post-war period, and this together with a progressive administrative policy which has striven to facilitate the reunion of families separated during the emigratory process,<sup>17</sup> has meant that since the end of the Second World War relatively few Italian families have been separated for more than three or four years.

Hempel reported that period of separation was related to origin in Italy, and that it tended to be longer among Calabrians and Sicilians than among Venetians.<sup>18</sup> Hempel attributed this discrepancy to the larger number of Venetians receiving assisted

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<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>16</sup> Borrie, *Op. cit.*, (Melbourne 1954), p. 87.

<sup>17</sup> McDonald, *Op. cit.*, pp. 133-155.

<sup>18</sup> Hempel, *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

passages. This factor was absent from the Carlton sample, in which only two married men (from Udine and Trieste) had been assisted. Perhaps for this reason no relationship between origin in Italy and length of separation was observed. Indeed, in so far as any differences did exist, the period of separation tended to be shorter among the southern than the northern Italians. More importantly, however, we should remember that while the actual duration of the separation was no longer among the southern Italians, clearly its incidence was far more marked. As Table IX.4 shows, most of the northern Italian husbands in the Carlton sample married after and not before their initial emigration.

#### Origin in Italy of husbands and wives

Characteristic of the pattern of Italian marriage is the proportion of spouses born in the same paese. Borrie found that 75 per cent of Italian-born couples had married a person from the same province,<sup>19</sup> and Hempel reported an even higher proportion, 84 per cent.<sup>20</sup> In Carlton similar results were obtained, and three out of four husbands in the sample were married to women from the same province (Table IX.5). This high degree of intra-provincial marriage cannot be taken as evidence of Italian "clannishness" or campanilismo. Both Borrie and Hempel make it clear that the majority of the marriages included in their surveys had been contracted in Italy prior to emigration.<sup>21</sup> Thus residential propinquity

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<sup>19</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), p. 86.

<sup>20</sup> Hempel, Op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>21</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), p. 87; Hempel, Op. cit., p. 93.

TABLE IX.5

Sample : Origin of Husband by Origin of Wife

Origin of Husband	Origin of Wife				Italian Connexion		TOTAL
	Italian Origin			Different Divisions	British-Australian	Other	
	Same Province	Same Region	Same Division				
Udine	4	-	2	-	1	1	8
Vicenza	13	1	-	-	3	-	17
Other Veneto	7	1	-	2	1	-	11
Abruzzi e Molise	9	1	-	2	-	-	12
Potenza	14	-	-	-	-	-	14
Calabria	8	-	-	-	-	-	8
Siracusa	7	-	-	1	1	-	9
Other Italian	11	2	1	2	1	1	18
British-Australian	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	73	5	3	8	7	2	98

and not campanilismo would be a sufficient explanation of this frequency of intra-provincial marriage among Italians married in Italy. Hempel argues that "...the almost complete absence of inter-marriage between partners originating in two provinces which do not have a common border" provides striking evidence of a "...clannishness, which is much stronger than in other European countries...."<sup>22</sup> While campanilismo should be emphasized as a factor influencing the behaviour of Italians both in Italy and in countries of immigration, marriage statistics relating to marriages contracted in Italy do not provide conclusive evidence on this phenomenon. Residential propinquity is a basic determinant in the choice of a spouse, as is shown by studies in the American cities of Philadelphia<sup>23</sup> and New Haven,<sup>24</sup> and also in the New South Wales provincial centre, Campbelltown,<sup>25</sup> where two-thirds of the marriages contracted between 1922 and 1952 involved persons who lived within a fifteen mile radius of the town.<sup>26</sup> Hempel himself accepts at a later stage of his argument the importance of residential propinquity, in stating that "according to the Italian yearbooks, from 80 to 90 per

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<sup>22</sup> Hempel, Op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>23</sup> James H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," The American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII (Sept. 1932), 219-224.

<sup>24</sup> Maurice K. Davie, and Ruby Jo Reeves, "Propinquity of Residence before Marriage," The American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (Jan. 1939), 510-517.

<sup>25</sup> J. H. Bell, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," The Australian Quarterly, XXIX (March 1957), 74-77.

<sup>26</sup> ibid., p. 75.



cent of Italian marriages were concluded between men and women born in the same regional area. This rate is high but does not differ much from other European countries."<sup>27</sup>

The residential propinquity hypothesis, that the proportion of marriages decreases as the distance between the contracting parties increases,<sup>28</sup> implies as its corollary an increase in the rate of extra-regional and extra-provincial marriages among Italians who marry after leaving Italy, since emigration tend to reduce the distance between Italians from different parts of Italy. Italians emigrate from the Veneto, from Basilicata, or from Calabria, and find themselves next door to one another in Carlton or on adjacent farms in Griffith. Does the frequency of extra-provincial marriage increase in these conditions of residential proximity? Hempel's sample offers no evidence on this question, since most of the marriages examined by him had been contracted in Italy prior to emigration. Borrie tried to answer this question, but since he was unable in 25 per cent of cases to establish the precise origin in Italy of Italian couples in his sample, his conclusions on extra-provincial marriage are inconclusive.<sup>29</sup> Price deals specifically with this question of intermarriage, and his findings support the residential hypothesis hypothesis. Price found that 22.6 per cent of Italian males over the age of eleven on arrival in Australia who had married in Australia had married wives born outside their

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<sup>27</sup> Hempel, *Op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>28</sup> Bossard, *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>29</sup> Borrie, *Op. cit.* (Melbourne 1954), pp. 84-86.

own region of birth;<sup>30</sup> among those who had been under twelve on arrival or born in Australia of Italian parents the proportion of extra-regional marriages was significantly higher (47/99).<sup>31</sup> The Carlton figures offer little evidence on this point (Table IX.5). Worth noting as a very slight tendency in the predicted direction was that whereas no northern Italian married in Italy had taken a southern Italian spouse, three such marriages had occurred among those who married after emigration.

Table IX.5 suggests an apparent relationship between in-marriage and origin in Italy. A significantly higher proportion of southern Italian husbands had married women from the same province than was the case among northern Italian husbands, one-third of whom had contracted extra-regional marriages.<sup>32</sup> This finding does not imply that southern Italians exhibit a greater tendency towards in-marriage than northern Italians but simply reflects the high proportion of them married prior to emigration. As already mentioned the degree of in-marriage was greater among those who married prior to emigration. Price has further suggested that the frequency of extra-regional marriage is partly a function of the size of each group, and that the smaller the regional group the greater the degree of out-marriage.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Canberra 1955), Table VI.B.

<sup>31</sup> Test of significance:  $X^2 = 24.99$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>32</sup> Test of significance:  $X^2 = 4.85$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

<sup>33</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Canberra 1955), p. 22.

Age at marriage

The range of variation in age at marriage was considerable. The youngest of the husbands was married at nineteen and the oldest at forty four; one in six was under twenty four when married (17/98) and three in six were between twenty four and twenty eight years of age at marriage (48/98). The average age at marriage among the males was 27.2 years, a figure which approximated the Australian average for age at marriage in the post-war period, which has varied from 27.0 years in 1948 to 26.3 years in 1959.<sup>34</sup> As Table IX.6 shows some variations in age at marriage existed among the major regional groups.

TABLE IX.6 Sample : Average Age at Marriage by Sex and Origin in Italy

Origin in Italy	Average Age at Marriage	
	Males	Females
Udine	27.0	22.0
Vicenza	27.8	23.2
Other Veneto	27.4	24.4
Abruzzi e Molise	26.8	22.4
Potenza	26.6	21.9
Calabria	28.0	20.9
Siracusa	28.6	21.9
Other Italian	26.7	21.8
Foreign non-Italian	-	29.0
British-Australian	22.0	23.2
Total	27.2	22.6

None of these discrepancies was, however, statistically significant.

Interestingly enough the widest discrepancy was not between northern

<sup>34</sup> Australia, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography Bulletin, 1959, Table 42, p. 33.

Italians and southern Italians, but amongst the southerners. Husbands from Potenza averaged 26.6 years at marriage but those from Siracusa 28.6 years.<sup>35</sup> In so far as these differences had more than a fortuitous origin, age at marriage seem to be related to type of marriage. The slightly younger average age at marriage observed among husbands from Potenza reflected the fact that most of them had married prior to emigration. Table IX.7 shows that men who married prior to emigration tended to marry at younger ages than those who married after emigration.

**TABLE IX.7** Sample : Average Age at Marriage by Sex and Type of Marriage

Type of Marriage	Average Age at Marriage	
	Males	Females
Married prior to emigration	26.6	22.2
Married by Proxy	26.3	23.0
Married in Italy <sup>*</sup>	32.2	20.8
Married in Australia <sup>*</sup>	28.4	23.1
Married in Australia <sup>*</sup>	27.1	23.3
Total	27.2	22.6

<sup>\*</sup> See notes to Table IX.3

Husbands who married by proxy also tended to be relatively young at marriage. Both these factors seem relevant in explaining the slightly lower average ages at marriages observed among husbands from Udine, the Abruzzi, and Potenza. The Calabrians, however,

<sup>35</sup> Test of significance:  $t = 1.255$ , d.f. = 21,  $0.30 > p > 0.20$ .

offer an exception to this explanation. Among the wives similar variations in age at marriage were also observed. The youngest female had married at sixteen, the oldest at thirty seven. The majority (69/98) were under twenty four when married, and only four were over twenty eight. There was some tendency for women from southern Italy to marry at younger ages than those from northern Italy: four out of five (34/42) of the southern Italian wives, but only three out of five (20/33) of the northern Italian wives, were under twenty four at marriage.<sup>36</sup> The youngest group of wives, those of Calabrian origin, were significantly younger at marriage than the oldest group, from the Veneto excluding Vicenza,<sup>37</sup> a finding which gains some support from Price, who reported that in Griffith the average age at marriage of Calabrian wives married in Italy was 20.3 years, compared with 23.3 years among Venetian wives.<sup>38</sup>

The differences in average age at marriage by type of marriage (Table IX.7) were not particularly marked, with one exception, males who had returned to Italy to find a wife. These five men had all been in their early thirties at marriage and had married women much younger than themselves. The slight tendency already mentioned for persons married prior to emigration to be on the average younger at marriage than those married after emigration is also supported by Price's findings, which show this same tendency among both males and females.<sup>39</sup> The cause of such a discrepancy

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<sup>36</sup> Test of significance:  $X^2 = 4.52$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

<sup>37</sup> Test of significance:  $t = 2.525$ , d.f. = 14,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

<sup>38</sup> Price, *Op. cit.* (Canberra 1955), Table VIII.A.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, Tables VIII.A and VIII.B.

may be that emigration delayed marriage slightly among those who had been single on leaving Italy.

Relative ages of husbands and wives

According to the 1954 census of Australia 73 per cent of husbands were older than their wives.<sup>40</sup> Among Italians in Carlton this proportion was significantly higher, and nine out of ten Italian husbands were older than their wives (Table IX.8).<sup>41</sup>

TABLE IX.8 Sample : Relative Ages of Husbands and Wives

Origin of husband	Wives whose husbands were:			TOTAL
	Younger	Same Age	Older	
Udine	-	2	6	8
Vicenza	2	-	15	17
Other Veneto	1	1	9	11
Abruzzi e Molise	1	1	10	12
Potenza	-	1	13	14
Calabria	-	-	8	8
Siracusa	-	-	9	9
Other Italian	2	-	16	18
British-Australian	-	1	-	1
Total	6	6	86	98

The average difference in age between husbands and wives was substantially greater among the Italians (4.41 years) than among Australians generally (3.3 years).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The 1954 Survey of Families, Table 5.

<sup>41</sup> Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 10.38$ , d.f. = 1,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

<sup>42</sup> The 1954 Survey of Families, Table 6.

Marked differences in the average discrepancy between the ages of husbands and their respective wives were noted in the Carlton sample among the several regional groups. Although among all groups husbands tended uniformly to be older than their wives, the average difference in age between spouses varied from 3.25 and 3.93 years respectively among couples where the husband had come from Udine or Potenza, to 6.75 years among the Calabrians. This latter figure was significantly higher than that observed among the couples from the Udine<sup>43</sup> or Potenza.<sup>44</sup> These discrepancies are probably related to variations in patterns of marriage and in family structure in these different parts of Italy. Again it should be noted that no simple northern-southern Italian differential was observed, and that the differences within each of these two broad categories were of considerable magnitude (Table IX.9).

**TABLE IX.9** Sample : Average Difference in Ages of Husbands and Wives by Origin

Origin of husband	Average Number of Years by Which Ages of Husbands Exceeded Those of their Wives
Udine	3.25
Vicenza	4.88
Other Veneto	4.64
Abruzzi e Molise	5.08
Potenza	3.93
Calabria	6.75
Siracusa	5.44
Other Italian	2.94
British-Australian	-
Total	4.41

<sup>43</sup> Test of significance:  $t = 2.167$ , d.f. = 14,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

<sup>44</sup> Test of significance:  $t = 2.168$ , d.f. = 20,  $0.05 > p > 0.02$ .

Family size

In Queensland in 1951 Borrie reported an average family size among Italian-born females married for ten years or longer of 2.92 children, a figure which "...implied a fertility considerably above the Australian average for similar durations of marriage."<sup>45</sup> Since this statement was made, little information on the fertility of Italians, or other ethnic minorities in Australia, has been published. Price, however, has comprehensive data for Italians in Griffith, and the 1954 census report (as yet unpublished) does analyse the fertility of migrant wives. This latter source does not, unfortunately, permit a detailed comparison of the fertility of native-born wives with that of the non-British immigrant population, since no analysis of the fertility of Australian-born wives by duration of marriage was shown. Since the fertility of British-born and Australian-born wives may be reasonably assumed to follow a similar pattern, the average issue of British-born wives may be used as a basis for assessing the relative fertility of the native Australian population and the major non-British immigrant groups.

The relative fertility of post-war migrant wives in Australia at the time of the 1954 census is shown on Table IX.10, according to which wives born in the United Kingdom were the least fertile of all the birthplace groups considered. The United Kingdom figures were the lowest at all durations of marriage, with one minor exception. The Italian figure was slightly lower for wives married

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<sup>45</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), pp. 90-91.



TABLE IX.10

Australia : Average Issue of Existing Marriages of Post-war Migrant Wives by Duration of Marriage. Selected Birthplaces Only. 30th June 1954.

Birthplace	Duration of Marriage			All Durations
	Less Than Ten Years	Ten to Nineteen Years	Twenty Years and Over	
United Kingdom	1.08	2.13	2.55	1.79
Italy	1.05	2.72	3.69	1.83
Greece	1.18	2.35	2.87	1.76
Malta	1.82	4.53	6.67	3.61
Netherlands	1.26	3.07	4.16	2.30
All Post-war Migrant Wives	1.16	2.28	2.83	1.76
Post-war Migrant Wives, United Kingdom excluded.	1.19	2.40	3.04	1.74

Source : Unpublished figures relating to the 1954 Census.

less than ten years. This low Italian figure for marriages of relatively short durations may reflect interruptions to child-bearing caused by proxy marriages or delayed family migration, in which the husband precedes his wife to the country of immigration, often only a few years after his marriage.

The most striking discrepancies in average issue occurred in marriages of completed fertility (twenty years' duration or longer), where the average figure for wives born in the United Kingdom was considerably below every other figure except that for the Greek-born wives. The fertility of Italian-born wives was not outstandingly high compared with wives from Malta or the Netherlands. Whereas the post-war migrant wives from Malta or the Netherlands had given birth to an average of 3.41 and 2.27 children respectively after eight years of marriage, the corresponding figure for Italian wives was 1.73, an average issue similar to that for wives born in the United Kingdom at the same duration of marriage (1.69 children).<sup>46</sup>

In interpreting these figures on average issue among post-war migrant wives, it should be noted that few of those married for twenty years or longer could have borne many children in Australia, since these figures relate only to those foreign-born wives who came to Australia between the end of the Second World War and the 1954 census. These figures reflect not ethnic fertilities after migration but the fertilities of migrant women in their countries of birth. The high completed fertilities of Maltese, Dutch, and Italian wives

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<sup>46</sup> The 1954 Survey of Families, Table 25.

does not imply that these women are bearing large families in Australia. This is a conclusion that can be established only by further research, in which the fertility of women of foreign origin who bear their families after migration can be compared with that of the native Australian population. Price has already done this for Italians in Griffith, and concluded that "at first glance it would appear that the two principal groups in Griffith [the Venetians and the Calabrians] have been maintaining earlier regional habits in having families which are relatively large compared with the Australian average...."<sup>47</sup> Price did, however, qualify this generalization in noting that this higher average fertility among Italians has tended to decline in the post-war period. Moreover, the fertility of British-Australian females married to Italian males was also relatively high in Griffith. Even so an average family size of 2.71 children among women of Venetian birth or origin married in Australia between 1934 and 1938 clearly implied a fertility well above the Australian average, 1.98 children.<sup>48</sup>

Borrie<sup>49</sup> and Price<sup>50</sup> both reported a higher fertility among southern Italian than northern Italian wives. A similar differential was observed also in the Carlton sample, as Tables IX.11, IX.12, and IX.13 show. The average family size of wives from the

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<sup>47</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Canberra 1955), p. 28.

<sup>48</sup> ibid., Table IX.

<sup>49</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), pp. 90-91.

<sup>50</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Canberra 1955), p. 28.

TABLE IX.11

Sample : Average Issue by Origin of Wife and Average Duration of Marriage

Origin of Wife	Number of Wives	Average Issue*	Average Duration of Marriage
Udine	5	2.00	18.40
Vicenza	16	1.75	20.13
Other Veneto	11	1.27	3.45
Abruzzi e Molise	11	2.18	10.00
Potenza	15	2.40	15.20
Calabria	8	2.62	13.75
Siracusa	7	1.14	6.00
Other Italian	16	1.88	16.75
Foreign non-Italian	2	2.00	14.50
British-Australian	7	1.71	18.43
Total	98	1.91	13.96

\* Comprising children who survived the first month of life only.

TABLE IX.12

Sample : Duration of Marriage by Origin of Wife

Origin of Wife	Duration of Marriage			All Durations
	Less Than Ten Years	Ten to Nineteen Years	Twenty Years and Over	
Udine and Veneto	19	3	10	32
Abruzzi e Molise, Potenza, Calabria, and Siracusa	16	17	8	41
All Wives	44	25	29	98

TABLE IX.13

Sample : Average Issue by Origin of Wife and Duration of Marriage

Origin of Wife	Duration of Marriage			All Durations
	Less Than Ten Years	Ten to Nineteen Years	Twenty Years and Over	
Udine and Veneto	1.16	2.00	2.40	1.63
Abruzzi e Molise, Potenza, Calabria, and Siracusa	1.06	2.47	3.75	2.17
All Wives	1.09	2.32	2.79	1.91

Abruzzi and Calabria was high compared with that among wives from Udine and Vicenza, even though among these latter groups the average duration of marriage was somewhat longer. Although none of these observed discrepancies was statistically significant, they accorded with the findings of other studies. In Carlton differences in family size also tended to be related to type of marriage, and as Borrie found<sup>51</sup> the average family size among couples to whom one or more children had been born in Italy prior to emigration was significantly larger than among those whose children had all been born in Australia (3.00 and 1.22 children respectively, marriages of ten years' duration or longer only).<sup>52</sup> This differential partly accounts for regional differences in family size in the Carlton sample, since more southern than northern Italian wives had begun their families prior to emigration. Nevertheless basic differences in family size existed from one regional group to another. Whereas only one of the fourteen northern or central Italian wives who had begun their families prior to migration had continued child-bearing in Australia, twelve of the twenty eight southern Italian wives married prior to emigration had given birth to children both in Italy and Australia. The findings of both Borrie and Price suggest that under similar conditions of duration and type of marriage southern Italian wives exhibit a higher fertility than northern Italian wives.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), p. 90.

<sup>52</sup> Test of significance:  $t = 2.132$ , d.f. = 47,  $0.01 > p > 0.001$ .

<sup>53</sup> Borrie, Loc. cit. (Melbourne 1954); Price, Loc. cit. (Canberra 1955).

Summary

Basic differences in the pattern of marriage and in family composition existed among Italians from different parts of Italy. Whereas among northern Italians marriage tended to occur after the emigration of the male, among southern Italians marriage usually occurred before migration and delayed family migration was the rule. This discrepancy was at once the cause and the effect of other differences between the two groups, since type of marriage seemed to be related to age at marriage and completed size of family. Those who married prior to emigration tended to marry at younger ages and to have larger families than those who emigrated first and married later. Socio-cultural differences were also involved, however, and other studies have suggested that under similar conditions of age at marriage, type of marriage, and duration of marriage southern Italian wives tend to have larger families than northern Italian wives. These regional differences tend to be perpetuated among the second-generation. In Griffith Price found that Calabrian girls born and reared in Australia still exhibited a tendency to marry at younger ages and bear more children than their northern Italian counterparts.

At the broader level of analysis, Italians in Carlton showed marked differences from the Australian population with regard to marriage and the family. Every study of Italians in Australia has suggested that Italians tend to have larger families than native-born Australians. The extent to which this difference may be perpetuated among subsequent generations may be debated,

and Price noted a fall in the fertility of Italian girls married at Griffith in recent years. But the level of Australian fertility seems likewise to have declined,<sup>54</sup> with the result that Italians are still having somewhat larger families than Australians generally. Differentials of family size need further investigation. Price studied a rural area, where fertility tends in any case to be higher than in metropolitan areas.<sup>55</sup> What is the level of fertility among Italians reared in urban areas? The Carlton survey tells us little about this. As we emphasized above, Carlton and North Carlton were essentially suburbs of first-generation Italian settlement, and those children who grew up and married in Australia tended to move to other suburbs.

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<sup>54</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (December 1953), p. 49.

<sup>55</sup> ibid., p. 53.



## CHAPTER X

### KINSHIP, CHAIN MIGRATION, AND REGIONAL CONCENTRATIONS:

#### TWO CASE STUDIES

"It is indeed possible for a country, as has happened in the case of Italy, to arrive suddenly, as the result of exceptional circumstances, at forming a single state, but it would be a mistake to suppose that it thus acquires simultaneously a national soul. It is clear to me that in Italy there are Piedmontese, Sicilians, Venetians, Romans, etc., but it is not clear as yet that there are Italians."<sup>1</sup>

#### General

The relationship one to another of the concepts which comprise the title of this chapter may not be altogether obvious. There is nevertheless a fundamental nexus between them, and in this chapter it will be argued that the force of kinship, reinforced by local ties, is basic to chain-migration, and that chain-migration, by which is meant the type of migration in which the emigration of one person from a particular part of Italy leads directly to the emigration of others from the same part of Italy,<sup>2</sup> produces in its train regional concentrations of paesani in countries of resettle-

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<sup>1</sup> Gustave Le Bon, The Psychology of Peoples (London 1899), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> R. A. Lochore, From Europe to New Zealand : An Account of Our Continental European Settlers (Wellington 1951), p. 23

ment. Such regional concentrations have been reported in many studies of Italian migration.<sup>3</sup> In Australia Gamba,<sup>4</sup> Borrie,<sup>5</sup> Price,<sup>6</sup> Bromley,<sup>7</sup> Hempel,<sup>8</sup> and McDonald<sup>9</sup> have all stressed the importance of the local, or paesano, tie as a determinant not only of the geographical distribution of Italian immigrants but also of their patterns of marriage and occupational distribution. The nature of this tie has not received as much attention as its effects. It will be argued here that in many parts of Italy, particularly in rural Italy (the main source of Australia's Italian immigrants), this paesano tie is essentially a kinship tie; for where residential mobility has been, and still is, relatively low, the kinship tie and the local tie become in time indistinguishable, each reinforcing the other.

In the Carlton area regional concentrations were quite marked. According to the preliminary analysis several communes -- Viggiano, Roana, Sortino, Floridia, and San Marco in Lamis -- accounted for approximately one-seventh of Italian adults in these

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<sup>3</sup> See Foerster, Op. cit., pp. 43-435.

<sup>4</sup> Gamba, Op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), pp. 77-84.

<sup>6</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Canberra 1955), pp. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Bromley, Op. cit., pp. 29-49.

<sup>8</sup> Hempel, Op. cit., pp. 53-63.

<sup>9</sup> McDonald, Op. cit., Chapter 7.

two suburbs (Table III.10 above). In Italy itself these same five communes contained in 1951 only 0.16 per cent of the total Italian population. Field investigation showed that while numerous persons from Sortino, Floridia, and San Marco in Lamis resided in Carlton and North Carlton, the centres of these regional concentrations were located elsewhere in Victoria. The Sicilians from Sortino were concentrated in South Gippsland and to a lesser extent in the inner suburbs of Melbourne; those from Floridia lived mainly in North Melbourne and also around Mildura and Swan Hill in the Murray River valley; while the main settlement of Italians from San Marco in Lamis was found in Shepparton, in the Ovens River valley. The two other communes, Viggiano and Roana, were far more important in the Carlton area, and were in fact only the central communes in a substantial migration from two clearly defined parts of Italy, L'alta valle dell'Agri in the province of Potenza and L'altipiano dei sette comuni in the province of Vicenza. In this study these areas will be termed the Upper Agri Basin or Viggiano and its Environs, and the Altipiano of Asiago respectively. The former is a district some twenty-five miles south-west of Potenza, consisting of six communes, Marsico Nuovo, Marsico Vetere, Viggiano, Tramutola, Montemurro, and Grumento Nova (Figures 17 and 18). In November 1958 7.4 per cent of Italian adults in Carlton-North Carlton had been born in this area, over half of them in Viggiano alone.

Slightly fewer had come from the Altipiano of Asiago (5.2 per cent), from the five communes of Roana, Asiago, Gallio, Rotzo, and Foza. There was none from the two other of the "seven" communes, Lusiana and Enego (Figures 20 and 21). The comparative strengths of these two concentrations can be gauged from Table X.1, which shows that in the Carlton area the number of persons from the Upper Agri Basin and the Altipiano of Asiago were proportionately fifteen and thirteen times as great as the number from their respective provinces, Potenza and Vicenza, notwithstanding the fact that in Carlton and North Carlton the number of Italians from these two provinces was proportionately tenfold that from Italy as a whole. Thus in 1958 the eleven communes mentioned above accounted for one in every eight adult Italians in Carlton-North Carlton. In 1951 in Italy they had contained slightly less than one-thousandth of Italy's total population.

Within the Carlton area itself these two major groups tended to be concentrated in distinct pockets. The majority of persons from the Upper Agri Basin lived in a few blocks of North Carlton, above Fenwick-street and east of Rathdowne-street, while those from the Altipiano settled mostly in Carlton, in two general areas: those from Asiago were concentrated in the area bounded by Rathdowne-, Kay-, Nicholson-, and Princes-streets, and a pocket of persons from Roana was located in the few blocks bounded by Swanston-, Queensberry-, Drummond-, and Faraday-streets. Other, smaller

Table X.1

Adult Italian Population of Carlton-North Carlton in 1958,  
 compared with the Total Italian Population in 1951.  
 Selected Areas of Italy only.

Birthplace in Italy	Carlton-North Carlton 1958	Italy 1951	Adults in Carlton-North Carlton per 1,000 Total Population in Italy.
Grumento Nova	32	2,385	13.42
Marsico Nuovo	15	9,332	1.61
Marsico Vetere	21	2,251	10.72
Montemurro	46	2,882	15.96
Tramutola	27	3,432	7.87
Viggiano	168	4,152	40.46
TOTAL	309	24,434	12.65
ALL POTENZA	372	445,216	0.84
Asiago	50	6,925	7.22
Foza	5	1,720	2.91
Gallio	23	2,806	8.12
Roana	125	4,713	26.52
Rotzo	13	905	14.36
TOTAL	216	17,069	12.65
ALL VICENZA	590	607,693	0.97
ALL ITALY	4,169	47,138,235	0.09

pockets also existed, consisting in many instances of only a few related families. The accompanying map showing the distribution of dwellings occupied by one or more persons from each of these districts illustrates graphically the extent of these concentrations (Figure 16). In interpreting this map it should be remembered that place of birth in Italy was not available for all adults in the universe but only for naturalized persons of former Italian nationality and 20 per cent of adult Italian nationals. Since naturalized persons constituted a minority in the universe (610/4,561 adults), and since a number of these naturalized persons were family groups resident at a single address, it is estimated that the birthplace of at least one Italian resident was known in only two-thirds to four-fifths of the addresses in the universe. Thus it seems reasonable to increase the densities shown on the map by one-half to one-quarter, particularly in the case of persons from the Upper Agri Basin, a higher proportion of whom were post-war arrivals and hence still Italian nationals (Table X.3). Viewed in this light these two concentrations are even more remarkable.

Up to this point these concentrations have been considered only in relation to the total population of the Carlton area. Another comparison can be made, to discover the extent to which all persons in Australia from these two districts of Italy are in fact concentrated in Carlton and North Carlton. This comparison can be made only for the inter-war period, 1920-1940, using Price's estim-

Table X.2

Sample: Suburb of Residence of Persons from the Upper Agri Basin and the Altipiano of Asiago.

Region of Origin	Carlton	North Carlton
Upper Agri Basin	15	54
Altipiano of Asiago	22	14
All Italy	185	224

Table X.3

Sample: Arrival in Australia of Foreign-born Persons from the Upper Agri Basin and the Altipiano of Asiago.

Region of Origin	Pre-war	Post-war	Total
Upper Agri Basin	3	56	59
Altipiano of Asiago	16	8	24
All Italy	41	289	330

ates, based on a sample of naturalization files. According to Price,<sup>10</sup> between 1920 and 1940 about eighty males from Viggiano and its environs and about 180 males from the Altipiano of Asiago settled in Australia. In 1958 the Carlton area contained twenty nine and sixty three males respectively from these two districts of Italy. In other words, by the time of the present survey the Carlton area contained approximately one-third of the males from the Upper Agri Basin or the Altipiano of Asiago who settled in Australia between 1920 and 1940. These proportions reflect extraordinary concentrations, since some of those recorded by Price in his estimates must have been deceased by 1958.

In the sample, as opposed to the universe from which the sample was drawn, the proportion of persons from the Upper Agri Basin or the Altipiano was even higher, 16.9 per cent and 8.8 per cent respectively, compared with 7.4 per cent and 5.1 per cent in the universe. This discrepancy may have had several explanations. Firstly, the figures are not directly comparable, since the universe consisted only of adults. A relatively high proportion of persons from Potenza, however, were under sixteen years of age. If only Italian nationals sixteen years and over and naturalized persons twenty-one years and over are considered, the sample proportions are reduced to 14.5 per cent and 7.4 per cent respectively. Secondly,

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<sup>10</sup> Personal communication with Dr. C. A. Price, November 1961. See also Table VIII.12 above.



between 1958, when the universe was constructed, and 1960, when the sample was interviewed, the number of persons from these two areas may have increased disproportionately owing to the movement out of the Carlton area of persons from regions of Italy poorly represented in these suburbs, and the movement into the Carlton area of Italians from these two major concentrations. No adequate evidence is available to test this supposition. Thirdly, replacement may have favoured the inclusion of the less mobile members of this Italian population, presumably persons from the more numerous regional concentrations. Fourthly, the "universe" proportion was itself based on a 20 per cent sample of Italian nationals and was therefore subject to error itself. Thus the significance of the discrepancy between the universe and the sample proportions is obscure. The sample proportions were subject to relatively large standard errors of 1.8 per cent and 1.4 per cent respectively.

As already mentioned Italians from the Upper Agri Basin tended to be concentrated in particular parts of the Carlton area. Table X.2 shows that a disproportionate number of these Italians lived in North Carlton, compared with those from the Altipiano, who by contrast were concentrated in Carlton.<sup>11</sup> The map showing the distribution of addresses at which these persons resided emphasizes the same point graphically: fifty seven of the eighty five addresses occupied by persons from the Upper Agri Basin were in North Carlton, compared with only twenty six of the seventy nine occupied by persons



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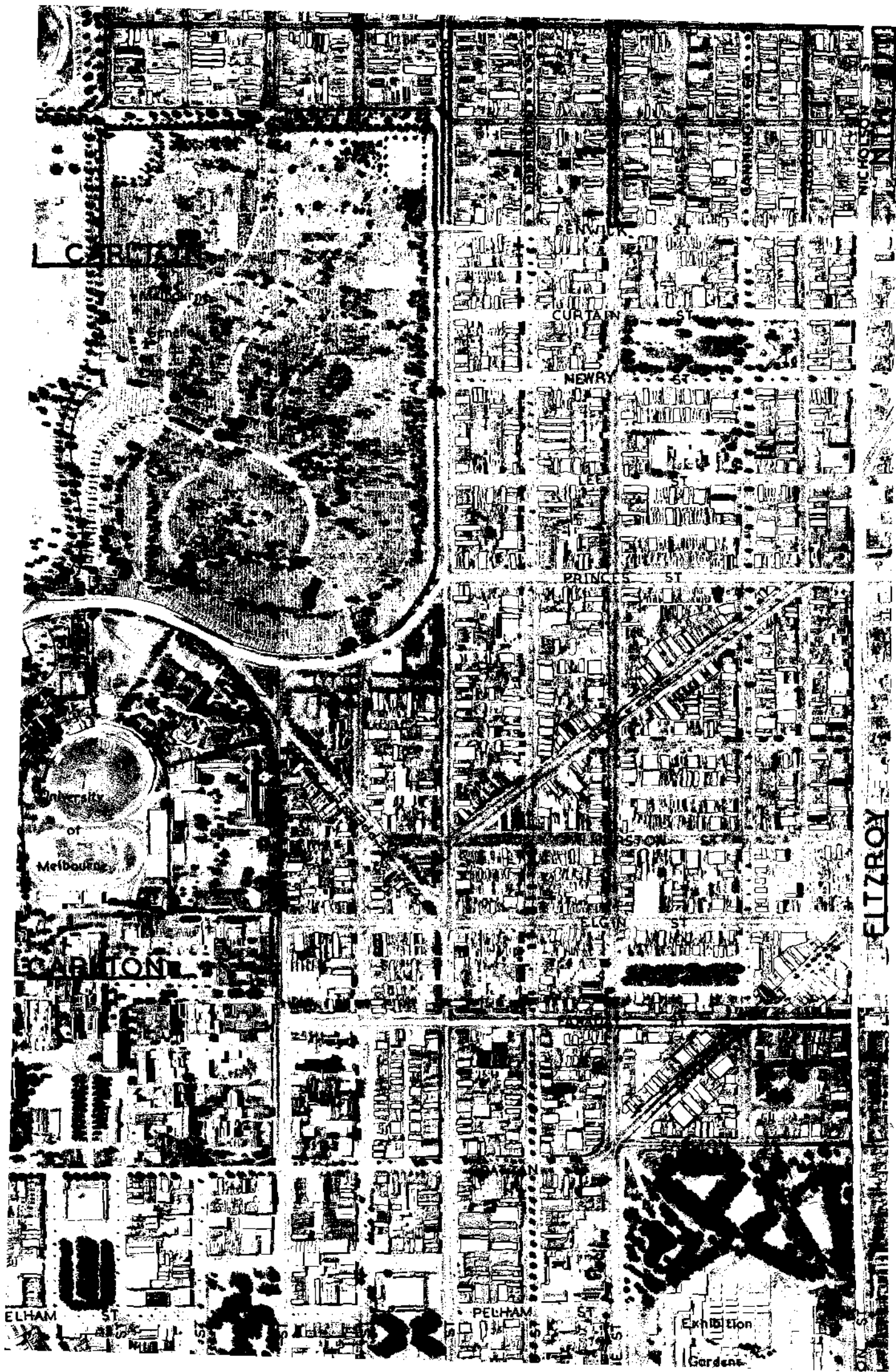
<sup>11</sup> Test of significance:  $\chi^2 = 16.02$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

Figure 16

RESIDENCES OCCUPIED BY PERSONS  
BORN IN  
THE ALTIPIANO OF ASIAGO  
OR IN  
VIGGIANO AND ITS ENVIRONS  
November 1958

LEGEND

 The Altipiano of Asiago  
 Viggiano and Its Environs



CARTON

University  
of  
Melbourne

EXHIBITION

ELHAM ST

PELHAM ST

Exhibition  
Gardens

CURTAIN ST

NEWRY ST

PRINCE ST

ELIZABETH ST

ON ST

from the Altipiano.<sup>12</sup> This segregation was explicable partly in terms of the different periods in which these two groups settled in Melbourne. The migration of Lucanian workers failed to reach numerically significant proportions until after the Second World War, whereas most of the persons from the Altipiano arrived before the war (Table X.3). Thus the former tended to settle in suburbs of more recent Italian settlement, including North Carlton, and the latter in areas of long-established settlement, mainly Carlton. The sample figures are, however, small. Let us look in closer detail at the history of migration from these areas to Australia, with particular reference to these Melbourne concentrations.

#### A Note on Sources

First, a word on sources may be apposite. The bulk of the information contained in this chapter was obtained not from the random sample but from selected informants, some of whom became known to the writer through sample interviews. This history of emigration from the Upper Agri Basin is based upon the information provided by four Viggianese, whose genealogies are appended, and two Montemurresi, whose genealogies have not been reproduced in this work. Few persons from communes other than Viggiano or Montemurro were interviewed, and for this reason little information is available on chain-migration from other towns in the Upper Agri Basin. Similarly the discussion of migration from the Altipiano is in fact limited to

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<sup>12</sup> Test of significance:  $X^2 = 19.15$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.001$ .

Roana and Asiago, although one or two persons from Gallio were also interviewed. Italians from other parts of the Altipiano were not well represented in the Carlton area. Three main informants were used in tracing this migratory movement, in addition to those early arrivals from the Asiago plateau included in the random sample.

Wherever possible dates of arrival, dates and places of birth have been verified by reference to alien registration cards or the naturalization index held by the Department of Immigration. Where these records were deficient passenger-lists of migrant vessels arriving in Melbourne and Sydney were inspected. Most of the informants' statements utilized in this chapter have been verified in this way. Where such verification has not been possible, a clear reference to this effect has been made in the text. It is admitted that these historical sketches are incomplete : they are, it is hoped, accurate so far as they go.

#### Migration from the Upper Agri Basin

The mountains of Basilicata have been a traditional fount of emigration in southern Italy.<sup>13</sup> Emigration had begun as early as 1860,<sup>14</sup> and by 1869, when Carpi's statistics on Italian emigration were first collected, it was already on the increase.<sup>15</sup> Most of this

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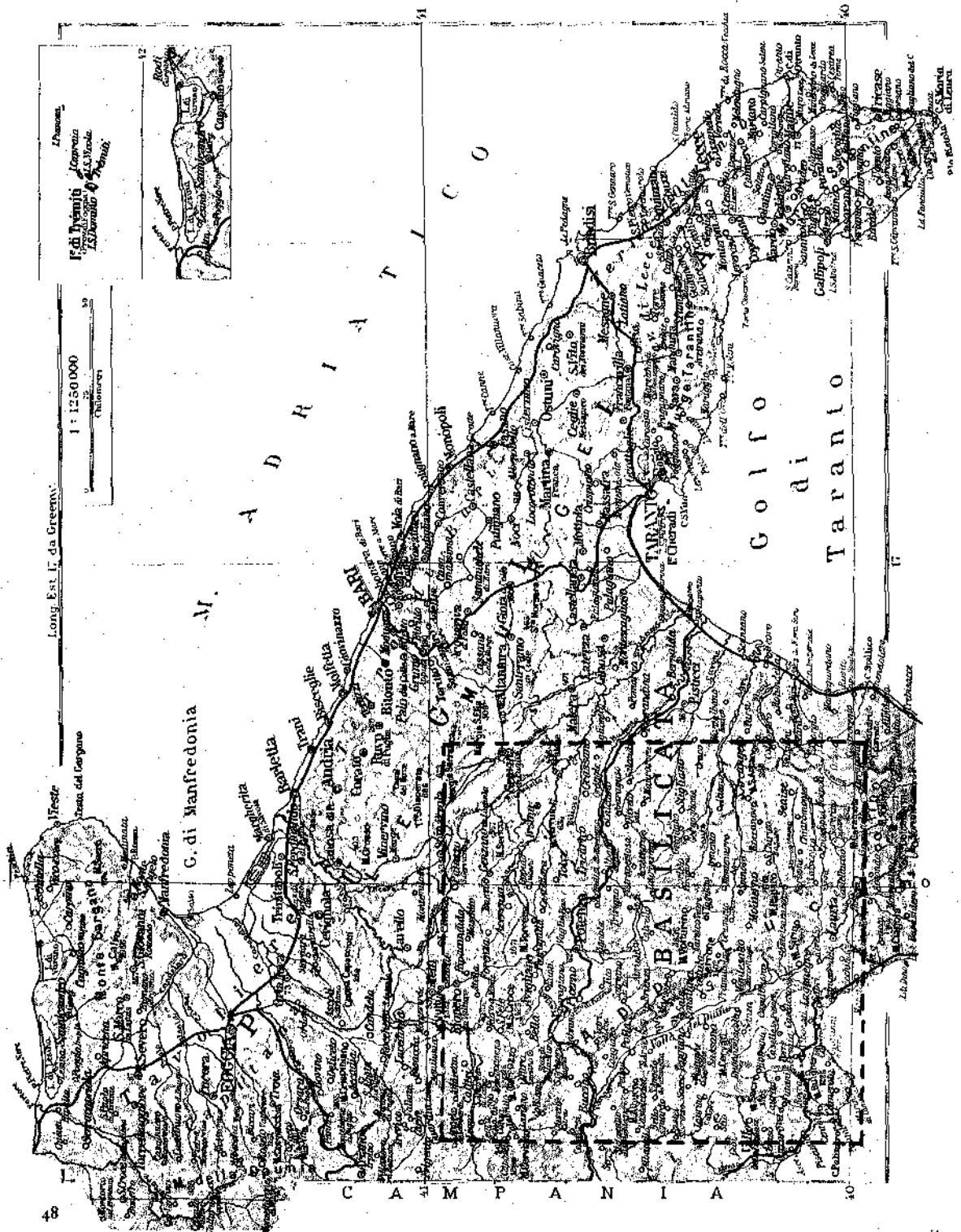
<sup>13</sup> Italy, Inchiesta Parlamentare sulle Condizioni dei Contadini nelle Province Meridionali e nella Sicilia (Roma 1909-1911), Vol. V, Tomo 1, p. 80. Quoted hereafter as Italy, Inch. Parl.

<sup>14</sup> ibid., p. 9.

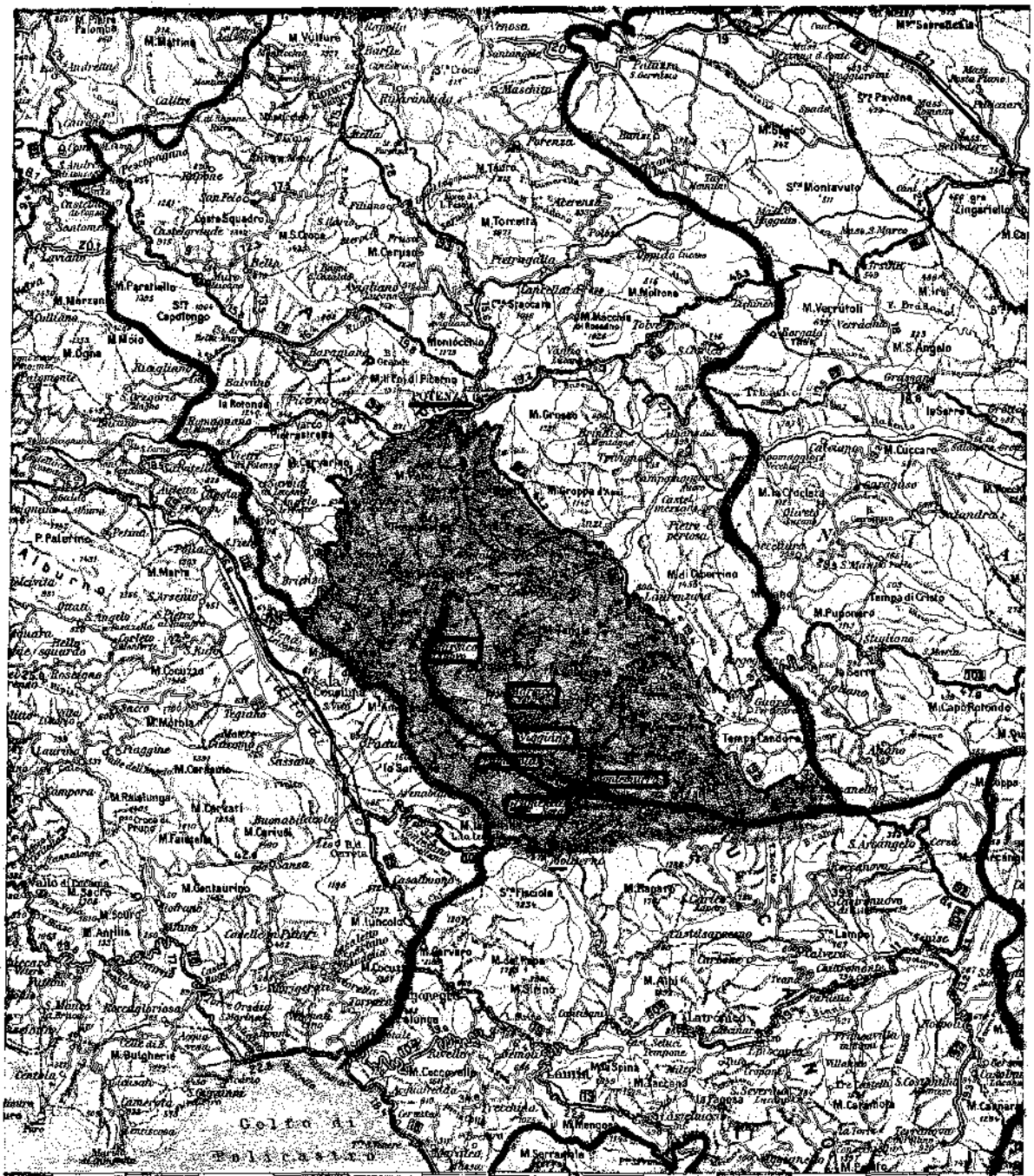
<sup>15</sup> Foerster, Op. cit., p. 102.

Figure 17.

## Puglia e Basilicata



SOURCE: Istituto Geografico de Agostini. Le Regioni d'Italia  
(Firenze 1960).



SOURCE: Touring Club Italiano. Carta d'Italia alla scala di 1:500.000  
(Milano 1949).

early migration was directed to Argentina and Brazil, and by the turn of the century to the United States as well.<sup>16</sup> Among these early emigrants special classes abounded, among them the ambulant musicians of Viggiano. These musicians derived exclusively from Viggiano and its neighbouring town, Marsico Vetere, in the Upper Agri Basin, and were among the first Italian migrants in every part of the world. "L'arpa al collo -- son Viggianese -- tutte il mondo e il mio paese."<sup>17</sup> By the 1870's these wandering musicians were playing on the streets of Melbourne.<sup>18</sup>

The musical propensities of the residents of Viggiano have long been famous. In more recent times even Carlo Levi, bemoaning the dullness of life in the Basilicatan village to which he had been banished during Mussolini's regime admitted that "at Viggiano they sang and made music, but not in these parts."<sup>19</sup> So great indeed had been the Viggianese talent for music and so wide its fame that by the middle of the nineteenth century foreign speculators regularly traversed Lucania and other parts of Italy in search of children whom they might carry off to France, England, Germany, or America as acrobats, street-musicians, or simple mendicants. As Reclus had

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<sup>16</sup> Italy, Inch. Parl., Vol. V, Tomo 1, p. 82.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. See also Pietro Lacava, "La Basilicata," Nuova Antologia, 5 ser. 212 (marzo 1907), p. 124.

<sup>18</sup> McDonald, Op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>19</sup> Carlo Levi, Christ Stopped at Eboli (trans. Francis Frenaye, London 1948), p. 35.



noted, "Viggiano, a small town in the Basilicata, is more especially haunted by these traffickers, for its inhabitants possess a natural gift for music."<sup>20</sup> By 1873 this traffic had assumed such notorious dimensions that a law was passed in Italy preventing the emigration of children hired out by parents.<sup>21</sup>

The role of the foreign speculator, or padrone as this person was often called is well substantiated. It is not so clear, however, to what extent these itinerant musicians were exploited by padroni and whether their migration was in fact a form of child-slavery. Mayhew's Organ Man from Parma denied that these children were exploited:

It is only the people say that the Italian boys are badly used; they are not so, the masters are very kind to them. If he makes 1/- he brings it home; if 3/- or 4/- he bring it home. He is not commande to bring home so much; that is what the people say.<sup>22</sup>

Whether or not exploitation was universal, certainly foreign entrepreneurs and padroni, usually Italians already resident in foreign countries who arranged for the emigration of child-musicians, played an important part in directing the world-wide wanderings of the Viggianese musicians. How these travellers chanced upon Australia

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<sup>20</sup> Elisee Reclus, The Universal Geography : The Earth and Its Inhabitants (London 1876-1894), Europe Vol. I, p. 298.

<sup>21</sup> McDonald, Op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor : The Conditions and Earnings of Those That Will Work, Cannot Work and Will Not Work (London 1864), Vol. III, p. 187.

is not known. Whether they came via the "Bureau in Paris" which according to the Rev. Brace dispatched child-musicians all over the world "...carrying ponderous harps for old ruffians"<sup>23</sup> we do not know. Freeman attributed the presence of so many Italian street-musicians in early Melbourne to the activities of Melbourne padroni, who were as he puts it quick to realise that

the English-speaking race had taken into its head that if a man be an Italian he must be a musical genius....However skilful Mr. Greathead may be in his own particular line, he would draw together but small audiences if he retained his patronymic in its plain English; but as 'Signor del Capo Grosso' he might become the rage.<sup>24</sup>

In the face of such encouragement it was perhaps natural for Melbourne and not Sydney to attract a substantial colony of Viggianese musicians, for in the 1870's and 1880's Melbourne was the cultural centre of Australia.<sup>25</sup>

The first Viggianese musician recorded as settling permanently in Melbourne was Francesco Barrile, from Marsico Vetere (Table X.4). He arrived in Australia in 1885, and it seems safe to assume that others had visited Australia before this, but moved on. Michele Gagliardi, for example, who provided the information shown on Viggianese Genealogy III (Appendix E), thought that his paternal and maternal grandfathers, Michele Gagliardi and Francesco Ottoano,

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<sup>23</sup> Charles Loring Brace, The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them (third edition with addenda, New York 1880), p. 195.

<sup>24</sup> Freeman, Op. cit., p. 205.

<sup>25</sup> Twopeny, Op. cit., p. 3.

TABLE X.4

Viggianese Musicians in Melbourne in 1920.

Name	Place and Date of Birth	Year of Arrival
Barrile, Francesco	Marsico Vetere, 1857	1885
Nigro, Giovanni B.	Viggiano, 1879	1888
Arcaro, Francesco	Viggiano, 1879	1890
Leone, Antonio	Marsico Nuovo, 1868	1891
Evangelista, Michele	Marsico Vetere, 1858	1893
Gagliardi, Felice	Viggiano, 1879	1893
LaBattaglia, Leonardo	Viggiano, 1883	1893
LaBattaglia, Prospero	Viggiano, 1878	1893
LaBattaglia, Scipione	Viggiano, 1882	1893
Nigro, Giovanni	Viggiano, 1888	1894
Barrile, Giuseppe	Marsico Vetere, 1896	1896
Vita, Matteo	Viggiano, 1886	1898
Vita, Pasquale	Viggiano, 1888	1899
Briglia, Giuseppe	Marsico Vetere, 1878	1900
Candela, Giovanni	Viggiano, c.1875	1901
LaCava, Pasquale	Viggiano, 1889	1901
Gargaro, Saverio	Viggiano, 1861	1902
Barrile, Angelo	Marsico Vetere, 1884	1903
De Sanctis, Rocco	Viggiano, 1892	1906
Gagliardi, Amerigo	Viggiano, 1888	1907
Germano, Salvatore	Grumento Nova, 1893	1907
Gagliardi, Rocco	Viggiano, 1874	1908
Arcaro, Prospero	Viggiano, 1884	1911
Barrile, Giuseppe	Marsico Vetere, 1891	1911
Boffa, Domenico	New York, 1880	1911
Giordano, Antonio	Viggiano, 1880	1913
Marsicano, Pasquale	Viggiano, 1897	1913
Nigro, Antonio	Viggiano, 1897	1914
Candela, Vincenzo	Viggiano, 1873	1920
DeSanctis, Vincenzo	Viggiano, 1900	1920

Source: Electoral Rolls, personal interviews, and genealogies.  
 Dates have been verified from the information carded on the  
 Naturalization Index (Department of Immigration, Canberra).

had first visited Melbourne in 1880.

Throughout the 1880's many Viggianese musicians visited Australia. Michele Gagliardi himself returned to Melbourne in 1886, this time accompanied by his two sons, Rocco and Felice. The practice among these itinerant musicians was for two, three, or sometimes four men to travel together, playing to whatever audiences they could draw together, in cafes, private houses, on the streets, or even at the gold-diggings, a popular venue among the earliest Italian arrivals in Victoria.<sup>26</sup> The basic instruments played by the Viggianesi were the harp and the violin, supplemented by a flute and a second violin when more than two musicians travelled together. It was common for fathers to take their sons, and uncles their nephews, with them on their travels, and this explains the young ages at which so many of these musicians first arrived in Australia (Table X.4). For this reason the "...villainous-looking individual with an enormous harp" so strictureed by Brace for sending out his little lads "...late at night, to excite the compassion of our citizens, and play the harp"<sup>27</sup> was more often the lads' father or uncle than a mercenary padrone.

Travelling was the very existence of the Viggianese musician, and most of them began their travels early in life. Rocco Gagliardi (Viggianese Genealogy III, and Table X.4) first came to

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<sup>26</sup> N. O. P. Pyke, "An Outline History of Italian Immigration into Australia," The Australian Quarterly, XX (Sept, 1948), p. 100.

<sup>27</sup> Brace, Op. cit., p. 195.

Melbourne at the age of twelve with his father and younger brother in 1886. After two years of travelling around Australia he returned to Italy, revisiting Australia in 1893, accompanied on this trip by a third brother, Amerigo, only five years old. This time the Gagliardis stayed in Australia much longer, and when they returned to Italy in 1905 Felice remained in Melbourne. He was now twenty six and had lived in Australia for fourteen years already. Rocco married in Italy and after the birth of his son, Michele, he returned to Melbourne in 1908, where he lived until his death only a few years ago. Travels such as these seem to have been typical, as is shown by the life-history of Cav. D. Boffa, now in his eighties and the acknowledged head of Melbourne's Viggianese community. Domenico Boffa was born in New York in 1880, or at least so he estimates, since he has never been able to obtain a birth certificate. His father, an ambulant musician, had settled in New York in 1875, but after his first child died in infancy he determined to guarantee the survival of his second by returning to Italy. Accordingly when Domenico was born his family returned to Viggiano. But as soon as his son was old enough, Marco Boffa set out on his travels once more, and in 1889 took Domenico with him to Melbourne. By the time he was seventeen Domenico Boffa had already visited Australia twice and South Africa once. The year 1897 found him in Italy, studying music at the University of Salerno, and in 1902 he revisited South Africa with a Viggianese harpist; he himself played the violin. From 1906 to 1909 he was in Italy, but in 1911 he

he returned once more to Johannesburg. Two years later he came to Melbourne, where he married and settled.

By 1913, when Domenico Boffa settled permanently in Melbourne a flourishing colony of Viggianese musicians was already firmly established. Although only seven years old at the time, Michele Gagliardi, the grandson of the Michele Gagliardi who first visited Melbourne in 1880, well remembered the wedding of Domenico Boffa and Giuseppina Varrella, the daughter of another Viggianese musician, which was attended by almost all the Viggianesi in Melbourne at that time (1913): the Arcaros, the La Battaglias, the Candelas, the Vitas, the Giordanos, and the Evangelistas, not to mention the Gagliardis and the Varrellas (Viggianese Genealogy III and Table X.4). Why these musicians were so heavily concentrated in Melbourne, and not in Sydney, is related to the fact, mentioned above, that Melbourne was Australia's commercial and cultural centre at the time of their first arrival in this country. Moreover, Melbourne was sympathetic to these early Italian settlers, and it is significant that in 1896, only seven years after the foundation of the parent institution in Italy, Victoria had a Dante Alighieri Society, managed by an "influential committee" and patronized on at least one occasion by "...some of the most notable people in Melbourne society."<sup>28</sup> Its inaugural meeting was graced by "...a delightful programme of musical selections performed by a number

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<sup>28</sup> Smith, Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 89-90.

of Italian artists resident in the city,"<sup>29</sup> including no doubt Viggianese musicians.

By the beginning of the First World War almost thirty Viggianese musicians and their families were resident in Melbourne, and of these the majority lived in South Carlton. The Sands and McDougall's directory for 1914 listed twenty Viggianese musicians in a few blocks bounded by Grattan-, Cardigan-, Victoria-, and Drummond-streets alone, an area in Carlton which contained many Italians from other parts of Italy as well. Six of the eleven residences in Landsdowne-place, for example, were occupied by Italians of non-Viggianese origin. This early concentration of musicians reached its peak by the first and second decades of this century, and after 1914 few musicians arrived in Melbourne. As Table X.4 shows, even Vincenzo Candela had been in Melbourne before the war, although he had returned to Italy to fight in the Italian forces. These early musicians were employed about this time by Melbourne theatres to provide incidental music for the silent pictures. This permanent source of employment was partly responsible for the settlement in Melbourne of these formerly itinerant musicians, but this security proved short-lived. The development of the gramophone in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had already served notice on the street-musician, and although this technique for reproducing music developed slowly, its perfection in

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<sup>29</sup> The Age (Melbourne), 12th August, 1896.

1925 made "talkies" possible and completed the decline of the street-musicians who for three-quarters of a century had made the name of Viggiano famous throughout the world. Melbourne today contains only a few survivors of the original Viggianese settlers, who together with a few of their children, like Michele Gagliardi, have perpetuated the musical traditions of Viggiano.

Wherever the Viggianese musician wandered the Lucanian worker followed. So it happened also in Melbourne, and virtually no Lucanian workers had come to Australia before the First World War. There were of course some exceptions to this generalization, like the Viggianese who was selling balloons on the streets of Melbourne in 1892, or the fruit-hawker who arrived in Melbourne from Montemurro in 1900.<sup>30</sup> But these and men like them were wanderers, and founded no migration chains. Before the First World War the emigration of Lucanian workers had been directed to the Americas.<sup>31</sup> The genealogies reflect this pattern clearly, and except for the musicians all the Lucanians who emigrated before 1914 settled in North or South America. The maternal uncle of Domenico Boffa (the musician) indeed had disappeared into the Brazilian jungle at the age of fourteen as early as 1841, never to be heard of again (Viggianese Genealogy I). After the first war this pattern changed, and the immigration laws of the United States in 1921 and 1924 brought almost to a complete halt the mass migration from the south of

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<sup>30</sup> Personal communication with Dr. C. A. Price, November 1961.

<sup>31</sup> Foerster, *Op. cit.*, p. 103.



Italy to the great cities of north America.<sup>32</sup> The "new immigration" as a whole was cut back to its 1890 level, and in the case of Italy the reduction was very pronounced. In 1920 349,042 Italian citizens had disembarked for the United States : in 1921 this number dropped to 67,495 and by 1924 it had dropped even further to only 35,374 persons.<sup>33</sup> These restrictions had the immediate effect of increasing the flow of Italian migration to Australia,<sup>34</sup> a conclusion already substantiated in Chapter II. Giuseppe Boffa, who described himself as the first Viggianese "worker" to emigrate to Australia in March 1924 accompanied by three other Viggianesi, was emphatic that all the Viggianesi who settled in Australia between 1924 and 1940 would have preferred to have gone to the United States. Australia was only their second choice.

Australia was, however, a reasonable choice. It already supported a colony of Viggianese musicians, and shipping-agents, with a vested interest in finding passengers for the new Italy-Australia run, described it in glowing terms.<sup>35</sup> The links with the musicians were especially powerful, and Giuseppe Boffa had himself been called out by his maternal aunt, Veronica, who had settled in Sydney in 1910 with her musician husband (Viggianese Genealogy I).

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<sup>32</sup> Roy L. Garis, Immigration Restriction : A Study of the Opposition to and Regulation of Immigration into the United States (New York 1927), p. 205.

<sup>33</sup> McDonald, Op. cit., pp. 6-7.

<sup>34</sup> ibid., p. 134.

<sup>35</sup> Barela, Op. cit., p. 379.

Leonardo Dimase, who described himself as the first migrant -- the Christopher Columbus -- of his town, Montemurro, came to Australia as a result of contacts with Viggianese musicians. In 1919, after his return from San Paulo in Brazil, he met his future wife's paternal uncle, Vincenzo Candela (Table X.4), who had returned to Italy temporarily to fight in the war. Then a few years later he read a letter sent from Australia by Domenico Boffa, the musician, urging Lucanian workers to emigrate to Australia. In 1925 Leonardo Dimase left Italy for Melbourne and in so doing set in motion chain-migration from Montemurro.

This new migration of Lucanian workers was slow to gain momentum. The Lucanian peasantry was poor. Conditions in Australia were not particularly favourable, and even in 1922 reports of unemployment among Italian immigrants had almost caused the return of one shipload of Italians.<sup>36</sup> The distance, the fare, and administrative controls hampered the immigration of Lucanians, and whereas emigration to the United States had been facilitated by a relative absence of governmental controls and by the activities of recruiting agents who toured Italy engaging labourers for American employers,<sup>37</sup> the prospective emigrant to Australia had to rely upon his own resources and those of his kin, if any, already established in Australia. Giuseppe Boffa, for example (Table X.5), was helped to

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<sup>36</sup> ibid. See also The Age (Melbourne), 29th December 1922.

<sup>37</sup> Personal communication with Sig. G. Boffa, North Carlton, September 1960. See also McDonald, Op. cit., p. 17.

TABLE X.5

Inter-war Arrivals from the Upper Agri Basin, Potenza, Who in 1958  
Resided in Carlton-North Carlton.

Name	Place and Date of Birth	Year of Arrival
Gradito, Domenico	Viggiano, 1901	1922
Boffa, Giuseppe	Viggiano, 1900	1924
Carrazzo, Pasquale	Viggiano, 1900	1925
DeMaria, Giovanni	Viggiano, 1910	1925
DiMase, Leonardo	Montemurro, 1896	1925
Falasca, Vincenzo	Grumento Nova, 1901	1925
Nigro, Giovanni	Viggiano, 1901	1925
Ginevra, Antonio	Viggiano, 1898	1926
Nigro, Pasquale	Viggiano, 1909	1926
Storino, Vincenzo	Viggiano, 1904	1926
Angerame, Giovanni	Viggiano, 1911	1927
Catoggio, Carmine	Montemurro, 1901	1927
Catoggio, Vincenzo	Montemurro, 1896	1927
Gallicchio, Vincenzo	Grumento Nova, 1905	1927
Marrotta, Antonio	Viggiano, 1898	1927
Mazziotta, Antonio	Viggiano 1898	1927
Toce, Rocco	Corleto Perticara, 1900	1927
Chieppo, Angelo	Viggiano, 1923	1928
Toscano, Nicola	Grumento Nova, 1905	1928
Tursi, Francesco	Viggiano, 1896	1928
Giannini, Giuseppe	Viggiano, 1916	1933
Varrella, Giuseppe	Viggiano, 1924	1934
Bruno, Antonio	Viggiano, 1893	1938
Falasca, Antonio	Grumento Nova, 1906	1938
Papaleo, Prospero	Grumento Nova, 1920	1938
Varrella, Giovanni	Viggiano, 1912	1938
Caputi, Luigi	Grumento Nova, 1912	1939
Marsicovetere, Vincenzo	Viggiano, 1908	1939
Padula, Luigi	Grumento Nova, 1906	1939

Source: As for TABLE X.4.

emigrate to Australia by his aunt Veronica, and another aunt, his father's sister Rosina, found him initial employment in her husband's fruit-shop. But business was slack, and not wishing to be a burden to his relatives Giuseppe set off for Lismore (N.S.W.), where he found a job as a farm-labourer. The Viggianesi do not emigrate to find work on farms, however, and so when Giuseppe called out his brother Crescenzio in 1925 he told him not to come to Sydney but to disembark in Melbourne. This Crescenzio did, and found work immediately with De Marco Bros., an Italian contracting firm. Learning of his success Giuseppe left Lismore, arriving in Melbourne on New Year's Eve 1925.

One by one, sometimes two and three at a time, more migrants from the Upper Agri Basin arrived in Melbourne. Each called out a relative or paesano, and in this way the number of Lucanians in Melbourne increased. By 1928 the foundations of future migration had been laid, and as Table X.5 shows two out of three of the male inter-war arrivals from Viggiano and its environs resident in the Carlton area in 1958 had arrived in Australia by 1928. With the onset of the depression few Lucanians emigrated, and those that did tended to be dependants of earlier settlers. The number arriving increased slightly in 1938-39, particularly among those from Grumento Nova, which had as yet contributed little to this migratory flow. Most of the emigrants from this commune seem to have settled in New Zealand, not in Australia.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Lochore, Op. cit., p. 25.

So far as we can tell the majority of these inter-war arrivals from the Upper Agri Basin settled in Melbourne's inner suburbs. Few of them appear to have sought employment in the country, but preferred to remain in the city and find labouring jobs with building firms. Many of them lived in Carlton but despite their concentration in this suburb they were soon outnumbered by northern Italians from Vicenza and Udine, who emigrated in far greater numbers during the 'twenties and 'thirties than the Lucanians (Table VIII.12 above). By 1940 Carlton had become known among Italians as a northern Italian suburb, notwithstanding the early concentration of Viggianese musicians and the arrival of Lucanian workers since 1924.

By 1947 the attitude of Lucanians emigrating to Australia had changed, just indeed as Australia's attitude to non-British immigrants changed. Australia was no longer second-best to the United States but had become to the Lucanian peasant what the United States had been forty and fifty years before. Australia was now a rapidly expanding industrial nation requiring, amongst other things, a ready supply of unskilled labour in its urban areas. In the post-war period the flow of Lucanian peasants to Australia increased, and many earlier arrivals called out relatives and paesani who had been unable to migrate before owing to the depression and the war (see for example Viggianese Genealogy I). Exactly how many persons from the Upper Agri Basin have arrived since the war it is not possible to estimate, but according to the Carlton informants

the majority of them came to Melbourne and found jobs in factories. Melbourne has long been a more heavily industrialized city than Sydney.<sup>39</sup> The Viggianesi and the Montemurresi are heavily concentrated in the Melbourne metropolitan area, with only a few families of them in Sydney, Adelaide, or Perth.

Although no reliable estimate can be made of the number of Italians from the Upper Agri Basin in Melbourne today, the number of Viggianesi can be estimated from the findings of the Carlton survey in conjunction with the membership records of the Viggianese Social Club.<sup>40</sup> 16.9 ( $\pm$  3.7) per cent of Italians in the Carlton area were from the Upper Agri Basin. Thus in 1960 the Carlton area contained approximately 1,100 Lucanians ( $\pm$  250). Approximately two-fifths of these were from Viggiano. According to the records of the Viggianese Social Club 31 per cent of Melbourne's Viggianesi lived in Carlton or North Carlton (Table X.6). If this proportion is reliable, then Melbourne in 1960 contained about 1,500 persons of Viggianese origin. This estimate, while subject to wide fiducial limits, is well below Viggianese estimates of the size of their own community, which Giuseppe Boffa put at 2,000 - 3,000 persons, including Australian-born persons of Viggianese origin. Melbourne today has the third largest Viggianese population in the world, exceeded only by that in New York (about 3,000 persons) and Viggiano itself (4,152 persons in 1951).

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<sup>39</sup> Zierer, *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

<sup>40</sup> Fiducial limits have been calculated at the 5 per cent level of statistical significance.

TABLE X.6.

The Membership of the Viggiano Social Club, by Suburbs  
of Residence 1959.

Suburb	Number of Families
Carlton	18
North Carlton	35
Brunswick	30
Fitzroy	23
Preston	21
Coburg	11
Clifton Hill	4
Middle Park	4
Other (inc. Not stated)	23
TOTAL	169

Source: Membership-book of the Viggiano Social Club.

The post-war increase in the number of Viggianesi in Melbourne made possible the formation of one of Melbourne's few regional Italian organizations, and in 1956 the Viggianesi founded their own club, the Viggiano Social Club. In 1959 it had a financial membership of 169 families (Table X.6), resident mainly in Carlton, North Carlton, Fitzroy, North Fitzroy, Brunswick, Preston, and Coburg. It is the second largest regional club among Melbourne's Italians, and only the Fogolar Furlan (The Friulan Hearth), founded in 1957, had more members: in 1959 this latter organization had a financial membership of 370.<sup>41</sup> The Viggiano Social Club was founded mainly through the efforts of Giuseppe Boffa, his brother Mario, and Giuseppe Giannini. Its formation was opposed by Giuseppe's "uncle", the elderly musician Domenico Boffa, who argued that such a club was too narrow in its conception and should be more broadly based, to include all Lucanians at least. As it is, members of this club must be of Viggianese origin, with the provision that non-Viggianesi may be admitted to membership on the nomination of two financial members of the club.

The foundation of a Viggianese club must be related to the distinctive Viggianese traditions. Viggianesi are distinguished from their fellow Lucanians not only because of their distinctive musical heritage but also by other traditions, which the club

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<sup>41</sup> Petrolas, Op. cit., p. 129.



perpetuates. Although the most frequent club activities are of a social nature -- a monthly dance, two or three balls each year, and an annual picnic -- the most important function in the life of Melbourne's Viggianese community centres upon a religious festival dating back several centuries, the Feast of the Black Madonna of Viggiano. The statue of the Madonna is a sixteenth century work, and each year in Viggiano this Madonna is transported in religious procession from the Chiesa dei Francescani to a sanctuary on Mount Viggiano, overlooking the town. This sanctuary was built in the fourteenth century and enlarged after the earthquake of 1857,<sup>42</sup> The freschi and the marble altars of this sanctuary date from about 1600.<sup>43</sup> This same ceremony is celebrated in Melbourne by the Viggianese community. They have no statue of the Madonna (Figure 19) but a painting has been made, and this is carried through the grounds of the Capuccin monastery in Hawthorn, just as in Viggiano on the first Sunday in May the Madonna is carried from the church to the sanctuary on Mount Viggiano, where until the First Sunday in September She stands watch over the town. On the last occasion when this ceremony was celebrated in Melbourne, about 300 Viggianesi participated.

Traditions such as these have led to the growth of a

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<sup>42</sup> Leonardo Dimase from Montemurro dated his genealogy from this earthquake, which was responsible for the death or emigration of many of his father's kin.

<sup>43</sup> L. V. Bertarelli, Lucania e Calabria (seconda edizione di 10,000 esemplari, Milano 1938), p. 290.

Figure 19.

THE BLACK MADONNA OF VIGGIANO

MARIA SS. DEL S. MONTE DI VIGGIANO  
REGINA DELLA LUCANIA  
incoronata dal Capitolo Vaticano il 1892

FRONT

PREGHIERA ALLA  
MADONNA DI VIGGIANO

Madonna di Viggiano, a Te fan voli  
I figli di Viggiano, a Te devoti;  
Sii, Madonna, Tu la Protettrice;  
I Tuoi fedeli, o Madre, benedici.

Della Lucania Tu sei la Regina;  
In Australia a noi pur sei vicina;  
Nel cuore, nella mente, in casa, in officina  
Di Te, o Madre Pia, abbian l'effigie.

Ci benedici, o Vergine del Monte,  
Devoti innanzi a Te chiniam la fronte.  
Bonta' materna racchiudi in Te  
O Madre Santa, prega per me.

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IMPRIMATUR D. MANNIX

BACK

A religious card reproduced for the devotional use  
of Viggianesi in Melbourne.

close-knit Viggianese community in Melbourne. Its centre is in the Carlton area, which together with the neighbouring suburbs of Fitzroy, North Fitzroy, and Brunswick contains two-thirds of all the Viggianesi in Melbourne. They constitute a large, clearly defined, but inconspicuous, community within Melbourne's numerous Italian population. The Melbourne editor of La Fiamma, the Italian bi-weekly, thought that he had noticed some Italians wearing a little badge, but he was not certain what it meant or who its wearers were.<sup>44</sup>

Other factors contributed to the cohesion of the Viggianesi in Melbourne, in particular the force of kinship. More often than not these persons shared not merely a common heritage but common ancestors as well. The Viggianese genealogies revealed a high degree of cousin marriage, a feature noted by Firth in his study of Italian kinship,<sup>45</sup> and this in conjunction with the frequency of sibling exchange meant that Viggianesi could often trace a kin relationship to one another in more than one way. Such marriage patterns were not, however, peculiar to persons from Viggiano but seemed typical of Italians from many parts of rural Italy, whether from Montemurro, Sortino, or the Altipiano. For this reason the discussion of kinship as a factor in group cohesion and regional concentrations is better treated after the history of migration from the Altipiano has been described.

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<sup>44</sup> Personal communication with Sig. Enrico Pimpini, Carlton, March 1960. Unfortunately details of this badge were not available to the writer at the time of writing.

<sup>45</sup> Firth, Op. cit., p. 78.

### Migration from the Altipiano of Asiago

In both its origins and its course the migration to Australia from the Altipiano of the seven communes is less complex than that from the Upper Agri Basin, since prior to November 1922 no persons from the Altipiano had ever come to this country. This was not because no emigration from this part of Italy had occurred but rather because it had been directed to other destinations, the Americas and countries within the European continent itself. The Veneto, indeed, is not one of Italy's fertile areas.<sup>46</sup> The Altipiano is even less fertile, and the ground is covered by snow for several months of the year.

The Altipiano of Asiago is an isolated limestone plateau 3,000 feet above sea-level, bounded on the north-east by the Val Sugana and on the south-west by the Val d' Astico. Before the territorial redistributions following the First World War it extended to the Austrian border, which was at that time only ten miles from the town of Asiago. Partly because of this proximity to the more industrialized nations of Europe, it had been traditional for the men of the Altipiano to seek seasonal employment in France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland, and to return each year to their homes, where they spent the winter months with their wives and families. Some permanent transoceanic emigration did occur, mostly to the Americas, as the genealogies suggest (Appendix E).

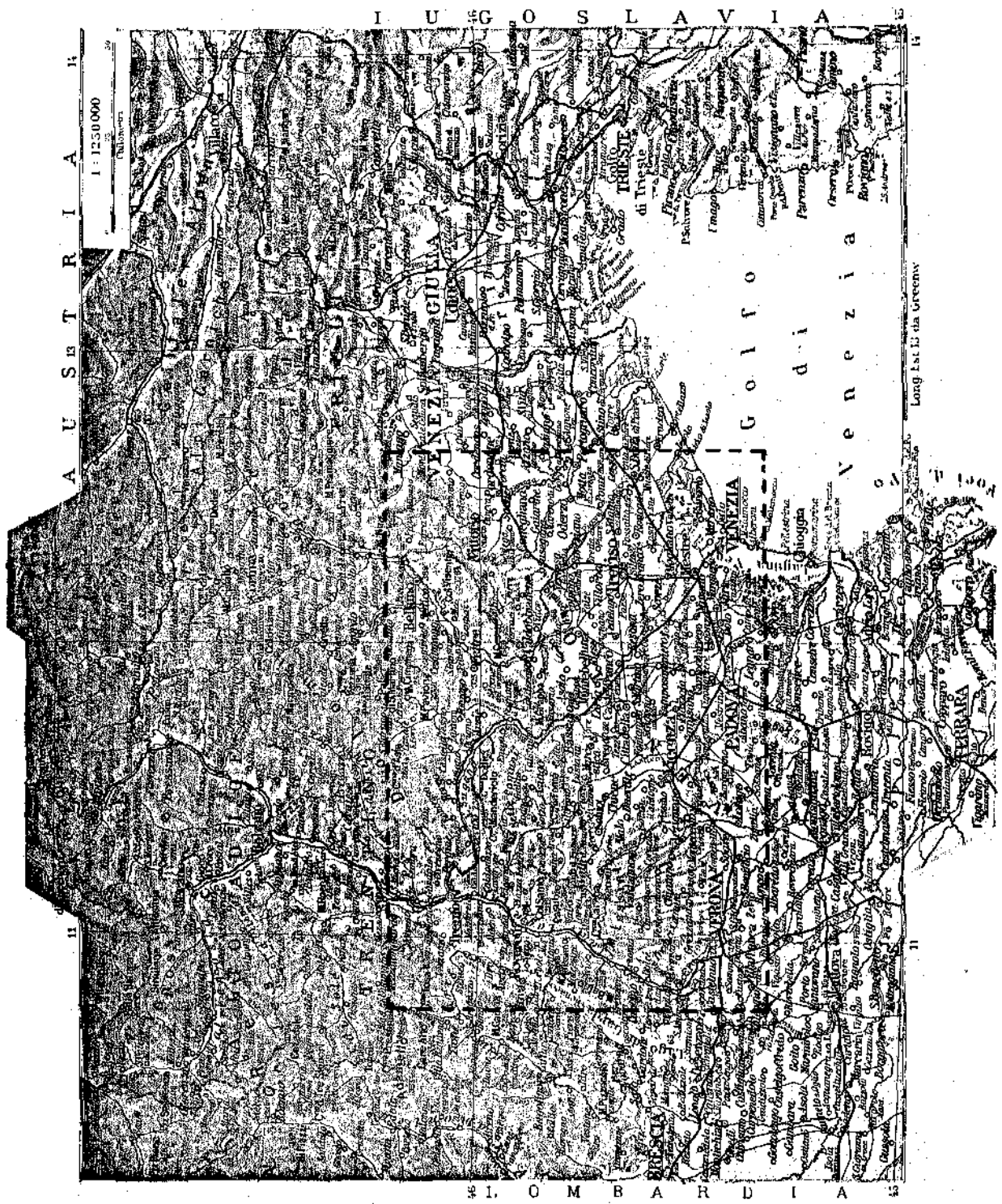
As a result of the Great War, however, this pattern of

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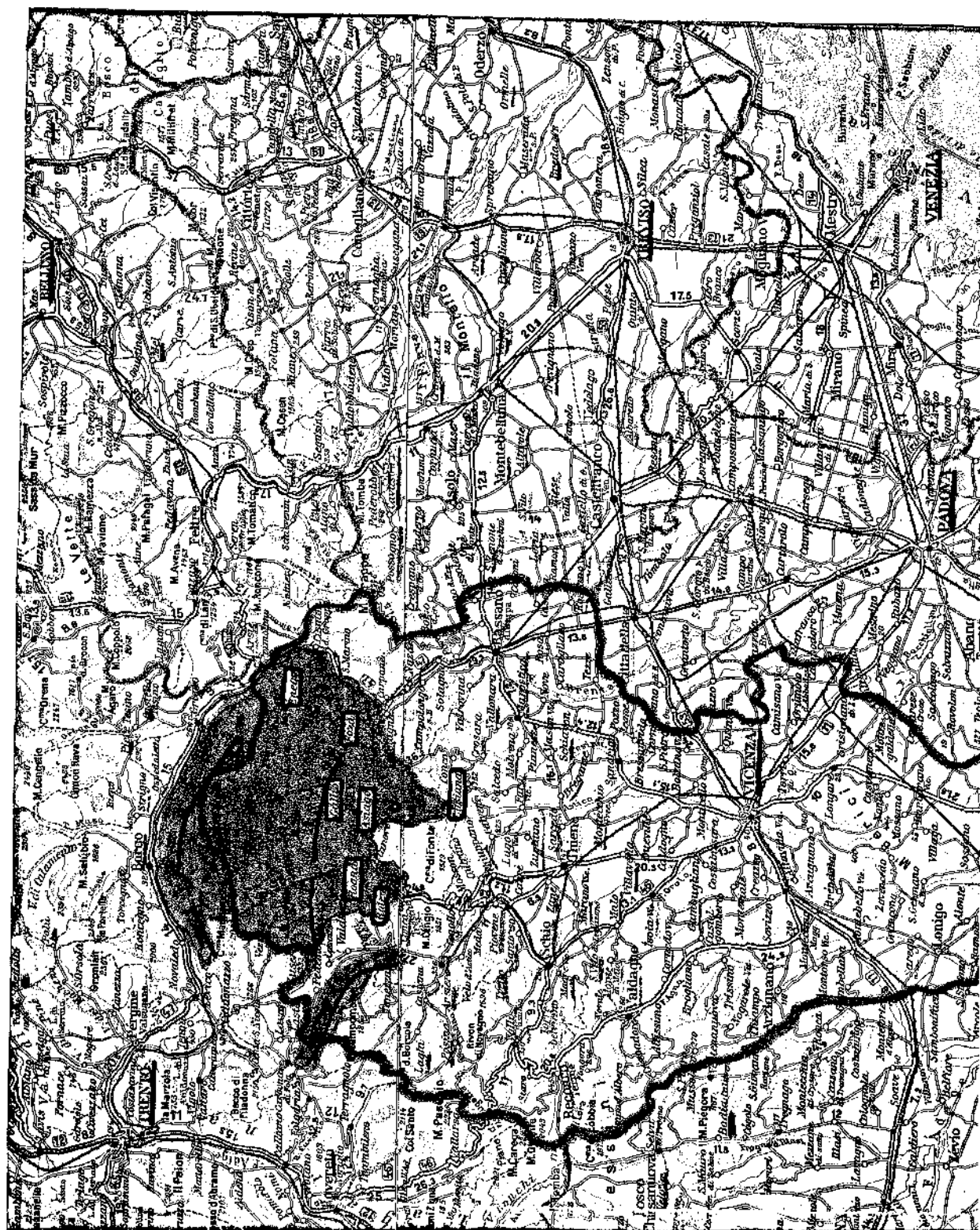
<sup>46</sup> Naval Intelligence Division, Italy (Oxford 1945), Vol. I, pp. 226-227. See also Foerster, Op. cit., p. 107.

Figure 20.

## Venezie



SOURCE: Istituto Geografico de Agostini. Le Regioni d'Italia  
(Firenze 1960)



SOURCE: Touring Club Italiano. Carta d'Italia alla scala di 1:500.000  
(Milano 1949).

seasonal migration changed. On 15th May 1915, an Austrian offensive was launched against Italy from the Trentino, and the Asiago plateau taken.<sup>47</sup> For three years it remained in Austrian hands, despite the vigorous, and numerous, counter-offensives of the Italian forces. Only in 1918, in the Battle of Asiago (15th and 16th June), were the Austrians pushed from the Altipiano at tremendous cost in dead and wounded.<sup>48</sup> When it was officially opened in 1938, Asiago's magnificent war memorial, Il Monumento Ossario, only one of several war cemeteries on the Altipiano, contained the remains of 12,783 dead as well as those of 19,000 ignoti.<sup>49</sup> The war with Austria had desolated the Asiago plateau, and in 1918 only the sacred patroness of Asiago, La Beata Giovanna Maria Bonomo, remained standing. With this as an omen the task of rebuilding the townships of the Altipiano was commenced.<sup>50</sup>

By the end of 1921 most of the Altipiano had been rebuilt. Its reconstruction had provided abundant employment for the men of these towns for these few years, but now as before the question of their future employment arose. Many who in earlier times had been seasonal workers were disillusioned by the ravages of war. Some of them had even worked in Austria, on projects associated with her war effort, as they later learned. Others had never been overmuch

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<sup>47</sup> Naval Intelligence Division, Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 176-180.

<sup>48</sup> L. Russell Muirhead, Northern Italy from the Alps to Florence (fourth edition, London 1953), p. 204.

<sup>49</sup> Giuseppe Aliprandi, Asiago e L'Altipiano dei Sette Comuni : Visione Spirituale (Padova 1942), p. 81.

<sup>50</sup> ibid.

attached to seasonal work, with its many inconveniences and long separations from home and family. Men such as these began to seek new destinations. The United States was now disinclined to admit large numbers of Italians and of the other overseas countries Australia seemed to offer good prospects. Despite attempts by the British Consulate in Venice to persuade them to go the South Africa or South America rather than to Australia, in November 1922 an advance party of five men set out from Roana for Australia: Antonio Muraro, who died in Tasmania just after the war, Achille Bonato, who returned to Italy a few years later with an illness and then died, Gino Sartori, who in 1960 was still living in North Carlton, Cris Costa, another Carlton resident, and Giuseppe Tumolero, who returned to Italy in 1958.<sup>51</sup> All five apparently intended to go to Queensland but disembarked in Sydney when they heard of the unemployment trouble up north. From Sydney they independently worked their way south to Victoria, working mainly at mining towns such as Berrima (New South Wales), Bendigo, Ballarat, and Wonthaggi (Victoria). Very few persons from the Altipiano ever settled in New South Wales or Queensland. The biggest concentrations have always been in Victoria.

Before long these five sent back favourable reports to Italy. Towards the end of 1923 another group set out, again all

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<sup>51</sup> No independent information on the arrival of Cris Costa or Giuseppe Tumolero could be obtained. The Carlton informants all agreed that these five had constituted the original party. The dates of arrival of the other three were all verified by the records of the Immigration Department. A Cristiano Costa also arrived in Melbourne in January 1924. It was not possible to check whether this was another person than the one alleged to have arrived in 1922.



from Roana and including the brother, Giovanni Sartori, of one of the original five. The four others were Alberto Azzolini, Adolfo Sartori, Giovanni Forte, and Fortunato Martello (Altipiano Genealogy II). This last arrived on a business permit (camera di commercio), for even at this time the Italian government was alarmed at reports of unemployment among Italians in Australia had had restricted the issue of passports to those who had received an atto di chiamata from a resident of Australia or who were in possession of £A40 landing money.<sup>52</sup>

Between November 1922 and March 1924 about eleven men from the Altipiano had landed in Australia.<sup>53</sup> After the second five in November 1923, Cristiano Costa and Celeste Fabris arrived in Melbourne on the Esquilino and a month later another five, all from Asiago this time, came to Melbourne on the Orsova: Domenico Stella and his brother Cristiano (Altipiano Genealogy I), Egidio Lazzari, Ilario Omizzuolo, and Ilario Rigoni. Between March 1924 and December 1924, however, at least another hundred men from the Altipiano arrived in Melbourne alone. Late in 1923, for example, Fortunato Vellar (Altipiano Genealogy III) received an atto di chiamata from Achille Bonato, one of the first five migrants from the Altipiano and the fiance of Fortunato's sister, Amabile, but by

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<sup>52</sup> McDonald, Op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>53</sup> McDonald (Op. cit., p. 134) states that two men in Rivertown had arrived in Australia from Cusma, a frazione of Roana, in late 1923 and that these were the chain-founders of migration from this town; he also states that they had no-one in Australia to meet them. According to the Carlton informants, one of whom was related to a man mentioned by McDonald, these two did not leave Italy until 21st September 1924, arriving in Australia on 7th November with over twenty others from the Altipiano on the Carignano.

the time he left Genoa in February 1924 Fortunato Vellar had twenty five companions from Roana, Asiago, and Gallio. This was only a beginning, however, and throughout 1924 every migrant ship from Italy seems to have brought a large number of men from the Altipiano to Australia. It was not possible to examine all the records of Italian vessels which put into Port Melbourne during this year,<sup>54</sup> but the four examined yielded an estimated total of ninety men from the Altipiano: the Principessa Giovanna, on which Fortunato Vellar arrived in March 1924, brought twenty six, the Carignano twenty five (November 1924), the Palermo twenty two (December 1924), and the Re d' Italia seventeen (December 1924).<sup>55</sup> This migration from the Altipiano to Melbourne reached its peak in 1924, only two years after the departure of the original five emigrants. Table X.7 demonstrates this conclusion convincingly. The movement continued at a slower pace in 1925 and 1926, with a slight increase in 1927. Although a few more arrived in 1928 and 1929 by the depression the migration from this area had already begun to slow down, and during the late 'twenties and throughout the 'thirties new arrivals were on the whole dependants or kin of Italians who had arrived in the early 1920's. Even a cursory examination of the family names listed on Table X.7 suggests that by the end of 1924 the basis of almost all

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<sup>54</sup> The records held by the Commonwealth Archives Office in Canberra date only from mid-1924. Earlier records held in Melbourne could not be examined in the time available.

<sup>55</sup> Commonwealth Archives Office (Canberra), "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Australian Ports," Accession CT 72, November to December 1924.

TABLE X.7

Inter-war Arrivals from the Altipiano of Asiago, Vicenza, Who in 1958 Resided in Carlton-North Carlton.

Name	Place and Date of Birth	Year of Arrival
Sartori, Gino	Roana, 1905	1922
Martello, Fortunato	Roana, 1892	1923
Basso, Modesto	Asiago, 1903	1924
Benetti, Antonio	Asiago, 1884	1924
Caneva, Giobatta	Asiago, 1895	1924
Cera, Domenico	Roana, 1901	1924
Costa, Cristiano	Roana, 1890	1924
DeGino, Domenico	Roana, 1896	1924
Fabris, Celeste	Roana, 1893	1924
Frigo, Giovanni	Roana, 1902	1924
Martello, Antonio	Roana, 1904	1924
Mosele, Giovanni	Roana, 1906	1924
Pesavento, Vittorio	Asiago, 1887	1924
Rigoni, Domenico	Asiago, 1900	1924
Sartori, Giacomo	Rotzo, 1901	1924
Sartori, Giovanni	Gallio, 1895	1924
Sartori, Giuseppe	Roana, 1901	1924
Silvagni, Giacomo	Asiago, 1902	1924
Slaviero, Antonio	Asiago, 1898	1924
Stella, Antonio	Asiago, 1893	1924
Stella, Cristiano	Asiago, 1900	1924
Stella, Domenico	Asiago, 1898	1924
Vellar, Fortunato	Roana, 1902	1924
Zotti, Francesco	Roana, 1903	1924
Benetti, Gaetano	Asiago, 1905	1925 (?)
Martello, Antonio M.	Roana, 1887	1925
Rebeschini, Antonio	Roana, 1904	1925
Rigoni, Giuseppe	Asiago, 1904	1925
Tumolero, Giovanni	Roana, 1921	1925
Martello, Domenico	Roana, 1909	1926
Martello, Francesco	Roana, 1889	1926
Pangrazio, Girolamo	Roana, 1905	1926
Slaviero, Costante	Roana, 1908	1926
Valente, Domenico	Roana, 1898	1926
Benetti, Antonio	Asiago, 1894	1927
Finco, Domenico	Gallio, 1894	1927
Panozzo, Antonio	Roana, 1903	1927
Pertile, Francesco	Gallio, 1903	1927

(concluded over -

Table X.7 (concluded).

Name	Place and Date of Birth	Year of Arrival
Pertile, Mario	Gallio, 1903	1927
Rigoni, Vittorio	Asiago, 1893	1927
Spagnolo, Agostino	Rotzo, 1905	1927
Valente, Domenico	Roana, 1895	1927
Vescovi, Isidoro	Asiago, 1901	1927
Pertile, Edoardo	Gallio, 1911	1928
Pertile, Ettore	Gallio, 1900	1928
Vescovi, Eugenio	Asiago, 1906	1928
Zotti, Giovanni	Roana, 1909	1928
Fabris, Giulio	Roana, 1904	1929
Pertile, Catherine	Gallio, 1902	1929
Martello, Giulio	Roana, 1911	1930
Pertile, Mario	Gallio, 1899	1931
Fabris, Antonio	Roana, 1889	1936
Munari, Pietro	Gallio, 1909	1937
Pertile, Lino	Gallio, 1907	1937
Rigoni, Guido	Asiago, 1925	1937
Valente, Aldo	Roana, 1923	1937
Benetti, Antonio G.	Asiago, 1905	1938
Bernar, Domenico	Roana, 1904	1938
Stella, Giobatta	Asiago, 1913	1938
Frigo, Onido	Asiago, 1921	1939
Stella, Antonio	Asiago, 1913	1939
Stella, Felice	Gallio, 1912	1939

Source: As for Table X.4.

the future migration from the Altipiano had already been laid.

As we might expect among an immigrant group whose traditional migratory patterns had been seasonal, a considerable element in this early migration from the Asiago plateau was only temporary. Initially it was a migration of males,<sup>56</sup> many of whom intended to work for only a few years in Australia and then return to Italy with their earnings. Fortunato Vellar, for example, had no intention of settling permanently in Melbourne and in fact returned to Italy in 1928 as the employment situation deteriorated. He married soon after his return to Italy but found conditions on the continent no better than they had been in Australia. His brother, Giovanni, was still in Tasmania (Altipiano Genealogy III), and so in 1938 Fortunato returned to Australia with his wife and two children. Others went back to Italy never to return (see Altipiano Genealogies I and II).

It is extremely difficult to measure the extent of this temporary movement. Price<sup>57</sup> has estimated that between 1920 and 1940 about 180 men from the Altipiano settled in Australia, of whom approximately 60 arrived in 1924. According to the present findings almost 100 men arrived in Melbourne alone during five months of this year. If this is typical, then it seems that only about half of the men who came from the Altipiano to Australia ever settled permanently.

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<sup>56</sup> The first female to arrive from the Altipiano in Melbourne was Catterina Stella, the sister-in-law of Domenico Stella (Altipiano Genealogy I); she arrived in October 1924.

<sup>57</sup> Personal communication with Dr. C. A. Price, November 1961. Price's estimates was based on an analysis of naturalization files.

The earliest arrivals from the Altipiano did not at first concentrate in the metropolitan area. Some of them found initial accommodation in Drummond-street boarding houses, but before long even they were forced into the country to find employment. Some of the Altipiano males included in the sample had worked as coal miners in Wonthaggi, or as labourers and navvies with semi-governmental bodies as the Forestry Commission, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, or the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission. Thus in the early 'thirties Lyng could report "scores of Italian gangs on the roads", and that practically all the navvying in the Rubicon hydraulic works was being carried out by Italians.<sup>58</sup>

Throughout the 'thirties conditions in Melbourne improved and consequently many Altipiano men found their way back to the city, finding jobs as building labourers and later becoming self-employed contractors. Few of them remained farmers or became factory workers. Thus by the end of the 1930's all but one of the pre-war Altipiano arrivals in the sample had settled in Carlton. The one exception was still a labourer with the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works at Maffra and came to the city in 1945, settling in North Carlton in 1956.

As described above, migration to Melbourne from the Altipiano reached its peak in the 1920's. Fifty of the sixty three pre-war arrivals listed on Table X.7 arrived between 1922 and 1929.

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<sup>58</sup> Lyng, Op. cit., p. 97.

After 1929 comparatively few persons arrived. That this migratory flow reached its peak so soon after its beginnings is important, since this meant that after the depression and the war almost twenty years -- one generation -- had elapsed, and the ties between the Altipiano people in Australia and those still in Italy had grown weak. This situation contrasts strongly with that among the Lucanians discussed above, who mainly for economic reasons did not emigrate in large contingents like the men from the Altipiano. For the Lucanians the process of resettlement had been longer and more laborious than it had been for the people of the Altipiano, many of whom had earned the money for their fares working on the reconstruction of their townships after the Great War. Even those that arrived later found it a relatively easy matter to slip across into Switzerland or France to earn their passage to Australia. In the one case, then, emigration came to an early climax and its course was shorter. In the other, migration was always a slower and more protracted process, and this helped to maintain virile, active links between those that had already emigrated and those for whom emigration was still an unfulfilled dream. Immediately before the Second World War the number of persons from the Altipiano in Carlton was probably double the number from the Upper Agri Basin.<sup>59</sup> But by 1960 the Carlton area contained only 600 persons ( $\pm 100$ ) of Altipiano origin, compared with 1,100 ( $\pm 250$ ) Lucanians. Clearly

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<sup>59</sup> This assumes that the pattern of residential mobility within these two populations have been roughly similar (Tables X.5 and X.7).

emigration from the Altipiano to Melbourne decreased considerably in the post-war period.

Other factors have of course influenced the relative flows from these two districts of Italy. The "push" towards emigration has not been equal in both cases, nor has it remained constant between 1920 and the present time. Even so, it may be that what requires explanation in the history of Altipiano migration to Australia is not why people from the Altipiano no longer emigrate in large numbers to Australia but rather why they emigrated in the first place. This was the atypical occurrence. As we have shown only the Great War and the destruction it brought to the Altipiano of Asiago upset the established pattern of seasonal migration to countries on the European continent, a tradition which has since been re-established in a Europe which can offer every promise of remunerative employment extended by Australia.

There has never been any regional organization among persons from the Asiago plateau in Melbourne. Two informants did mention a Club Matteotti, named in memory of the Socialist deputy murdered in Italy in June 1924,<sup>60</sup> which was founded in Carlton about 1926 and patronized mainly by northern Italians from the Veneto who regarded the Club Cavour (founded 1917) as a southern Italian and Sicilian organization with Fascist leanings. The Club Matteotti apparently closed down just before the war.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> The Age (Melbourne), 17th June 1924.

<sup>61</sup> The writer was unable through lack of time to collect any further information on this club.



Although no formal organization linked the Altipiano residents of the Melbourne metropolitan area, informal associations reflected as pockets of persons from the same paese living in close proximity to one another were frequently encountered in the Carlton area. Ties of kinship were strong and dominated the pattern of visiting not only among persons from the Altipiano or the Upper Agri Basin but also among Italians from most parts of Italy. In numerous residences included in the Carlton survey visitors, usually kin or paesani, were present and many interviews were enlivened by the unheralded arrival of someone previously mentioned by the interviewee, who would then point with delight at the visitor and say: "Ah, this is the Domenico I was telling you about!" Thus we come to the third and final consideration in this chapter, the force of Italian kinship and its relationship to the process of chain-migration.

#### Kinship and chain-migration

Much of the analysis in this and other studies of Italian immigrants in Australia has revolved upon the question of regional differences in the behaviour of Italian immigrants. Such an emphasis is legitimate, and no study can afford to ignore the importance of origin in Italy as a determinant of behaviour among Italians in Australia. Origin in Italy affects not only the composition of the Italian emigratory flow to particular countries of resettlement but it is also a determinant of their subsequent geographical distribution and even their occupational pursuits. The force of this local tie is so characteristically Italian that it is, as

Foerster observed, "...best denoted by the Italian name campanilismo: a loyalty to that which falls within the range of the village bell tower."<sup>62</sup> This tie has its origins deep in Italian history and persists today in regional dialects and in the bonds that link together persons from the same paese. "Deeper trust is lodged in a fellow townsman than in the general government."<sup>63</sup> Campanilismo is, however, more than a feeling of unity generated by the sharing of a common physical and cultural environment. The administrative fragmentation which was overcome in Italy only a century ago, allied with poor communications among the many and isolated parts of mountainous Italian peninsula, may have fostered the growth of regional attachments, but once set in motion this feeling of campanilismo produced its own momentum. Marriage within the paese became the rule and before many generations had passed the local tie had become a kinship tie.

Campanilismo does not have a constant strength. It varies from one part of Italy to another, from one township to another. Some towns are not geographically and culturally isolated as others, and in each district the degree of endogamy varies. We should not expect to find the same strength of campanilismo among the residents of Rome or Venice as among the inhabitants of Viggiano or Roana. In Italy the intensity of local patriotism is inversely related to the size of the local unit and its geographical isolation. It is

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<sup>62</sup> Foerster, Op. cit., p. 432.

<sup>63</sup> ibid., p. 431.

directly related to the degree of endogamy, that is the number of marriages contracted between members of the same local unit.

Rephrasing these suggested relationships in another way, we may suggest that campanilismo is a function of geographical and cultural isolation, that it is associated with a relatively high degree of endogamy, and that these conditions are characteristic of most parts of rural Italy. Since the majority of Italian immigrants in Australia are, and have for many years past been, drawn from rural rather than urban Italy, campanilismo has been an inevitable characteristic of Italian settlers in Australia. In other words, in isolated parts of Italy which for generations past have increased only through the natural growth of the local population, the local tie and the force of kinship have become indistinguishable. Little wonder that fellow townsmen tend to consider one another as relatives. Very often they are.

What we are arguing, then, is that the local tie as such is not the key to understanding the process of chain-migration and its product, regional concentrations, since this local tie cannot be considered apart from the force of kinship. The Viggianesi, for example, feel themselves to be members of a single group not merely because they were born in the same town and share a common cultural heritage. They also share common ancestors. In one of the last interviews conducted in the Carlton survey, the writer found it quite impossible to mention any person from Viggiano or Grumento Nova resident in the Carlton area to whom the informant could not trace

a cognatic or affinal link (Vigghianese Genealogy II). It was not surprising that such links existed. What was surprising was that they were known.

The reinforcing nature of the kinship and the local tie in the two districts of Italy discussed above, both of which have for some generations been geographically isolated,<sup>64</sup> emerges very clearly from the seven appended genealogical charts. These charts cannot be described in full here, and only their most striking features will be adumbrated. From a comparison of these charts with the family names listed on Tables X.4, X. 5, and X.7, however, it is not too much to claim that twelve to fifteen well chosen informants from each of these districts could have furnished an almost complete history of chain-migration from these areas not only to Australia but perhaps to other overseas countries of resettlement as well.

The relevance of these genealogical charts to this present discussion has to do with patterns of marriage. Two main features emerge from each genealogy, cousin marriage and sibling exchange.

Cousin marriage among Italians was reported by Firth in his London study of Italian kinship.<sup>65</sup> This practice was common among the families of Carlton Italians also, more common indeed than the charts suggest, since informants tended to forget cousin marriages involving the kin of ascending generations. Altipiano Genealogy I provides a good example of this sort of genealogical

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<sup>64</sup> Reclus, Op. cit., Europe Vol.I, p. 217. <sup>65</sup> Firth, Op. cit., p. 78.

amnesia. Domenico Stella married a Stella -- no relationship counted. Domenico's father also married a Stella -- no relationship counted. Domenico's wife's father had also married a Stella -- again no relationship counted. Patently some of these Stellas must have been related, at levels beyond the genealogical memory of the informants. Similarly on the two other Altipiano genealogies the Zottis and the Martellos probably had common kin at remote generation levels not remembered by the informants. All the Viggianesi genealogical charts contained recognised cousin marriages. On the first, Giuseppe Boffa's paternal aunt, Vincenza, had married a Boffa whose paternal grandfather had been a brother of her paternal grandfather. On the second, Francesco Gallicchio had married Lena Caputi; his mother and her maternal grandmother had been sisters (Luisa and Carmela Papaleo). On the third, Michele Giliberti was engaged to be married to Esterina Delia, whom he had met in Italy in 1960 while visiting his relatives in Viggiano with his parents; their maternal grandmothers had been sisters. On the fourth two cousin marriages had occurred at the level of the first ascending generation of ego's<sup>66</sup> wife: Vincenzo and Giovannina Nigro had married Francesca and Francesco Nigro respectively; their paternal grandfathers had been brothers.

This brings us to the next consideration, sibling exchange. Frequently the siblings of one family had married the siblings of

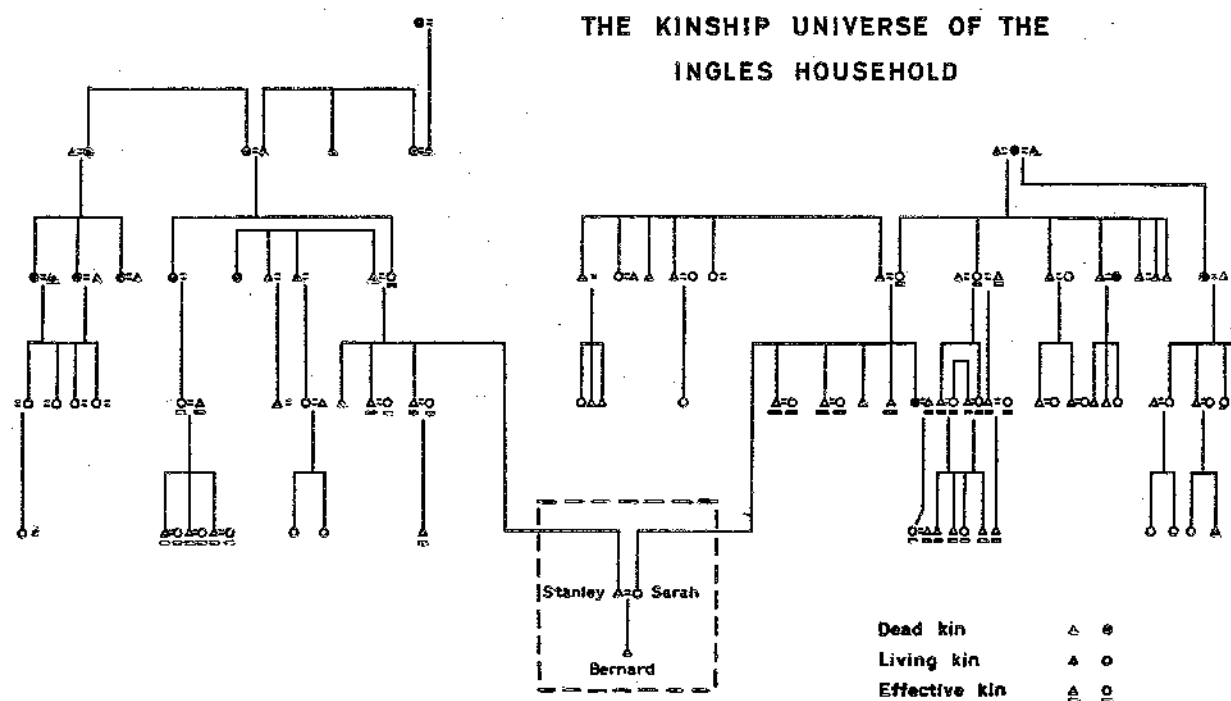
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<sup>66</sup> Ego is indicated on all genealogies by a square around the person who provided the genealogical information.

another. Thus on the fourth Viggianese genealogy just mentioned a brother and sister of one family had married the sister and brother of another family. In this case they were also second cousins. This practice of sibling exchange produces a peculiar pattern of relationships in which the affinal links between two families are more numerous than in the Anglo-Saxon system, where typically one marriage only links two family groups. The diagram reproduced from Firth's study illustrates this point (Figure 22). This Italian system of preferential mating appears on every family tree except the second Viggianese genealogy. The Stella family tree (Altipiano Genealogy I) is particularly interesting in this respect, and it contains four instances of sibling exchange at the level of ego alone. The Boffa genealogy (Viggianese Genealogy I) shows a similar tendency, with the additional point of interest that in this case Egidio Boffa was so much younger than his brothers Giuseppe and Vittorio that although he married into the same family as his elder brothers, Egidio married into the first descending generation. In marrying Angelina Marino, Egidio Boffa married his niece-in-law! Yet a fourth marriage had linked the Boffa and Marino families at the second ascending generation, when the brother of Giuseppe's paternal grandfather, Domenico, had married Anna Maria Reale, the sister of the paternal grandmother of Giuseppe's wife.

These genealogical charts, then, illustrate the very important finding that the people from a particular part of Italy tend not only to be related by birth or by marriage but that very

Figure 22.



SOURCE: Raymond Firth (ed.), Two Studies of Kinship in London (London 1956), p. 47.

often the frequency of cousin marriage and sibling exchange means that these Italians are related to one another in more than one way. These multiple relationships have an important bearing on chain-migration and regional concentrations. Thus, for example, when Giuseppe Boffa nominated Prospero Marino to migrate to Australia in 1953, he was calling out not only his wife's brother but also his own brother's father-in-law and another's brother-in-law. Giuseppe Boffa also gave him accommodation in his own house when he arrived, and now Prospero Marino lives in his own house nearby in North Carlton. Several Boffa and Marino families lived in close proximity to one another in the Carlton area, and such pockets were typical among the Italians in Carlton and North Carlton. The Papaleos were clustered around the corner of University- and Rathdowne-streets, the Catoggios in Garton-street. Stellas, Benettis, and Silvagnis lived only a few houses from one another around the intersection of Canning- and Neill-streets. The Vellars, Ceras, and Martellos all lived hard by Argyle-square. And so we could continue, for almost every Italian family interviewed in the Carlton survey. We are led to conclude with Firth that "kinship ties are, for Italianates, one of the major elements influencing behaviour."<sup>67</sup>

### Summary

The two regional concentrations discussed in this chapter represent only the two most numerous groups of Italians in the Carlton

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<sup>67</sup> Firth, Op. cit., p. 92.



area. Smaller concentrations, consisting sometimes only of three of four related families, were found among Italians from almost every part of Italy. Throughout this area the pattern of Italian settlement had been dominated by, and resulted largely from, chain-migration and the force of Italian kinship. Regional concentrations typify full-fare Italian settlers in this country. They do not, however, seem to be characteristic of assisted Italian immigrants, for the obvious reason that few of those who arrive with governmental assistance have kin already established in Australia.

How we are to view dense, often close-knit Italian concentrations depends on many factors. We may defend them as a necessary stage in the cultural integration of a foreign group, or we may deprecate them as potential foci of ethnic antipathies. In making judgements of this sort we must remember that chain-migration has been a recognized characteristic of the Italian migratory movement to Australia since the turn of the century. Chain-migration indeed lies at the very basis of the personal nominations system, under which four out of very five Italians in the post-war period have come to this country. The force of Italian kinship has provided a cheap and ready source of immigrants. If the bonds of Italian kinship are acceptable as a means, they should rightly be acceptable as an end. Regional concentrations may be part of the bargain.

## CHAPTER XI

### CONCLUSION

#### Origin in Italy and Immigrant Behaviour

The relationship between origin in Italy and the behaviour in Australia of Italian immigrants is well documented. Its existence has been noted in every study of Italians in Australia, by Gamba,<sup>1</sup> Borrie,<sup>2</sup> Price,<sup>3</sup> McDonald,<sup>4</sup> and others. Among Italians in Carlton and North Carlton the importance of origin in Italy as a determinant of behaviour was no less marked. Many significant differences in the behaviour of Italians from different parts of Italy could be explained only in terms of their differing geographical, and socio-cultural, backgrounds. Being a Venetian, a Friulian, an Abruzzese, a Lucanian, a Calabrian, or a Sicilian was one of the determinants of the behaviour of Italians in the Carlton area.

This relationship between origin and behaviour was more complex than popularly supposed, and could not be represented as a simple northern Italian-southern Italian differential. Very often the variations in the behaviour of northern Italians and southern Italians were less marked than those among northerners and southerners themselves. Clearly the northern Italian-southern Italian dichotomy may be a satisfactory means of summarizing broad differences in behaviour, but caution must be exercised to prevent this sort of

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<sup>1</sup> Gamba, Op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), pp. 79-80.

<sup>3</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Canberra 1955), pp. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> McDonald, Op. cit., p. vi.

classification from becoming a caricature. Frequently it conceals as much as it reveals, by eliminating differences within each category. The strongest tie for the Italian is not to his division or even to his regione, but to his paese, his own town or village of birth and the immediately surrounding area.

In so far as the northern Italian-southern Italian classification was useful in summarizing the broad differences in behaviour among Italians in the Carlton area, these differences were in many cases not particularly marked. It was found that emigration from Italy to Australia was a highly selective process. While it may be true that in Italy clear points of difference distinguish the north from the south, in Australia such differences may be less sharp. Emigration does not provide Australia with a random sample of Italy's population : it selects only certain elements. Northern Italy may be more highly industrialized than the south. But the industrialized north provides Australia with very few immigrants. Between 1952 and 1956 two out of every three northern Italians (excluding Triestini) emigrating to Australia were from the Veneto-Friuli, a much more lightly industrialized part of northern Italian than Piemonte or Lombardia, which provided only one in six northern Italian migrants during the same period (Table VIII.12 above). The difference between the northerner of peasant background and the southern Italian may be much slighter than that between northerners and southerners as a whole. The selective nature of Italian emigration must be emphasized.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Price, Op. cit. (November 1954), p. 297.

Differences between northern Italian and southern Italian in the Carlton area did exist. These findings are summarized in tabular form, together with their relevant tables in the text:

TABLE XI.1 Selected Variables Classified by Origin in Italy

Variable	Nature of Relationship
1. Suburb of Residence	(VII.2) Carlton contained a significantly higher proportion of households with northern Italian heads than North Carlton.
2. Type of Occupancy	(VII.5) A higher, but not significantly higher, proportion of southern Italian <u>padroni</u> were the owner-mortgagees of the dwellings occupied by them.
3. Household Size	(VII.6) Southern Italian households were larger, but not significantly larger, than northern Italian households.
4. Household Type	(VII.11) There was no significant tendency for southern Italians but not northern Italians to live in extended family or composite households. Northern Italians, being the earlier arrivals, did tend to live as conjugal couple households to a greater extent than southern Italians.
5. Overcrowding	Southern Italians were not observed to be living in more crowded conditions than northern Italians.
6. Period of Residence in Australia	(VIII.16) A significantly higher proportion of pre-war than post-war Italian arrivals was from northern Italy.
7. Type of Passage	(VIII.6) A significantly high proportion of assisted migrants were from northern Italy.

continued over --

Table XI.1 (continued)

Variable	Nature of Relationship
8. Age at Arrival	(VIII.8) Slight but not significant relationships between age at arrival and origin in Italy were observed.
9. Masculinity Rates	(VIII.14 and VIII.15) No significant connexion between sex composition and origin in Italy was observed.
10. Naturalization	(VIII.18) Naturalization and origin in Italy were not significantly related.
11. Pre-migration Background	(VIII.21) The proportion of males who declared that they had been craftsmen prior to emigration was not significantly higher among northern than southern Italians.
12. Occupational Status	(VIII.20) Relatively, but not significantly, more northern than southern Italians occupied high occupational statuses.
13. Occupational Grade	(VIII.23) A significantly high proportion of southern Italian males was employed as operatives. High proportions of northern Italian males were employed as craftsmen or as labourers.
14. Working Wives	(VIII.27) A significantly higher proportion of southern than northern Italian wives was in the work force.
15. Conjugal Condition on Arrival	(IX.3) A significantly higher proportion of southern than northern Italian husbands was married prior to emigration.
16. Separation of Spouses during Migration	(IX.4) The period of separation among couples married prior to emigration was not related to origin in Italy.
17. Origin of Spouses	(IX.5) A significantly high proportion of southern Italian husbands had married women born in the same province.

concluded over --

Table XI.1 (concluded)

Variable	Nature of Relationship
18. Age at Marriage	(IX.6) No significant relationship between age at marriage and origin in Italy was observed.
19. Relative Ages of Spouses	(IX.9) Calabrian husbands tended to be significantly older than their respective wives, compared with husbands from Udine or Potenza. No simple northern Italian-southern Italian differential was observed.
20. Family Size	(IX.13) The completed family size of southern Italian wives was larger but not significantly larger than that of northern Italian wives.
21. Regional Concentrations	(Chapter X) No evidence was found to suggest that southern Italians concentrate in regional groups to a greater extent than northern Italians.

This summary suggests that with respect to many variables the differences between the behaviour of northern and southern Italians in Carlton-North Carlton were not particularly marked. In a small sample, however, real differences might not emerge as statistically significant. It is likely, for example, that non-significant tendencies noted in the textual discussion of variables 3, 4, 9, 18, and 20 would have been statistically significant if distributed similarly over a larger range of observations. Hempel found clear evidence of a relationship between masculinity rates and origin in

Italy,<sup>6</sup> and both Borrie<sup>7</sup> and Price<sup>8</sup> observed a larger family size among southern Italian wives. In the Carlton survey the most marked differences related to occupational distribution, marriage, and the family. This is an interesting finding, and suggests that future research into the differential behaviour of Italians in Australia should give attention to the family, examining in detail familial roles and the extent to which value systems persist among, and affect the behaviour of, second and third generations of immigrants.

Although origin in Italy is an important variable affecting the behaviour of Italians in Australia, other variables should not be ignored. Observed differences between northern Italians and southern Italians may not always be due to socio-cultural causes. Type of passage and period of residence in Australia are basic determinants of immigrant behaviour whose effects are often overlooked. In the present survey a considerable number of observed differences between northern and southern Italians seem related to period of residence in Australia rather than to origin in Italy directly. Household size, household type, overcrowding, and occupational status were all related to period of residence in Australia, as well as to origin in Italy. Comparisons between immigrant groups must endeavour to hold these basic demographic variables constant. ~~Ferry~~ for one ignored

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<sup>6</sup> Hempel, Op. cit., pp. 72-87.

<sup>7</sup> Borrie, Op. cit. (Melbourne 1954), p. 90.

<sup>8</sup> Price, Op. cit. (Canberra 1955). p. 28.

completely differences in period of residence in claiming that the long-established settlers from Piemonte and Lombardia were easier to assimilate than the recently arrived Sicilians.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, type of passage has a determining effect on the pattern of resettlement displayed by different immigrant groups. Comparisons between Dutch and Italian immigrants tend to overlook the fact that in the post-war period as a whole proportionately three times as many Dutch as Italian arrivals have been assisted migrants (Table I.1 above). Thus the different pattern of resettlement displayed by the Dutch may not mean that they are intrinsically "better" settlers. It may mean nothing more than a reflection of the fact that they receive three times the degree of governmental assistance as Italians who settle in Australia.

Type of passage is, however, related historically to ethnic origin. Past experience of Italian immigration is regarded as unsatisfactory and for this reason less encouragement is given by the government to migration from Italy than to migration from north-western Europe. Cause and effect are bound up together, in such an intricate manner that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. Whether ethnic concentrations today are the choice, or the fate, of Australia's Italian settlers is difficult to determine. Certainly the degree of governmental assistance extended to the Dutch must favourably influence their pattern of resettlement. Among the Italians, by contrast, the full-fare system of immigration perpetuates

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<sup>9</sup> The Ferry Report, pp. 14-16.



the concentrations for which they have so often been criticized in the past.

#### Metropolitan Concentrations

The concentration of Italian immigrants into the metropolitan areas of Australia represents the most recent development in the history of Italian settlement in Australia. Italians have always tended to form ethnic concentrations, in Western Australia at the turn of the century, in Queensland in the 'twenties and 'thirties, and in Victoria since the end of the Second World War. But whereas in previous times these concentrations tended to be located in rural areas, today they are mainly in the great cities. In 1954 Melbourne's inner suburban area contained as many Italian-born persons as the State of Queensland as a whole. Such Italian concentrations may be criticized on two grounds, their extent and their location.

It may be said that extensive ethnic concentrations are unsatisfactory, since they represent minority groups whose sectional may conflict with those of the majority, usually the host society. This is a legitimate criticism. It should not, however, be thought that ethnic concentrations are a monopoly of the southern European. Recent studies in Australia have shown that all immigrants, regardless of their particular ethnic origin, assume a geographical distribution quite different from that of the native-born, or the total, population. Zubrzycki has demonstrated that all the major immigrant

groups are to a degree segregated in the metropolitan areas of Australia.<sup>10</sup> The Italians do display a greater degree of segregation than some other groups, such as the Dutch, but the degree of this residential segregation must be related to type of passage and also to the divergent climates of opinion to which each immigrant group must adjust. Rose has made the suggestive observation that the degree of metropolitan clustering exhibited by the different ethnic groups approximates inversely their respective popularities. The less popular the group, the greater the degree of clustering.<sup>11</sup> This suggestion receives some support from the 1947 census, a time soon after anti-Italian feeling in Victoria, and elsewhere in Australia, had been at its highest pitch. In Melbourne in 1947 the degree of clustering among Italians was greater than at any other census: the City of Melbourne and Fitzroy contained almost half the Italian-born population of the metropolitan area (Table II.8 above). The findings of Zubrzycki and Rose may imply that ethnic concentrations are a necessary stage in the resettlement of immigrant groups. The need to reside in close proximity with co-nationals is marked among our foreign-born populations, but it is also evident among the native-born. British-Australians tend to abandon areas of dense immigrant concentration in favour of districts with a higher British content. Many British-Australians have left the Carlton area because there are "too many foreigners".

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<sup>10</sup> Zubrzycki, Op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>11</sup> Rose, Op. cit., p. 526.

Italian concentrations are implicit in the structure of Italian immigration to Australia. The personal nominations system, under which 82 per cent of post-war Italian arrivals came to this country, rests on the assumption that new arrivals will depend upon Italians already settled in Australia. The nominator accepts responsibility for the housing and the employment of his nominee. We do not think that the nominations-system created Italian concentrations. Italians concentrated even in the days of relatively free migration. But the present system does perpetuate ethnic concentrations among Italians and among southern Europeans as a whole. Even the Dutch, with three times the degree of governmental assistance, settle in ethnic concentrations. Perhaps if more Italians were given assisted passages the degree of concentration among them might decrease; for ethnic concentrations are partly an economic necessity in the early stages of resettlement. The questions which must be answered is whether ethnic concentrations are too high a price to pay for the services rendered by Australia's Italian population in resettling 82 per cent of our post-war Italian immigrants.

Italians, and southern Europeans generally, have also been criticized because they concentrate in depressed parts of the city. This tendency is related to the nature of Italian migration and to the fact that most of them pay their own fares. Houses in the poorer parts of the city are all that they can afford when they arrive. Other factors are involved. The occupational distribution of Italians affects their residential distribution, since most post-war Italian

arrivals in Melbourne have found employment in industry. The inner suburbs are where industrial workers of every ethnic origin tend to reside. Although Italians and other southern Europeans concentrate in the inner suburbs of Melbourne, it cannot be assumed that they live in poor, overcrowded, and unhygienic conditions. In the Carlton area some examples of overcrowding were encountered but these were not typical. According to officers of the slum reclamation section of the Housing Commission Italians have given housing in the inner suburbs new life. Italians, unlike their British-Australian neighbours, tend to buy the dwellings they occupy and to improve them.<sup>12</sup> As another observer has noted, Melbourne's inner suburbs have broken out in gay, new colours under the transforming influence of our continental European settlers.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, the extent of Italian concentrations is easily exaggerated. The Dutch and many other north-western Europeans are not readily distinguishable from British-Australians in their physical appearance. Italians are popularly believed to be instantly recognizable. The casual observer overlooks concentrations among immigrants like the Dutch but has an exaggerated impression of those among Italians. The Carlton area contained numerous Jews, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Maltese, and Lebanese. All these may pass to the man-on-the-street as Italians. Even so, objective measures indicate that

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<sup>12</sup> Interview with officers of the State Housing Commission of Victoria, September 1960.

<sup>13</sup> Grant and Serle, Op. cit., p. 258.

Italians tend to concentrate to a greater extent than many other immigrants in the metropolitan areas of Australia. As mentioned above it is not altogether clear how much this is an effect, or how much a cause, of the present system of Italian immigration. If moreover Rose's suggestion is valid, it remains to be seen what effect the weakening of Australian antipathy to the southern European will have upon Italian concentrations in Australian cities.

#### Some Methodological Observations

The sampling design adopted in the present study had two limitations. Firstly, the universe from which the sample was drawn was closed, in the sense that only addresses occupied by Italians in November 1958 were included in the field investigation. Secondly, no provision was made for examining non-Italians in the Carlton area. The basic design of the survey, that of using addresses rather than individuals, was on the other hand entirely validated. A modified version of this basic design may prove satisfactory for future sociological investigations in metropolitan areas. Thus the time spent in the present study on constructing a universe of Italians resident in the Carlton area may be more profitably spent on additional field-work. In preference to spending almost one year in drawing up a complicated sample design street-directories could be used to provide a list of all residential addresses in the area being studied. This would be a comparatively simple task and would allow the investigation of persons of all ethnic origins. If the main interest of the study was directed towards one particular

group, an abbreviated interview could be conducted with persons of other ethnic origins, concerned only with obtaining basic data with which the main findings could be compared. This sort of method would have several advantages over that used in the present study. Firstly, it would provide a cross-section of the whole population of the area being surveyed. Secondly, a comparative basis for the interpretation of the findings would be available. Thirdly, it would bring immigrant studies into a broader, sociological context.

The main limitation of this method might be that little preliminary data would be at hand prior to the survey's being conducted. In the present study the analysis of the preliminary data was fundamental to the design and conduct of the field survey. This limitation is not insuperable and could be circumvented by pilot surveys, and by conducting some interviews with selected informants prior to the main investigation. It should be noted that all these observations apply only to studies conducted in areas of dense immigrant concentration. Clearly a random sample of all residential addresses in an area where 95 per cent of the population were native-born would not be a useful means of investigating the immigrant members of that population.

In future studies of immigrants in Australia, particularly among groups whose immigration has been largely chain-migration, the genealogical method of enquiry should be more widely used. The systematic application of this method provided much information in the present study which could not have been obtained in any other

way. When questioned directly about their nominees or relatives in Australia many informants forget persons with whom they have infrequent contact. Systematic enquiry into kinship provides one important method by which this sort of amnesia can be overcome. In any study of Italian immigrants the genealogical method is an essential line of enquiry. Kinship is fundamental to the whole process of full-fare Italian migration to Australia. Indeed, the nominations system has given institutional recognition to this principle which lies behind the Italian emigratory movement. In studies of other immigrant groups the comparison of genealogical tables may give some insights into the pattern of resettlement displayed by different immigrant groups. The genealogical method is a valuable historical tool. In the Carlton survey it was apparent that the genealogies of twelve to fifteen carefully chosen informants from the Upper Agri Basin or the Altipiano of Asiago could have furnished almost the entire history of migration to Australia from these restricted parts of Italy. In addition to these heuristic applications the genealogical method helps to establish rapport. In Carlton a sincere interest in an Italian's family connexions was an impeccable credential.

#### Suggestions for Future Research

The relationship between origin in Italy and the behaviour of Italian immigrants in Australia has been satisfactorily demonstrated. The present findings suggest that this relationship is most clearly seen in occupational behaviour, in patterns of marriage, and in family composition. These last aspects in particular require

further investigation. Basic differences in family structure exist from one part of Italy to another, and the relationship of these differences to other aspects of immigrant behaviour must be analysed. The degree to which the Australian-born children of Italian parentage reproduce the behaviour of first generation immigrants may vary from one group to another, and may be a function of family structure. Official Italian statistics may be useful here in establishing a base from which operations can be begun. Because of the selective nature of Italian emigration, however, these Italian figures must be treated with caution. More may be achieved by intensive social-anthropological studies of the family, similar to that conducted by Bromley in Port Pirie.

So far as urban studies of Italians are concerned, investigations of Italians in outer residential suburbs of the metropolitan areas might be undertaken. One aim of these studies might be to establish whether or not areas of secondary Italian settlement are emerging in Australia, as they did in some American cities.<sup>14</sup> It is not clear as yet to what extent the spread of Italians throughout the Melbourne metropolitan area represents ecological succession, social mobility, or merely a physical increase in the Italian population of Melbourne.

More generally, three types of immigrant studies need to be conducted -- group studies, area studies, and comparative studies. Some such studies have already been conducted, for example Bromley's

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<sup>14</sup> Walter Firey, Land Use in Central Boston (Cambridge, Mass, 1947), pp. 220-222.



work on the Molfettese community in Port Pirie, Price's investigations into the Italian population at Griffith, and Borrie's study of Italians and Germans. More such studies need to be done. Group studies in particular are lacking, possibly because of methodological difficulties associated with intensive studies of this nature.

Problems of scale and residential dispersion limit the usefulness of participant observation as a method of sociological enquiry in the study of metropolitan populations. Thus to study the structure and functioning of Melbourne's Viggianese community would have involved the investigation of a group whose members were spread through several suburbs and whose activities frequently occurred at the level of the extended family. Participant observation in such circumstances requires the patience, the skill, and the techniques of Whyte in his study of an Italian slum in Chicago, and even he restricted his enquiry to a small, territorially defined group.<sup>15</sup> Intensive social-anthropological investigations may prove more practicable in provincial-urban or in rural centres, where problems of scale and residential dispersion are less acute. Victoria alone could provide several areas where such studies might be profitably conducted. Werribee, Shepparton, Myrtleford, and Wonthaggi, to name only a few, all have large and long-established Italian populations.

A number of area studies have already been conducted. Here the main limitation has been the restriction of the investigation to

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<sup>15</sup> Whyte, Op. cit., pp. 288-289.

immigrants. As in the present study the conceptual framework has tended to ignore the existence of non-immigrants, or of persons of different ethnic origins from that with which the study is mainly concerned. Suggestions have already been made towards overcoming this limitation and towards bringing studies of immigrants into a broader sociological framework.

Group and area studies provide the empirical basis for the third, and most general, type of investigation, the comparative study. The aim of the comparative study is to examine the force of ethnic origin as a determinant of human behaviour. Sociological research has demonstrated the the institutionalized behaviour of man in society is partly a function of such variables as race, religion, social class, and ethnic origin. The relationship of ethnic origin to the familial, religious, economic, political, and social life of immigrants in Australia needs closer study. Clearly ethnic origin is a major determinant of the behaviour of first generation immigrants. Does it, as Firey has suggested, decrease in strength among the second generation,<sup>16</sup> and does it vary from one ethnic group to another? When does ethnic origin cease to be a determinant of the behaviour of the descendants of foreign-born people? These and many other questions have still to be answered. In answering these questions about immigrants a broader sociological perspective is essential. We may know a little about European settlers in Australia. We know much less about our native British population.

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<sup>16</sup> Firey, Loc. cit.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX AALPHABETICAL INDEX TO THE ITALIAN REGIONI TOGETHER  
WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE DIVISIONS

Regioni	Divisions
Abruzzi e Molise	Southern Italy
Basilicata	Southern Italy
Calabria	Southern Italy
Campania	Southern Italy
Emilia-Romagna	Northern Italy
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	Northern Italy
Lazio	Central Italy
Liguria	Northern Italy
Lombardia	Northern Italy
Marche	Central Italy
Piemonte	Northern Italy
Puglie	Southern Italy
Sardegna	Insular Italy
Sicilia	Insular Italy
Toscana	Central Italy
Trentino-Alto Adige	Northern Italy
Umbria	Central Italy
Val d'Aosta	Northern Italy
Veneto	Northern Italy

APPENDIX BALPHABETICAL INDEX TO THE ITALIAN PROVINCES  
TOGETHER WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE REGIONS

<u>Province</u>	<u>Region</u>
Agrigento	Sicilia
Alessandria	Piemonte
Ancona	Marche
Aosta	Valle d'Aosta
Arezzo	Toscana
Ascoli Piceno	Marche
Asti	Piemonte
Avellino	Campania
Bari	Puglie
Belluno	Veneto
Benevento	Campania
Bergamo	Lombardia
Bologna	Emilia-Romagna
Bolzano	Trentino-Alto Adige
Brescia	Lombardia
Brindisi	Puglie
Cagliari	Sardegna
Caltanissetta	Sicilia
Campobasso	Abruzzi e Molise
Caserta	Campania
Catania	Sicilia
Catanzaro	Calabria
Chieti	Abruzzi e Molise
Como	Lombardia
Cosenza	Calabria
Cremona	Lombardia
Cuneo	Piemonte
Enna	Sicilia
Ferrara	Emilia-Romagna
Firenze	Toscana
Foggia	Puglie
Forli	Emilia-Romagna
Frosinone	Lazio



APPENDIX B (continued)

<u>Province</u>	<u>Region</u>
Genova	Liguria
Gorizia	Friuli-Venezia Giulia
Grosseto	Toscana
Imperia	Liguria
L'Aquila	Abruzzi e Molise
La Spezia	Liguria
Latina	Lazio
Lecce	Puglie
Livorno	Toscana
Lucca	Toscana
Macerata	Marche
Mantova	Lombardia
Massa	Toscana
Matera	Basilicata
Messina	Sicilia
Milano	Lombardia
Modena	Emilia-Romagna
Napoli	Campania
Novara	Piemonte
Nuoro	Sardegna
Padova	Veneto
Palermo	Sicilia
Parma	Emilia-Romagna
Pavia	Lombardia
Perugia	Umbria
Pesaro	Marche
Pescara	Abruzzi e Molise
Piacenza	Emilia-Romagna
Pisa	Toscana
Pistoia	Toscana
Potenza	Basilicata
Ragusa	Sicilia
Ravenna	Emilia-Romagna
Reggio Calabria	Calabria
Reggio Emilia	Emilia-Romagna
Rieti	Lazio
Roma	Lazio
Rovigo	Veneto

APPENDIX B (concluded)

<u>Province</u>	<u>Region</u>
Salerno	Campania
Sassari	Sardegna
Savona	Liguria
Siena	Toscana
Siracusa	Sicilia
Sondrio	Lombardia
Taranto	Puglie
Teramo	Abruzzi e Molise
Terni	Umbria
Torino	Piemonte
Trapani	Sicilia
Trento	Trentino-Alto Adige
Treviso	Veneto
Udine	Friuli-Venezia Giulia
Varese	Lombardia
Venezia	Veneto
Vercelli	Piemonte
Verona	Veneto
Vicenza	Veneto
Viterbo	Lazio

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APPENDIX CALPHABETICAL INDEX TO SELECTED ITALIAN COMUNI  
TOGETHER WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE PROVINCES

<u>Comune</u>	<u>Province</u>
Asiago	Vicenza
Corleto Perticara	Potenza
Enego	Vicenza
Floridia	Siracusa
Foza	Vicenza
Gallio	Vicenza
Grumento Nova	Potenza
Lipari	Messina
Lusiana	Vicenza
Marsico Nuovo	Potenza
Marsico Vetere	Potenza
Montemurro	Potenza
Roana	Vicenza
Rotzo	Vicenza
S. Marco in Lamis	Foggia
Sortino	Siracusa
Tramutola	Potenza
Viggiano	Potenza