The great post-war immigration boom has affected Australian society in many ways. Little is known, however, about how New Australians have affected, and been affected by the Australian political system.

This study, carried out in Brisbane, is concerned with the two largest groups of post-war immigrants, the British and Italian. Drawing on carefully designed social surveys, the author describes the processes by which the immigrants adapt to the Australian political scene. He examines the degree of their political participation, compares their political behaviour in Australia with that in their countries of origin, and looks at the way feelings of satisfaction and identification with the new homeland are related to political interest and activity.

Australians have a reputation for political apathy. The newcomers appear to reflect this apathy; yet in the United States ethnic politics is well advanced, with solid blocks of Jewish, Irish, Italian, and Negro voters. Why should Australia be different?

This question is among the many tackled by the author. Answers do not always come readily, but the results of the survey add significantly to our knowledge of Australia's immigrant population. The book is essential reading for political scientists, sociologists, and psychologists, and will interest all people who want to know more about the impact of new settlers upon the Australian way of life.
This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991. This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press. This project aims to make past scholarly works published by The Australian National University available to a global audience under its open-access policy.
Immigrants in Australia 3
A series sponsored by
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Paul R. Wilson  
Immigrants and Politics

Australian National University Press  
Canberra  
1973
The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia is the national body representing the social sciences. One of its objectives is the sponsorship of major research projects in areas of national importance. Two previous projects, sponsored under its earlier name of the Social Science Research Council of Australia, were *The Role of Women in Public and Professional Life* and *Aborigines in Australian Society*. It was hardly surprising that in 1966 the Council, as it then was, decided to sponsor another project designed to examine the contribution of overseas immigrants in Australia's economic, social, and cultural life, for new settlers had not only supplied slightly more than half the nation's growth from 7,579,000 in 1947 to 11,550,000 in 1966, but had brought into our society a great diversity of national groups from the United Kingdom and many parts of Europe.

The major difference between the flow after World War II and all previous immigration was the high proportion of non-British, first from northern and western Europe, primed by the influx of some 200,000 refugees in the immediate post-war years, and thereafter from southern Europe, particularly from Italy and Greece. The mosaic of post-war immigration is seen in the following estimate by Dr C. A. Price of the ethnic origin of persons who came to this country between July 1947 and June 1970 with the intention of settling here.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British Isles</th>
<th>1,086,500</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>121,300</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>337,700</td>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>68,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>Other East Europe</td>
<td>220,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>140,600</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>334,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>136,800</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,646,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the immediate post-war years, marked by high levels of economic activity associated with rebuilding the nation's capital stock and re-opening the channels of overseas trade, immigrants were absorbed into the economy almost without notice and with few structural changes. These were also years when, because of the very low fertility in Australia in the great pre-war depression of the thirties, there was a marked lag in the natural increase of the non-immigrant workforce: immigrants were welcomed if only because they filled that gap. They manned great national projects like the Snowy Mountains Scheme; they provided a great part of the labour force for new mineral enterprises; they helped to build houses, offices, and industrial buildings; they made the nation's steel; and they became the workhorses of the burgeoning motor industry. But, above all, they settled in the major cities, often forming substantial ethnic groups, restructuring national customs in their adopted environment, keeping alive their native languages, yet rubbing shoulders with Australians, being influenced by Australian culture—often through the participation of their children in Australian schools—and at the same time influencing by their presence and activity a remarkably homogeneous and at times slightly suspicious Australian society.

By the sixties few Australians could be unaware of the impact of the immigrants, whose flow continues to the present. As their numbers have grown, as the ethnic origins of the new settlers have become even more diversified, as the size of some of the ethnic communities in major cities has increased, as some schools have emerged in which the majority of children are immigrants brought up in a non-British tongue, and as job competition has grown keener as the swelling Australian cohorts of the post-war 'baby boom' have reached maturity and seek employment in the nation's workforce, the presence of the immigrant has been increasingly apparent. Some call for a reduction of the inflow; many seek to know what the impact has been on the nation's culture, economy, and society; none can ignore the immigrants' presence.

So the Academy sponsored a project to try and find at least some of the answers to the questions being asked, both by encouraging and helping workers already known to be engaged in immigrant research, and by
organising new studies to fill some of the major gaps. In September 1967 two Honorary Directors were appointed: Dr C. A. Price, Professorial Fellow in the Department of Demography at the Australian National University, to lead studies in the cultural, political, and social fields; and Professor R. T. Appleyard, Department of Economics, University of Western Australia, to lead work in economic and industrial studies. An Organising Committee with a wide geographical and disciplinary representation was also appointed and set about costing the enterprise, which proved to be beyond the financial capability of the Academy. It is with gratitude that the Academy acknowledges generous financial support from government, business and foundation sources. The Academy also records its appreciation of the Department of Demography of the Australian National University, both for its contribution in research and for its assistance in many organisational aspects of the project.

Throughout the project every attempt has been made to keep the research workers in communication with the main objectives of the project and with one another. To this end a major seminar was held in Canberra in May 1970.

The project does not, and indeed could not aim to produce a single definitive volume, but rather to sponsor books and journal articles within areas felt to be significant with regard to the processes of settling, the interaction of Australian and immigrant and the impact of immigrants upon the nation. Major areas in which studies are being sponsored are:

The economic role of immigrants in specific industries.
Patterns of immigrant consumption and expenditure.
Mobility and career patterns of immigrants.
Displaced persons and other refugees.
Professional and highly skilled immigrants.
Immigrant communities and problems of integration.
Studies of selected ethnic groups.
Immigrant concentrations in metropolitan areas.

In addition to articles in learned journals, it is expected that at least a dozen books will flow from the study. The sponsorship of new research ceased at approximately January 1971; the task now is to bring to publication work begun by that date. The manuscript of the first book went to press in September 1971.
Note on the Series

December of that year three further manuscripts were virtually ready for the press, and the flow is expected to continue through 1972 and 1973.

The Academy hopes that the project will assist in the understanding of both a great national enterprise and the growing complexity of a nation in which almost a quarter of the population is of post-war immigrant stock; for, whatever the future of immigration, there can be no doubt that the introduction of the 2,646,000 new settlers from 1947 to 1970, of whom about 85 per cent have remained in Australia, has changed the character as well as the economic structure and the size of this young nation.

W. D. Borrie
Chairman, Organising Committee

Canberra
December 1971
Acknowledgments

The small number of empirical studies on immigrant political behaviour in Australia meant that I had to design my own research project without the benefit of experience gained through previous Australian studies. However, I received considerable advice and assistance from many social scientists who have worked in the immigration field. I would specifically like to acknowledge the assistance given by Dr Charles Price, Department of Demography, Australian National University for his encouragement throughout the project and for allowing me to share his considerable insight and experience in immigrant research.

I would also like to thank the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and the University of Queensland, which provided me with the financial resources needed to conduct the surveys of British and Italian immigrants. Many academics and 'New' Australians gave me advice and assistance during the course of the project. Too many are involved to be named individually but I would particularly like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor C. A. Hughes of the Department of Government and Professor J. S. Western of the Department of Sociology at the University of Queensland for their advice and helpful comments during the writing of this book. I also would like to thank Professor A. F. Davies and Mrs June Hearn from the Department of Political Science at the University of Melbourne for allowing me to peruse drafts of their manuscript on migrant political behaviour in Melbourne.

Professor D. C. Corbett of Flinders University, Professor R. T. Appleyard of the University of Western Australia and Dr D. W. Rawson of the Australian National University also made useful contributions to the study by suggesting changes for the final manuscript. Finally I would like to thank Mrs Judith White and Mrs Jill Brown, my research assistants, for their careful checking of the manuscript.

Paul R. Wilson
University of Queensland
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(Figures drawn by the Cartographic Office of the Department of Human Geography, Australian National University)
Since its settlement as British Territory and its subsequent development into a modern state, Australia has had a continuing inflow of people from other lands. Particularly since 1947 the economic development of Australia has been substantially based upon a continuous immigration in order to develop the ample resources of a large continent.

From the end of World War II, when a renewed emphasis was placed upon the immigration of people from Great Britain and Europe, approximately 55 per cent of the country’s population growth has been due either directly or indirectly to immigration (Price 1968: 101). In fact from mid-1947, when the great intake started, until the middle of 1966, Australia received slightly over 2 million settlers. To these were born in Australia some 600,000 children, so that by mid-1966, as Price has observed, almost one Australian in five was either a post-war settler or the child of one.

Australians have always protected the ‘British’ nature of their culture, partly because of their remoteness from Europe and North America in a distant continent close to millions of Asians. Even while launching the greatest planned influx of immigrants in Australian history, the Minister for Immigration, Mr Arthur Calwell, hoped ‘that for every foreign migrant there will be ten people from the United Kingdom.’ From this and other evidence it

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1 Much has been written about the British aspects of Australian culture, e.g. McGregor (1966) and Hartz (1964).

2 Jupp (1966: 5) has a most readable account of the history of immigration and the political forces that shaped immigration policies. A more recent account of government immigration policies can be found in Smith (1970).
is clear that immigration policy immediately after World War II reflected the dominant image of a 'British Australia' within the Australian political culture.\(^3\)

Increasingly, however, the image of a British Australia is becoming less tenable as large numbers of European immigrants continue entering the country. Since 1947 nearly 60 per cent of the immigrants arriving in Australia have been of 'non-British ethnic stock' (Price, 1968: 101), so increasing the non-British proportion of the resident Australian population from 10 per cent in 1947 to more than 20 per cent in 1966. By far the largest non-British immigrant group in Australia is the Italian, with 267,325 people of Italian birth recorded in this country at the 1966 census.\(^4\) However, even though immigrants of British stock have declined relative to Europeans, people from the United Kingdom still make up by far the largest immigrant group in Australia; in the 1966 census 870,549 citizens resident in Australia were born in the United Kingdom.\(^5\)

In a very real sense, then, much of the contemporary history of Australia has been the history of immigration; this has affected every facet of Australian life and Australian society, and, although some of the effects of immigration have been studied by a variety of scholars, other effects and aspects have been seriously neglected as subjects for sustained and comprehensive inquiry.

Probably the most conspicuous gaps in Australian research on immigrants lie in the fields of economics and political science. Appleyard (1964) has worked in depth on socio-economic factors associated with immigration and re-migration. There are also a few isolated studies of the economic consequences of increased immigration in specific industries, but little else has been done. The situation in political science is even more depressing. Little of substance on immigrant political behaviour has been published and with few exceptions there is no real evidence that political scientists are becoming aware of the importance of immigrants as

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\(^3\) See Eggleston (1957) for an excellent discussion of this influence in regard to one aspect of Australian politics—foreign policy.

\(^4\) Unless otherwise stated all population figures in this book are taken from census material published by the Bureau of Census and Statistics.

\(^5\) This figure is made up of 681,526 people born in England, 19,688 born in Wales, 152,275 born in Scotland and 17,060 born in Northern Ireland.
Why Study Immigrant Political Participation? 3

a potentially powerful political group and therefore worthy of study.

There are, of course, exceptions: Davies has published his impressions on the role immigrants play in politics and suggests that one may roughly classify immigrants into the 'doubly apathetic', the 'newly apathetic', and the 'fighters on' (1966: 114-30). There are also a few small-scale studies of select immigrant groups such as Medding's discussion (1962) on Melbourne Jewish voters, Eng's observations (1963) on the political attitudes of Chinese in Sydney, and Petrolias's pioneer study (1959) of the miniature political sub-system of the Melbourne Greek community. But nowhere do we find a systematic and reliable account of the political behaviour and attitudes of the large immigrant groups—British, Italian, and Greek for example—though these groups have for long received much attention from the historian, demographer, sociologist, and psychologist.

To be sure, speculations about the immigrant's political past, present, and future are rife. Davies considers that immigrants are people for whom politics have already failed (1966: 114). Price, in discussing pre-war immigrants, suggests that the less politically conscious migrated, the more politically conscious stayed, while Jupp (1968: 34-5) sees a strengthening of the Democratic Labor Party and Liberal Party base as increased immigration and naturalisation occur. The possibilities of theorising about how New Australian voters are being resocialised into the Australian political scene are also numerous. Benyei (1960), in his sequential classification of assimilation stages, suggests re-settlement, re-establishment, and integration as the crucial phases through which the immigrant passes. In terms of political behaviour and attitudes immigrants may pass through a similar sequence; that is to say over the generations the gradual weakening of the cohesion of ethnic groups may be paralleled by changes in voting behaviour. Key (1964) suggests that the American experience shows immigrants gradually taking on the class-based electoral patterns of native-born Americans although Hughes (1967) suggests that at this time this is not the case in Australia.

Because our knowledge of the political behaviour of immigrants

6 Price (1963: 81) based his suggestion on evidence presented in McDonald (1956: 446-8).
is based on small-scale studies and intuitive, unsubstantiated speculations I decided to examine systematically one aspect of immigrant political behaviour—political participation. A knowledge of immigrant political participation is essential in attempting to understand immigrant political behaviour and the role it plays in the Australian political system. This point will be elaborated in greater detail later. Suffice to say at this stage that resources of time and finance limited the study to British and Italian post-war immigrants living in one Australian city—Brisbane. These two ethnic groups were chosen because they are the two largest immigrant groups in Australia and therefore potentially the most powerful from a political viewpoint. They also represent populations that come from widely different political cultures. Although, as we will see, the British and Australian political systems have marked similarities, the Italian political culture differs from both in terms of basic political images. A detailed study of immigrants from sharply contrasting political cultures greatly enhances our knowledge of immigrant political behaviour.

The dearth of studies dealing with immigrant political behaviour in Australia suggested that any preliminary research should concentrate on patterns of political participation among different immigrant groups. Political participation, it was felt, was of central importance in understanding the role that immigrants play in the Australian political system.

In a formal sense a political system is often defined with reference to human behaviour which affects the power structure of a society. Dahl, for example, asserts that 'a political system is any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule, or authority' (1963: 6).

However, as Milbrath (1965: 1) has pointed out, in everyday life we usually think of a political system as including not only formal government but also behaviour patterns such as discussions about governmental policies, voting, and other activities which affect or are intended to affect the decisions of government. A clear understanding of the manner in which people participate in the political process is basic to any understanding of the political system.

The Almond and Verba civic culture study (1963) not only suggests this but also is the source of data that make possible the comparison of the Italian political culture with the Australian.
The study, however, does not confine itself to a simple description of the political participation and behaviour of the two groups. It attempts as well to compare their behaviour with that displayed by 'Old' Australians, specifically behaviour shown by a sample of native-born Australians which a colleague and I have studied (Wilson and Western, 1969).

The research has fairly wide implications for the study of politics generally and the Australian political system specifically. To begin with, the research aimed at understanding how the general environmental adaptation of the immigrant affects his pattern of political participation. *Prima facie* one suspects that the general adaptation of the immigrant to his new surroundings plays a large part in determining and channelling his political behaviour. So one of the aims of this study was to find out whether it was possible to explain immigrant political participation by reference not only to the sociological and demographic characteristics of the individual but also by considering the manner in which the immigrant adjusts to or 'assimilates' within his new environment. In turn, it was felt that a knowledge of immigrant political participation would help in a general understanding of immigrant assimilation. The extent and nature of immigrant political participation is a major index of the assimilation of new settlers in Australian society.8

Related to this last point, and on a more general level, the project aims at making a contribution to our meagre knowledge of the connection between the social structure and political participation. With few exceptions the literature on political participation is notable for low-level generalisations (for example, professional persons are most likely to get involved in politics etc.) and the absence of systematic and comprehensive theory. The task here was to identify the significant social experiences which explain the growth of political participation among citizens in economically advanced countries.9 If it achieved nothing else the study would provide data valuable in assessing current research which relates

8 The meaning of the concept of assimilation is discussed in Chapter 6 of this book. The chapter also presents a tentative model of immigrant political participation.

9 While the literature on the growth of national political participation has been theoretically elaborate, the dependence on aggregate measures has made it difficult to determine empirically how social change structures people's life experiences in ways which alter their political participation.
sociological characteristics of individuals, and structural changes in society, to patterns of political participation.¹⁰

A study of this kind also raises general questions about the effects that immigrants are having on the Australian political system. For example, how real is the great Australian political apathy and is it being reinforced by immigrants? Is the Australian government's professed desire for a well-knit community—'well integrated and harmonious' in the words of the Minister for Immigration (Lynch, 1969:7)—being achieved by the influx of many thousands of immigrants from political systems radically different from Australia's? This last point raises the issue of what levels of political participation are useful for a political democracy, a question which has received a good deal of attention from some eminent political scientists in recent years.¹¹

On a comparative level the present investigation invites the political scientist to compare the political effects of immigration in Australia with the effects on the United States of the great influx of new settlers during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. In the latter country ethnic politics is far advanced; there are still today solid blocs of Irish, Jewish, Italian, and more recently Negro voters. Even a cursory glance at the Australian political scene reveals no comparable immigrant political solidarity here. On the contrary, this study suggests there is considerable apathy amongst New Australians, and also that several important questions need further investigation. Is the lack of interest in politics among New Australians due to the highly structured nature of the major political parties in this country compared with the amorphous character of American parties? Or is the political voicelessness of immigrants due to the entrenchment of Old Australian ward bosses unwilling to give up their powers? A comparison of the political behaviour of ethnic groups in the two countries can assist social scientists in answering these questions and provides information on the comparative structure of the two political systems.

¹⁰ One of the most recent and perhaps most comprehensive studies relating social structure to political participation is reported in the June and September issues of the *American Political Science Review* (Nie, Bingham Powell and Prewitt, 1969a). A discussion of how the present study relates to their research is presented in some detail in the final chapter of this work.

¹¹ See, for example, Campbell (1962), Key (1964), and McClosky (1964).
Finally, the findings of this study may well add to our knowledge of political resocialisation. Whilst political socialisation is being recognised as a critical subject for political science (e.g. Greenstein, 1968), there is virtually no work being done on the resocialisation of adult immigrants. Besides being of value in itself, knowledge of resocialisation processes can throw considerable light on ordinary adolescent socialisation. Whilst definitive work involves interviewing new settlers over a longish period of time, the present study makes a start in this direction; it goes some way in isolating those factors important in socialising people into a political system different in many respects from the system in which they were brought up.
Some Historical and Sociological Considerations

Political attitudes and behaviour patterns as found from social surveys become more meaningful when put in the perspective of the historical influences and general sociological characteristics of the immigrant groups under consideration. Consequently the present chapter examines what appear to be some of the more salient features of British and Italian immigration to Australia.

At this stage it should be clearly emphasised that no attempt is made to present a definitive account of the pattern of British and Italian settlement. Many scholars have written comprehensive accounts of the history of Australian immigration and there is little point in attempting to emulate their work here. Rather, it is intended that this chapter should assist in providing background information on the patterns of British and Italian settlement pertinent to understanding the political behaviour of the two groups. In this respect attention will be drawn to the immigrants' motivation for emigrating, their general occupational characteristics, the level of participation in the political system in their country of origin, and their ability to adjust or assimilate into Australian society. These four factors, it is suggested, are quite important in any appreciation of current patterns of immigrant political participation.

The pattern of British settlement
During the early years of colonial development, immigrants from the United Kingdom were the main source of population, and for
the period 1788-1850 they were fairly evenly divided between convicts and free immigrants. It was the discovery of gold in 1851 that gave Australia its first dramatic intake of immigrants of both British and European extraction. Even so, a census taken in the colonies in 1891 showed that 83 per cent of the 984,366 overseas-born had been born in the United Kingdom.¹

In 1873 the British government withdrew assistance from migration, in keeping with the doctrine of laissez-faire which so dominated political and social thinking in the United Kingdom (Appleyard, 1964: 29). Voluntary migration, however, carried on, continuing to fluctuate according to economic conditions on either side of the Atlantic (Appleyard, 1959: 84). During the period 1860-1919, the Australian colonial and federal governments initiated considerable British immigration, assisting 45 per cent of the 1,341,000 persons who reached Australia from the British Isles (Crowley, 1954: 8).

Between the time of the first settlement and the end of World War I the desire to avoid impoverished living conditions in England, together with the attractions of a new land with seemingly unlimited economic opportunities, were the main motives for emigration to Australia. The motivation for leaving the United Kingdom changed slightly in the 1920s, however. The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 marked British determination to assist emigration in the face of continuing unemployment, particularly on the coalfields.² Some public money was spent on assisting persons simply to move from Britain to Australia, but some was spent on projects designed to settle British families on new farming land. Unfortunately, most of the land settlement schemes failed because of indiscriminate settling of British immigrants in difficult virgin land in Western Australia and Victoria; inability to adjust to the

¹ Appleyard (1964: 28) presents a detailed account of British immigration to Australia although his study is oriented mainly to post-war British immigrants, their economic behaviour and expectations of Australia. A more recent and perhaps the most comprehensive historical outline of Australia's immigration policies as they related to British and European immigration can be seen in Smith (1970).

² The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 embodied the ideas of a 1917 Royal Commission. The Commission wanted to consolidate the economies of the British Empire together in the face of tough economic competition from Europe and America. Partly as a result of the Commission the United Kingdom agreed to share the cost of emigration with Commonwealth countries.
Australian outback conditions resulted in the new arrivals drifting to Australian cities or else back to the United Kingdom. Then the depression killed immigration completely; in fact by the mid-1930s more people were returning to Britain than coming to Australia (Appleyard, 1959: 85). In all, the various schemes brought about 220,000 assisted immigrants between 1919 and 1929, and another 20,000 or so in the late thirties. These together with 100,000 or more unassisted immigrants from Britain, New Zealand, Canada etc., less a loss of perhaps 50,000, resulted in a net gain of some 300,000 or so persons of British origin between 1919 and 1941.3

The old cry of 'populate or perish' was revived as a response to the Japanese invasion of Pacific countries. Consequently immigration began on a large scale under the direction of Arthur Calwell, the first Federal Minister for Immigration. Shipping shortages delayed the start of the program until 1948 but in that year 70,000 assisted immigrants came to Australia, nearly half of them British.

Despite the Australian government's desire to populate Australia almost entirely with people from Britain, competition from other countries and the availability of shipping for continental refugees encouraged the government to attract immigrants from continental Europe (Appleyard, 1959: 86). As a result a great wave of 180,000 refugees came to this country, 70,000 from Poland, about 35,000 from the Baltic States, 25,000 from Yugoslavia, and most of the rest from Russia and Hungary. In addition, immigrants from western and southern Europe entered Australia in large numbers, particularly after 1951 when immigration agreements were signed with the German, Dutch, and Italian governments.

The year 1952 marked an important milestone in Australia's immigration policy. The immigration target was reduced from 150,000 to 80,000, of whom 40,000 were to be British (Appleyard, 1964: 49). The proportion of arrivals from the United Kingdom in fact remained between 30 and 40 per cent until the 1960s. Then it increased to 60 per cent or so, partly because of an upsurge in British emigration and partly because of improved economic conditions in Germany, Holland, and areas in Scandinavia (Jupp, 1966: 13).

Queensland is conspicuous for the relatively small addition to

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3 Figures derived from Price (1970b).
the strength of the British Isles born group. As Zubrzycki points out, 'between 1947 and 1954 the number of British-born persons rose by only 12.7 per cent, which was the lowest proportionate increase in any state' (Zubrzycki, 1960a: 47). In fact a comparison of the proportion of the British-born in 1933, 1947, and 1954 showed a decline over the period, which means that new British arrivals were not sufficient both to replace all the deaths of earlier British settlers and to keep up with increases in other immigrant groupings.

The geographical spread of British immigrants in Queensland during the latter part of the nineteenth century was determined by the fact that most had come from the industrial centres of Great Britain and had tended to congregate as artisans in Queensland towns (Tomkys, 1930: 127). When mining became a settled industry they formed the greater part of the population of the chief centres such as Charters Towers, Gympie, and Mount Morgan. The pastoral industry in the near coastal areas also attracted their attention during the days between separation and federation but they looked with disfavour on the far north and west. In the present century, however, the British have preferred to settle in the larger Queensland cities such as Brisbane, Townsville, Rockhampton, and the urban area along the Gold Coast rather than in sparsely populated rural areas.

The reasons for British people emigrating to Australia are complex and varied, and they have changed from one period to another. In the nineteenth century, sheer lack of food, in Appleyard's opinion, was perhaps the most important factor in emigration to Australia. But the reasons for contemporary British immigration are more complex. During the immediate post-war years, rationing and a shortage of consumer goods were economic factors most obviously responsible for nearly half a million Britons registering for assisted passages (Appleyard, 1964: 105). Between 1948 and 1960 political crises such as the Berlin airlift, the Korean war, and the Suez crisis played some part in raising the number of applications for assisted passages although, as Appleyard has pointed out (1964: 106), these crises themselves were probably additional and not the primary reason for emigrating.

Economic reasons alone cannot explain why British citizens emigrate. Studies by sociologists and psychologists reveal that there
are many non-economic factors responsible.\textsuperscript{4} Appleyard's study of British immigration, the most comprehensive yet undertaken, showed that even though most British families interviewed said that they were migrating for economic reasons such as better job opportunities in Australia, only a few really knew what economic conditions were like in Australia (Appleyard, 1964: 177).

Appleyard's study in fact provides some evidence for the first stage of Eisenstadt's immigration process theory (Eisenstadt, 1954) —that emigrants are motivated by some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in their social setting and at the same time are attracted by opportunities in the country to which they contemplate moving. These opportunities are made even more attractive by the assisted passage scheme which has brought over 80 per cent of all post-war British immigrants. Appleyard (1964: 177-8) suggests that rather than a flight from economic and social hardship the contemporary British immigrant is motivated by desire for personal gain, hope of an adventurous life in a new land, or wish to escape from some personal problem.

Appleyard's observations fit with those of other scholars. Jupp, for example, found that 61 per cent of British immigrants he interviewed gave 'non-economic' reasons for emigrating to Australia,\textsuperscript{5} which contrasts sharply with the largely economic motivation of Italians. Similarly studies by social psychologists in Western Australia show that general and not necessarily economic dissatisfaction with their circumstances play a large part in motivating Britons to come to Australia. The Western Australian studies show that the most common reason for migrating to Australia was better opportunities for the average man and his children.\textsuperscript{6} June Hearn (1971: 145), in her study of immigrant groups in Melbourne, likewise

\textsuperscript{4} Empirical studies aimed at finding out why people emigrate are hampered by the difficulty of unravelling the 'real' from the 'stated' motivations for leaving the country of origin. Some of the psychological attitude studies use techniques which assist in uncovering the veneer of rationalisations given by immigrants for leaving the United Kingdom. See, for example, Richardson (1959).

\textsuperscript{5} Jupp (1966: 184). Jupp's study, though, is methodologically inadequate for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the small sample of only 33 British respondents.

\textsuperscript{6} The publications of the Western Australian psychologists on immigration, particularly those of R. Taft and A. Richardson, are numerous. Their work is best summarised in Taft (1965). This work will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 of this book.
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found that of all the nationality groups she studied British immigrants are the least concerned with problems of economic security.

In short, the evidence available suggests that emigration from Britain is based on both economic forces and non-economic discontents. As will be shown in future chapters these reasons for emigrating are partly responsible for the British immigrant participating in the political system of Australia at or near a level displayed by Old Australians and well above the level achieved by Italians. Unlike the latter group, British immigrants are not single-mindedly dedicated to achieving economic security for themselves and their families. This last point, it will be argued, both allows British immigrants the time and makes it easier for them than their Italian counterparts to participate in the political system of their adopted country.

Those who emigrate to Australia are not the social drop-outs. In fact the evidence indicates that British people migrating to Australia are generally more ambitious and adventurous than those who stay at home. Appleyard has shown that emigrants were by no means the 'ne'er-do-wells' of British society and that they were not compelled by poverty to leave the United Kingdom. In addition, the post-war immigrant appears to come from skilled occupational groups residing usually in the suburban fringes of large cities or provincial towns rather than in the poorer, densely populated conurbations. Indeed Appleyard found that 68 per cent of the male immigrants in his 1958-9 sample were in skilled occupations, compared with 53 per cent of the British population. Immigrants were, in fact, under-represented in all other occupational classes, particularly in the class of unskilled workers.

We have then a group of New Australians—post-war British

7 Alan Richardson made this point in an address to the Good Neighbour Council of Western Australia in June 1970. Richardson found that most migrants interviewed, whether young or old, had active and energetic personalities. See also Richardson (1959).

8 Appleyard (1964: 144) points out that the unemployment rate of emigrants was below the British average at the time of his survey.

9 Ibid., p. 126. Unfortunately Appleyard could not obtain reliable information on the social and economic characteristics of the British population according to age and occupational skill necessary to make accurate comparisons with the emigrant population. However, his evidence would indicate that there is a similarity of distribution between occupational groups of the immigrant workers and the working population aged 20-44 years.
immigrants—who socially and economically appear to display energetic characteristics. They do not appear to be the occupational and social drop-outs of British society. It could be argued, at least on intuitive grounds, that there is some reason to suppose that the proportion of the politically active British immigrants is higher than the proportion of politically active citizens in the general United Kingdom population. Further, the social and demographic characteristics of British immigrants could lend weight to the suggestion that as a group they participate in politics more than the locally-born Australian population.10 These contentions require empirical verification and are dealt with later when the results of the social survey carried out among a sample of British immigrants are discussed.

Relative to southern European immigrants British immigrants can be expected to adapt painlessly and quickly to Australian social and political life. First, Australia has usually attempted to maintain Anglo-Saxon traditions and institutions such as parliaments, courts, police and public service—'the whole process of law making and law enforcement echoed the traditions and customs of Westminster’ (Price, 1968: 96). These echoes would be quite familiar to the new British arrival. Other Australian institutions such as churches, the armed services, and to a lesser extent educational systems, are also understood if not accepted by British immigrants.

The assimilation of United Kingdom settlers into Australian society has undoubtedly been hastened by the relative acceptance of British immigrants on the part of the host society and the lack of overt hostility displayed by Old Australians towards settlers from the home country. Of all immigrant groups the British are most accepted by Australians. In 1960 Richardson found in a quota sample study that Perth residents have least prejudice towards British immigrants. Ninety per cent of Richardson's sample positively favour their further immigration to Australia and 96 per cent would admit British new arrivals to close friendships. The equivalent figures for Italians were only 45 per cent and 60 per cent respectively (Richardson, 1961a: 3-4). Hostility towards British immigrants has been rare and nowhere near the level held by governments and the public towards some European immigrants. At

10 This supposition has been put forward by a number of political scientists in recent years, among them Jupp (1966: 86) and Davies (1966: 117).
times of severe economic depressions such as in the 1890s and 1930s, political leaders, particularly those in the Australian Labor Party, have objected to all immigrants, including the British, on the grounds that newcomers competed with 'native' Australians for scarce employment. But generally Australians have accepted new arrivals from the United Kingdom, showing only mild resentment towards the 'grumbling Pommies'. Undoubtedly the lack of serious historic tension between Australians and British immigrants, that is compared with other immigrant groups, has played an important part in allowing citizens from the United Kingdom to enter easily into Australian society. For, as Taft has pointed out, experience of prejudice and discrimination plays an important part in the degree to which an immigrant becomes assimilated (Taft, 1965: 19).

Prima facie there are a number of reasons for thinking that British immigrants will participate at a relatively high level in the Australian political system. Australian political institutions after all are based on British models. To be sure there are differences in the two countries' major political parties, in the electoral basis of support for the major parties and in their political systems generally. But British immigrants have relatively little trouble in understanding both the power structure and the social institutions in the community.

Coming from a political culture similar in many vital respects to Australia's, British immigrants can slip quite easily into their established participant role. And in Great Britain the participant role is highly developed. Almond and Verba (1963: 455) have shown that:

Exposure to politics, interest, involvement and a sense of competence are [in Great Britain] relatively high. There are norms supporting political activity as well as emotional involvement in elections and system affect.

11 Jupp (1966: 109). Jupp points out that many Australians consider British immigrants ungrateful and grumbling but notes that this stereotype is based largely on the minority of British immigrants who engage in public discussion and on the hostel-dwelling Commonwealth-nominated immigrant.

12 Respondents' perception of differences are discussed in Chapter 7. For a discussion of the similarity and differences between one major political party in Britain and its equivalent in Australia see Jupp (1967).

13 See Jupp (1966: Chs. 5 and 7). See also Chapters 4 and 5 in this book where the role of British immigrants in Australian politics is discussed in greater detail.

14 Similar sentiments have been echoed by other observers of the British political system. See, for example, Blondel (1965).
Given the social and demographic characteristics of the British immigrant, there is no reason to suppose that British immigrants will not adopt relatively active political roles in Australia. For the British new arrival, at least as compared with other immigrants, re-socialisation into his former pattern of political participation is assisted by his sense of familiarity with the Australian political system.

Predictions about their partisan affiliations, however, are difficult to make. Although a great deal is known about the electoral behaviour of the British population, virtually nothing is known about the voting preferences of potential immigrants.

A knowledge of the immigrants' class or occupational characteristics does not assist us very much. To be sure, class and class consciousness as Alford (1963) has suggested lie at the basis of British politics. On the other hand there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that large sections of the British population do not vote along traditional class lines. In particular the urban working class do not as a group vote for the Labour Party. At least one-third of the working class at most general elections support the Conservative Party, accounting in part for the relative lack of success of parties of the left since the enfranchisement of the urban working class a century ago. This large proportion of the working class that votes across class lines has been the subject of sustained and comprehensive inquiry by a number of political scientists (e.g.  

15 As will be seen the economic prop to this argument assumes that other immigrant groups, such as the Italians, are essentially only interested in obtaining economic security for themselves in Australia, and employment opportunities allow them to do this. If, on the other hand, employment opportunities are lacking they might have to organise themselves politically as did the Italians of Queensland and New South Wales who took political action in the 1920s and the 1930s because their economic interests were threatened.

16 More recent studies, however, suggest that the class polarisation of the British electorate is being reduced. See, for example, Butler and King (1966: 265). The gap between political attitudes and voting behaviour is steadily hardening in Britain due in part to the changing class structure which will soon end the old ideological simplifications about politics. For a discussion on this point, see Abrams (1962). A more recent analysis of the relationship between the changing class structure and political behaviour can be found in Millar (1966).

17 Since 1885 parties of the left have won clear working majorities in the House of Commons on only three occasions—in 1906 (Liberals), in 1945 and 1966 (Labour).
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McKenzie and Silver, 1968; Nordlinger, 1970). The inquiries show that much more than an individual's occupation has to be known in order to predict whether he will vote along traditional working-class lines or transfer his political allegiance to the Conservatives.

Unfortunately the information available on the sociological, let alone the psychological, characteristics of the British immigrant is fairly limited. This greatly prejudices the accuracy with which the voting behaviour of British immigrants in their country of origin and in Australia may be predicted. We do know that 68 per cent of those British immigrants that Appleyard sampled in 1958-9 were in skilled occupations and that in comparison with the British population the sample under-represented unskilled workers (Appleyard, 1964: 125-6). We also know that even though most British immigrants are blue-collar workers there is an over-representation of males born in the United Kingdom in professional occupations in the Australian workforce (Zubrzycki, 1968). But with a large proportion of British manual workers voting for the Conservative Party, a knowledge of the occupational composition of British immigrants gained from census or other sources is of little use in terms of predicting party affiliation. What is needed are comprehensive electoral surveys of British immigrants on a scale large enough to obtain reliable information on voting habits. The results of such a survey in so far as they pertain to British voting behaviour are presented in Chapter 7.

The pattern of Italian settlement

The migration of Italians to Australia did not reach any considerable proportions until the 1870s. In fact, in 1871 the colonial census recorded only 772 persons of Italian birth in Victoria and 88 in Queensland (Borrie, 1954: 49). After 1881, however, the pace of migration quickened, with Queensland gaining a small settlement of Italians from Piedmont and Lombardy. However, as Borrie (1954: 50) has pointed out, the Italian population up to 1921 was

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18 See also the comments made further on in this chapter, and in the next chapter, on the occupational characteristics of British as well as Italian immigrants living in the Brisbane metropolitan area.

19 Borrie presents a detailed account of the history of Italian immigration to Australia. Other comprehensive historical accounts of Italian immigration can be found in Price (1968), Jones (1964), and Pyke (1948).
hardly a stable one, emigration figures nearly equalling rates of immigration.

After 1921 there was a rapid increase of Italians immigrating to Australia with a large number coming to Queensland. By 1933 Queensland held one-third of the Italian-born population with four out of five Italians settling on the land (Borrie, 1954: 70). This predominantly rural pattern of settlement, although less marked in other states, was one of the most notable characteristics of Italian settlement in the 1920s and 1930s.

Italians tended to congregate together initially in rural areas and then later in inner-city areas. The narrow range of occupations followed by Italians in Australia20 encouraged the growth of local concentrations, a tendency increased by the prevalence of chain migration.21 In fact, although Italians were never more than a minute proportion of the total population of Australia, there were individual shires in which they formed a considerable fraction—Hinchinbrook and Johnstone in Queensland are examples.

Intuitively at least it might be concluded that the tendency of Italians to form group settlements would have militated against the assimilation of the group into Australian society. In fact, Borrie's study of Italians in Queensland tended to show that Italians remained essentially unassimilated. Intermarriage between Italians and Australians was not extensive and there was a strong tendency to retain Italian as the usual language in the home even after twenty years of settlement (Borrie, 1954: 95).

However, group settlement before 1940 was not because of, or accompanied by, any strong sense of patriotism. Indeed, there were occasions when Italians organised themselves into strong ethnically oriented groups, but these were rare and only occurred when their economic livelihood or chain migration system were threatened—as among those Italians in north Queensland who, during the great depression, strongly resisted the attempts of the British Preference League to restrict Italian settlement in the sugar districts (Price, 1963: 305-6). Prior to 1940, the pattern of Italian settlement in Australia was determined first by the nature of their economic

20 Typical occupations of Italians were small businesses, fishing, fruit and vegetable growing, mining, and timber-cutting. See Jones (1964: 258).

21 This process whereby immigrants encourage and facilitate the migration of relatives and friends has been described in detail by Price (1968).
activity and second by loyalty to the family, as is illustrated by the prevalence of chain migration.

After 1947 the rate of Italian settlement in Australia increased considerably. The number of Italian-born persons in Australia grew from 33,632 in 1947 to 267,325 in 1966—2.31 per cent of the total Australian population. Victoria became the leading state: whereas in 1947 only 27 per cent of the Italians in Australia resided in Victoria this had risen to 42 per cent by 1966. Most of the Italian population resided, and continues to reside, in the inner-Melbourne suburbs of North Melbourne, Carlton, and North Carlton.

The role of Queensland as a receiving area of Italian immigrants in Australia can be illustrated from Commonwealth census figures. Before the war, no less than one-third of all Italian-born persons in Australia resided in Queensland. By 1954 the proportion had dropped to 14 per cent and by 1966 the figure was only 8 per cent. Within the state, census figures show that the main areas of Italian colonisation, namely Hinchinbrook, Mulgrave and Johnstone, are gradually losing their original position of having a near monopoly of Italian immigrants. In recent years there has been an exodus of Italians from small country and provincial towns into large metropolitan areas, notably to the inner-city suburbs of Brisbane. The shift of the Italian population from rural areas to metropolitan areas in Queensland reflects the changing pattern of Italian settlement within Australia generally. In 1933 only 29 per cent of Australia’s Italian-born population lived in metropolitan areas but by 1966 the figure had reached 75 per cent (Price, 1970a: 183).

The reasons for Italians emigrating to Australia appear to be more straightforward than for British immigrants. Italians have emigrated, or are emigrating to Australia with primarily economic ends in view, although in chain migration there is always the significant factor of family and village reunion. Borrie, Jones, and Price point out time and time again the economic preoccupations of Italian immigrants. Their observations are confirmed by behavioural studies of Italian emigration. For example, Heiss in his survey of Italians in Western Australia (1964: 67-9) noted that in 85 per cent of all cases the only motive for emigration was an economic one. ‘Over and over again’, Heiss says, ‘respondents told us that the

motivation for migration was economic and that their expectations are very high' (Heiss, 1966: 172).

The Italian immigrant’s desire to uplift his economic position shows itself strongly when he comes to Australia. The materialistic nature of Italian adaptation to Australian society is emphasised by a variety of studies. Jupp, for example, has shown that of the four immigrant groups he studied—British, Dutch, Greek, and Italian—‘the most materialistic of all were the Italians. Their demands on Australia can be summarised as high wages, home ownership and full employment’ (Jupp, 1966: 183). Hempel, in a thorough investigation of Italians in Queensland, reached a similar conclusion. As he pointed out, Italians, more so perhaps than any other immigrant group, are ‘hominio economici in the most extreme meaning of this word’ (Hempel, 1959: 166). Similarly Appleyard, in his study of the economic absorption of Western Australian Italian immigrants (1956), noted the almost single-minded dedication of Italians to providing economic security for themselves and their families. Appleyard noted the tendency of Italians to gravitate to occupations where most money could be earned, irrespective of the nature of the work. Their propensity to save money was high and most of the money was invested into purchasing a farm and/or house or helping to pay for other members of the family still in Italy to migrate to Australia.23

The devotion of the Italian immigrant to gaining economic security, then, is one of the major factors that emerge from an analysis of Italian adaptation to Australian society. This fact, it is suggested, is important in confining the part that Italians play in the Australian political system. Unlike British immigrants, the Italians do not have the time, or even the interest, to participate in political matters. What they regard as of primary importance is to achieve economic security in their adopted country. In addition substantial numbers of Italians came from manual occupations.24

23 Appleyard (1956: 100). Jones (1962) makes the same observation for Italians in the Carlton area of Melbourne.

24 Zubrzycki (1968) has shown the Italians are heavily over-represented at the lower end of the occupational ladder in unskilled manual occupations in Australia as a whole. Although there is a concentration of Italians in self-employed occupations, the proportion of Italians in non-manual occupations (16.83 per cent) is the third lowest proportion in twenty ethnic groups.
In Brisbane, for example, half the Italian population residing in the metropolitan area are unskilled workers. As will be demonstrated later, those on the lower rungs of the occupational ladder are far less likely than those higher up the ladder to participate in politics.

Compared with their British counterparts, Italian immigrants cannot be expected to assimilate both socially and politically into Australian society. Unlike new arrivals from the United Kingdom, Italians do not have the advantage of a similar language and familiar Anglo-Saxon institutions in their adopted country. Group settlement of Italian immigrants further isolates them from the social and political life of Australia. This isolation is reinforced by the prejudice that Old Australians have traditionally shown towards Italians, particularly towards those from the south of Italy. In Queensland, particularly in the 1920s, opposition to Italians was strong, and based mainly on economic grounds but also, as Borrie (1954) has shown, partly on racial grounds. Typical of the attitude of Old Australians towards Italians in north Queensland in the 1920s was the union official who said at the A.W.U. convention:

They are very cunning people. They know all the short cuts and ways to defeat the rules of the union. One gang of Sunday cane-cutters worked from the centre out in a two acre canefield so that they would not be observed. All they had to do on Monday was knock down the outside ring. (Quoted in Hempel, 1959)

25 This compares with 33 per cent of British immigrants in unskilled occupations living in the Brisbane metropolitan area. Figures are taken from data especially prepared for the writer by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics using 1966 census returns.

20 Negligible government assistance to Italian family migration makes sharing a home with other Italians an economic necessity. In addition the propensity of Italians to work at similar occupations has reinforced residential clustering. Prejudice against Italians could have led Italians to form denser concentrations than do the less discriminated-against immigrants from north-west Europe.

27 It is beyond the scope of this book to discuss in detail prejudice displayed by Australians towards Italians. Accounts of Australian hostility towards Italians can be found in Borrie (1954), Price (1963), and Jupp (1966, particularly Ch. VI). Specific examples of resentment towards Italians at the political level are presented in Chapters 4 and 6 of this book.

28 The Australian Workers' Union particularly objected to Italians (and other southern European immigrants) on the grounds that they were breaking union awards.
The experience that Italians have had with Australian trade unions, and the general hostility they have been shown by both the public and political parties, have done nothing to encourage them to participate in the Australian political system except when their close (mainly economic) interests are threatened.

There are other factors also that lead one to suspect that they are likely to display a low rate of political participation. Italians come from a political culture which implicitly discourages high political activity. Almond and Verba, in their civic culture study, for example, present a picture of Italian political culture which is one of relatively unrelieved political alienation and of social isolation and distrust. The Italians emerge as:

low in national pride, in moderate and open partisanship, in the acknowledgement of the obligations to take an active part in local community affairs, in the sense of competence to join with others in situations of political stress, in their choice of social forms of leisure and in their confidence in the social environment. (Almond and Verba, 1963: 402-3)

Banfield (1958: 10) likewise characterises the political culture of southern Italian villages as 'amoral familism', giving no recognition to the authority of the state or to political parties. The widespread feeling of rejection that affects the attitudes of Italians towards their political system has been noted by other observers of Italian political life. Glazer and Moynihan (1963: 184), for example, note that southern Italians are extremely suspicious of everyone and everything—forestieri or strangers as they are called—outside their immediate family and blood relatives (see also Cantril, 1962). Politics, either on a national or a local basis, is something to be mistrusted, certainly not to be engaged in. The atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion is continuously reinforced by alleged scandals of corruption in government agencies and government projects. One can, in fact, only agree with Almond and Verba (1963: 40) when they say: 'the Italian political culture contains unusually strong parochial, alienative subject, and alienative participant com-

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29 Banfield's study, however, is limited to southern Italian villages only and cannot be generalised to all Italy.
30 Recent examples include abuses connected with the building of Rome's Fiumicino Airport and a customs officer, one Cesare Mastralle, who was accused of embezzling over one billion lire. See McLellan and McLellan (1964).
ponents'. As they point out, Italians tend to be withdrawn from government and nation just as they tend to be withdrawn from the electoral process (Almond and Verba, 1963: 108; see also La Palombara, 1964, especially Chapter 4).

When Italian political history is considered, the non-participant alienative characteristic of Italian political culture is not surprising. Before unification, Italy experienced years of fragmentation and external tyranny in which allegiance to the nation state could not develop. Almond and Verba have said (1963: 403):

in the brief century of their national history Italians have learned to associate nationalism with humiliation and constitutionalism and democracy with ineffectiveness.

This pattern is perpetuated even today through the prefectorial system and the lack of autonomy of local from national politics. Thus, as Barnes (1967) has shown, Italians still tend to look upon government and politics as unpredictable and threatening forces, as alien bodies and not as social institutions amenable to their influence.

There is no real reason to suspect that Italians will adopt, at least in their first few years in Australia, a more participant and less alienated view of the Australian political system than they hold towards the system in their homeland. The drive for economic security, together with the cynical attitude towards government which Italians bring with them to Australia, go a long way to explaining the relative lack of interest which most observers see post-war Italian immigrants displaying towards Australian politics. Hempel, for example, pointed out that although they could quite easily influence the vote in their favour in a number of electorates, and thus create more favourable conditions for themselves and their compatriots, they seem to be unaware of such opportunities. Hempel concludes that Italians 'desire only to be left alone, to make money and attend to their family affairs' (1959: 166).

More objective indices of Italian interest in Australian politics reinforce these observations. Compared with papers of other ethnic groups, Italian-language newspapers devote little of their content to Australian, or, for that matter, to Italian politics. At a somewhat different level the campaign of Nino Randazzo for the seat of Fitz-
roy in 1964 failed to win Italian electoral support, even though Fitzroy contained a large proportion of Italian voters.  

Given then the characteristics of the political culture which the Italian immigrant leaves behind, the relative hostility of Australians toward him, his single-minded determination to acquire economic security for himself and his family, and the strangeness of the political and social institutions he finds in his adopted country, it is not surprising to find the Italian immigrant displaying a low rate of political participation in Australia. Most certainly there is every reason to suppose that his level of political activity will not approach the level attained by his British counterpart.

As with British immigrants, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the partisan affiliations of Italians. Although most Italian immigrants in this country come from the working class, this does not help very much in trying to determine their electoral preferences either here or in Italy. To be sure, class differences are basic in Italian politics, but, to complicate matters, no political ideology dominates the outlook of a class. ‘Communism has great appeal for the lower classes, but so does socialism and Catholicism’ (Barnes, 1967: 34). And even though political parties of the left—the Socialist (P.S.I.), Social Democrat (P.S.D.I.), and Communist (P.C.I.) parties, for example—obtain most of their support from the working class, so do the Christian Democrats. The latter party receives the votes of a strong minority of the working class as well as substantial numbers of voters from all classes. In addition it gets more than its share of the women’s votes thanks to its affiliations with the Catholic church. To complicate matters further, many middle-class voters give their support either to the Communist or to one of the Socialist parties.

Thus the complexities of Italian electoral behaviour make it extremely difficult to predict the partisan affiliations of Italian immigrants when they come to Australia. It is unlikely that the Australian Communist Party gains substantial numbers of Italian supporters, simply because the Australian Immigration Department does its utmost to stop Italians with Communist affiliations migrating to Australia. Besides, the Australian Communist Party is not nearly as powerful or as well organised as its Italian counterpart.

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31 These and other examples of Italian political apathy will be discussed in more detail further on in this book.
and is thus unlikely to draw supporters for the same reasons that the Italian Communist Party does. Most probably the majority of immigrants supported the Christian Democrats in Italy and therefore perhaps support the Liberal and Country parties in Australia—if only because Italian women traditionally appear to support parties of the right. However, as we will see in Chapter 7, it is virtually impossible to obtain reliable information on the electoral behaviour of Italians. Consequently predictions of Italian voting behaviour are, and will continue to be, no more than speculative guesses.

32 In Italy the Communists appear to be the beneficiaries of changes going on in Italian life connected with migration from the countryside to the cities. In the working-class quarter of large cities the potent influence of Communist Party social organisations, newspapers, and party activists draws in large numbers of voters. See McLellan and McLellan (1964: 681).

33 In the 1958 Italian election, for example, almost two-thirds (63 per cent) of the Christian Democratic Party's 12 million votes came from women, who support the party because of its Catholic connections. Many of these women who emigrate to Australia could well transfer their allegiance to the Democratic Labor Party although this is only conjecture; however, the problem of predicting how women will vote is made more difficult by the fact that an increasingly large proportion of Italian women think it is possible to be a good socialist and a good Catholic (McLellan and McLellan, 1964: 682).
In a study of this sort, it was necessary to keep the following points in mind:

1. The samples, as far as available sampling lists would allow, were to be representative of both British and Italian post-war urban immigrants living in Brisbane. The term 'representative' refers to the ability of the researcher to generalise from his sample about the characteristics of the chosen population—with a high degree of statistical probability that his generalisations are in fact correct. In layman's terms this simply means that the sample is a true cross-section of all age, sex, occupational and other demographic characteristics of the post-war British and Italian population in Brisbane.

2. The sample had to be so constructed that it was possible to compare one immigrant group with another.

3. The samples were to be of sufficient size so that preliminary analyses could be conducted allowing two- and in many cases three-way cross-tabulations between important demographic and sociological characteristics.

It is important to note at this stage that the present study did not attempt definitively to isolate those sociological and demographic characteristics essential for interpreting patterns of immigrant political participation and behaviour. Rather, the study attempted to determine some of the relevant factors worthy of more detailed examination by more comprehensive and therefore more expensive investigations. Consequently no tests of significance have been
applied to the results of the surveys. Instead, I have attempted to look at the general trends in the data with the object of locating the variables worth analysing more rigorously in future investigations. However, an effort has been made to construct statistically sound scales or measures of the major concepts examined. Thus, scales of political participation and assimilation are developed to the point where they can be used in other more comprehensive studies of British and Italian immigrants. In addition, every attempt is made to achieve sophisticated sampling techniques with the object of obtaining representative samples of the immigrant groups under examination.

**Sampling methods**

There are three basic methods of sampling immigrant groups, random sampling, pre-determined non-random sampling and sampling in the field. The last method, commonly used by anthropologists, involves following one’s nose until one interviews a sample of some given size or character. One important disadvantage of this method is the inability to randomise the selection of informants in the field, so making it difficult to generalise to the total population (Jones, 1960: 113). In pre-determined non-random sampling the researcher decides, in default of having access to a list of the whole population he wishes to investigate (the Italians of Brisbane, say), to sample (Italian) names from a sample list such as a telephone book or an electoral roll, or to sample houses in pre-determined areas of ethnic (Italian) concentration. He should, in these circumstances, take great care to explain (1) when he is generalising from his sample to the specific population sampled, in which case his generalisations can be listed statistically, and (2) when he is generalising to the desired population (the Italians of Brisbane), in which case he cannot assess generalisations statistically. Random sampling of the whole population under examination is usually much better; however, unless the survey’s financial and manpower resources are considerable, this may not be possible or may be feasible only if the population is small. In the latter case the survey may well miss important concentrations the researcher is endeavouring to discover. Nevertheless, as one of the major aims of the present study was to obtain a representative sample of post-war British and Italian immigrants living in the Brisbane area, it
was decided to use sampling procedures as near truly random as possible. These procedures are set out in Appendix B.

The questionnaires used in the present investigation (see Appendix A) were designed to reveal information on the political attitudes and behaviour of the two immigrant groups studied. With respect to persons in the two age groups, the questionnaires, which were fairly lengthy, dealt with the following areas: the amount of 'passive' participation, e.g. general interest without specific involvement; the amount of 'active' participation, e.g. membership of a political party; political partisanship; reasons for partisanship preferences; impact upon government and politics generally; amount of assimilation in Australian society; and demographic and sociological characteristics. In addition, a variety of questions dealt with attitudes of the immigrants towards current political and social issues, their political knowledge and expertise and their general evaluations of political objects. Most of the latter information is not discussed here because this study is concerned mainly with the areas of political participation and partisanship.

Once the questionnaire was drafted it was pre-tested in a pilot study. Such studies are essential in any social survey, and particularly surveys dealing with immigrant groups Zubrzycki (1960b) has clearly demonstrated pilot studies to be necessary if questionnaires are to be improved, the order of the questions settled, the feasibility of the proposed analysis tested and the interviewing techniques validated. The present study clearly demonstrated the value of pilot studies in immigrant research. Before the main study began I, together with the interviewers used in the final study, conducted fifty interviews with British immigrants and the same number with Italians.

As a result of the pilot study some questions were dropped from the final interviewing schedule and others added. It became clear that many immigrants, particularly the Italians, did not understand some of the original political participation and assimilation items. The order of questions in the final interviewing schedule was greatly influenced by the pilot study; it was clear that, unlike British respondents, Italians would not give opinions about poli-

1 The general value of pre-tests and pilot studies in survey research has been elucidated in a variety of social research documents and needs no further discussion here.
itical parties and politicians until what they perceived as less threatening questions on social issues were asked first. The pilot study also revealed the strong resistance of Italians to questions about partisanship—a point which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. Finally, the pilot study enabled some preliminary analysis to be conducted.

Two other problems in questionnaire construction need mention: the difficulties in dealing with very different immigrant groups, of (1) obtaining suitable words to ensure that answers were on the same point, and (2) achieving comparability in the interview situation between different groups. These problems, as Almond and Verba have pointed out, are not different in kind from those encountered in research in a single group survey; they present the same difficulties in heightened form (1963: 43-76, especially 56).

In the present study the most important problem was to achieve equivalence in language and meaning between the British and Italian interviewing schedules. An attempt to overcome this problem was made by having the British questionnaire translated into Italian by an accomplished linguist and then by obtaining a back translation of the Italian version from an independent source. Repeated translations were made until equivalence of meaning was obtained.²

This back translation method, although apparently rigorous, may produce a spurious sense of equivalence simply because literal equivalence in translation may not produce functional equivalence. In short, although the words may refer to equivalent objects, they may in one language have a wider range of meaning than in the other.³

However, intensive interviews during the pilot stage of the project with the Italian immigrants appeared to confirm that they in the main perceived the meaning of the question in the same way as did the British immigrants. The Italian-speaking interviewers employed in the study felt likewise; further, the general nature of the questions asked relating to political and social behaviour, and the general response categories employed, probably made it less

² This procedure is a standard one in cross-cultural research. See, for example, Jacobson (1954), Jacobson, Kumato, and Gullahorn (1960).
³ This and other problems associated with translation in cross-cultural survey are discussed by Ervin and Bower (1952-3).
likely that subtle linguistic errors crept into the responses obtained (see Chapter 4). Finally, the information required from both British and Italian persons concerned referred to activities which were common experiences for all persons interviewed—reading newspapers, talking with friends, attending meetings and so on. While it is difficult to demonstrate empirically that both British and Italians were fed comparable input stimuli, the intensive pilot interviews, and the care taken to obtain equivalent questions, suggest that equivalence problems in questionnaire standardisation were minimal, in no way significantly affecting the results of the project.

**Interviewing and non-response**

The problems involved in questioning immigrants about a great variety of topics are many. Some national groups, particularly political refugees, are very reluctant to answer virtually any survey questions. Others are so suspicious that they refuse to express any opinions at all.

In the present study, no difficulty was encountered in interviewing post-war British immigrants. The writer and an assistant successfully obtained 223 interviews and only two people refused to be questioned. In the main, settlers from the United Kingdom appeared to enjoy the interview and co-operated enthusiastically. The length of the interview ranged between 40 and 65 minutes with an average of three-quarters of an hour.

The Italians, however, did present some difficulties. During the pilot study it was quite apparent that an undue emphasis on politics in the interview schedule would lead to a high refusal rate during the main study—particularly with questions dealing with party affiliation. The employment of non-Italian interviewers and interviewing during the day-time also increased the non-response rate markedly. Consequently in the main study it was decided that Italian interviewers well known to many in the Bris-

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4 Zubrzycki (1960b: 61-2) had initially an alarmingly low response rate in his study of peoples from Eastern Europe. He managed to achieve an excellent response rate by obtaining the confidence of group leaders of the communities from East Europe and by stressing that his survey had nothing to do with politics. As the Italian community in Brisbane had no recognised group leaders and as the present study was concerned with politics I obviously could not try this procedure.
bene Italian community should be used; that interviewers should stress at the outset that they were from the University and that the study had nothing to do with any government department; that interviewers were not to pursue questions when the immigrants were obviously reluctant to answer; and that wherever possible interviews were to take place at night when the husband was likely to be home. Italian women were very reluctant to let any one in the house during the day-time when the head of the household was absent.

The two interviewers used were final-year social science students skilled in survey methods and fluent in Italian. They had lived in Brisbane for the past ten years and had mixed socially with many sections of the Brisbane Italian community. Their enthusiasm and dedication, together with thorough interviewing preparation, resulted in only 8 refusals and 225 successful interviews. With the exception of the partisanship questions, the interviews in the main were conducted smoothly and without incident. The love of Italians to talk, and their general sociability, were shown by the fact that the interviewing time ranged from 50 minutes to 130 minutes with an average interview taking 70 minutes. There was no evidence that Italians gave answers to the questions which they felt were required or that they were unfavourably disposed towards Australia in front of an Italian interviewer because they wished to be loyal to the old country.

One final point about the research procedures adopted in this investigation: while what could be called formal scientific methods were used in the present study—formal sampling methods, fixed-alternative questions, standardised interviewing methods and so on—an attempt was made to gather clinical or anthropological material as well. Thus interviewers were instructed to record in detail illuminating comments made, and I gathered many individual case studies from both British and Italian immigrants. In addition, every attempt was made to visit British and Italian clubs and organisations in order to obtain insights into the complexities and

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5 This particularly applied to questions dealing with partisanship. No matter how the question was phrased Italians refused to divulge their party affiliation either back in Italy or in Australia. See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion on this issue.

6 Jupp (1966: 124-5) found that some national groups, particularly political refugees, tended to give answers which they felt the interviewer wanted.
subtleties of immigrant life. While this investigation relies heavily on the material gathered from survey methods the anthropological and case study data were of considerable value in allowing clearer understanding of the diversity and richness of immigrant political and social behaviour.

7 Price (1963) considers such data invaluable in the study of immigrant behaviour. In a more recent publication Price (1966: 47-8) asks for more attention from social scientists to such material. Price's views contrast sharply with those held by some Australian social psychologists who plead for a more rigorous scientific approach in immigration studies; see particularly Taft (1963).
People relate to a social system in a variety of ways. Some persons take it for granted or are concerned only to adjust their behaviour to its demands; others, as Milbrath (1965:2) has pointed out, have only a passive relationship to the system, while still others are actively involved. The major concern of this and the following chapter is with human behaviour in politics as it relates to the political system. 'Behaviour', as the term is being used here, will refer not only to participating in politics, but also to having attitudes towards, or images of, political phenomena.

Participating in politics can be said to be of two kinds: active and passive. Most citizens have been involved, at one time or another, in both of these activities. For example, because of compulsory voting at regular intervals all eligible Australians make a political decision. Additionally, nearly every person participates, passively at least, in the political process by obeying laws and paying taxes. Because the vast majority of Old and New Australians carry out these activities, they are of little use in revealing differences between individuals, or ethnic groups, including differences in level of political participation. They represent, so to speak, the base line from which we can measure differing degrees of participation.

The distinction between active and passive participation is an important one. Traditionally, when discussing participation, political scientists have concentrated on such activities as working for
a political party at election time, attending political meetings, supporting a party financially and so on. Milbrath (1965) provides a near exhaustive list of the activities normally examined in American studies. However, there is another aspect of participation; this has to do with 'keeping up with' political affairs, having opinions about political matters, and being knowledgeable about them as well. It is, in a sense, an involvement in politics which may be quite independent of active participation in the political process.

The distinction between the two forms of participation is particularly important for immigrant groups (see Wilson and Western, 1969). As we saw in Chapter 2, there are a number of reasons why we should expect an Italian immigrant in Australia to remain politically inactive in the sense of not campaigning for a political party, not attending a political meeting and so on. On the other hand, for economic reasons it could well be important for him to review the political trends in the community in so far as they relate, directly or indirectly, to his material well-being. He may thus read about politics in newspapers, discuss politics with his family and friends, and engage in other forms of passive participation.

Because of the advantages of differentiating between active and passive participation the two will be discussed separately in this and subsequent chapters, beginning with passive participation. Comparisons will be made between Australian, British and Italian-born groups in terms of their relative interest in reading about Australian politics in newspapers, talking about politics and engaging in other types of inactive participation. An attempt will then be made to devise a scale of passive participation and to discuss the relative positions of the three groups on it. This will be followed by an examination of the responses to questions about active participation and, again, a single measure of active participation will be formed for comparing the three groups. The relationship between passive and active participation will then be examined.

1 The importance of studying informal patterns of behaviour of immigrants, such as those occurring in primary groups and voluntary associations, is emphasised by a number of scholars. However, for the present purposes I have found it more convenient to deal with this topic in Chapter 6 which discusses the social adaptation of immigrants to Australian society.
Passive participation

Table 4.01 presents the responses given to the five questions dealing with passive participation by the Australian-born, Italian, and British persons interviewed.

The results do not suggest a very high level of participation among any of the groups. Admittedly 36 per cent of the Australians follow news about politics every day, but few talk regularly about politics with their friends or colleagues and an even smaller number talk every day about politics with members of their family. Most surprising of all is the fact that only 25 per cent of those questioned admitted to paying 'much attention' to campaigns during state or federal elections, and still fewer per cent said they followed politics closely when there was not an election campaign in progress. The picture is similar to that obtained by other students of electoral behaviour and political participation. For example, Rawson (1961: 169), in his study of the 1958 federal election, observed that 'the general impression of lack of interest is so strong that one is not surprised to find that much of the propaganda aimed at the electors did not reach its mark or left no conscious impression'.

More relevant to this study, Rawson found that something like 43 per cent of men and 62 per cent of women failed to remember hearing political speeches on radio, and about the same proportion did not see political advertising or political speakers on television. Further, a substantial proportion (23 per cent of men, 46 per cent of women) stated that they had not read election advertising or political speeches in newspapers. In line with the results of this study, Rawson also found that the majority of Australians did not discuss their voting intentions with another member of their family or with 'some unspecified person'. Burns (1961), in his study of the 1960 La Trobe by-election came to similar conclusions. In La Trobe, even though the parties all invested heavily in money, time and labour on a variety of formal propaganda methods (pamphlets, newspaper advertisements, etc.) the bulk of the literature made virtually no impact at all. In fact, most of this material was not even read. Nearly two-thirds of the voters (62 per cent) said they

2 An even smaller proportion of Australians (30%) say that they follow news about politics every day on radio and television (Wilson and Western, 1969: 8).
### Table 4.01 Passive participation in politics of Australian (n = 456), British (n = 223) and Italian (n = 223) respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you:</th>
<th>Every day</th>
<th>Once a week</th>
<th>Time to time</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Follow politics in press?</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Talk politics with family?</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Talk politics at work?</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very closely</th>
<th>Fairly closely</th>
<th>Not much at all</th>
<th>Hardly any</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Pay attention to politics outside State or Federal election times?</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Much attention</th>
<th>Some attention</th>
<th>Little attention</th>
<th>Almost no attention</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Pay attention to politics at election times?</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
had not read any official party propaganda. The lack of interest in talking about politics, found in the Wilson and Western study and in Rawson's investigation, was reflected in the La Trêbe survey by the fact that most of the people questioned (63 per cent) had not talked about the election with anyone. Eighteen per cent claimed they had discussed it with members of their family and slightly more (20 per cent) had talked about the election with 'outsiders', mainly workmates (Burns, 1961: 64; see also Hughes, 1969).

Compared with the Australian group, the British immigrants in Brisbane showed a somewhat higher degree of passive political participation in Australian politics, at least in some respects. It must be remembered, of course, that the sample is confined only to post-war immigrants living in one Australian city—Brisbane. Caution has to be used before applying the results of this study to British and Italian immigrants living in other parts of Australia.

The Italians, relative to the other two groups, show an almost total indifference to Australian politics. Around a third stated they followed news about politics every day or at least once a week in the newspaper (as against 48 per cent of Australians and 57 per cent of British) but on the other hand only 1 per cent of the Italians interviewed gave similar responses to the question dealing with the amount of political discussion they have with their family and only a slightly larger proportion talked politics with their friends or workmates every day or only once a week. More significantly, nearly two-thirds of the Italians interviewed admitted to paying hardly any attention to what goes on in politics when there was not a state or federal election on, and an equal proportion stated they paid almost no attention to politics even during state or federal elections.

The Italians, then, appear to have little interest in following the policies expounded by Australian political parties both during elections and between elections. But does the Italian follow news about politics in his foreign-language newspapers? Further, does he talk or read about politics back in Italy more than about Australian politics? In order to answer these questions the Italians were asked two questions dealing with how much they read about politics in their ethnic newspapers and how much they talked about Italian
politics with other members of their families.\textsuperscript{3} The responses to these questions showed quite clearly that the Italians are as uninterested in Italian and Australian politics presented in native-language newspapers as they are in the political material covered by the Australian press. Only 52 per cent followed news about politics in the Italian papers nearly every day or about once a week or from time to time (as against 67 per cent who gave similar responses to the same question dealing with Australian newspapers) and of these nearly 95 per cent said they read a bit of both Australian and Italian political news. In short, the Italians were little interested in political material in their own papers and they had no definite preference for news about either Italian or Australian politics. The lack of interest shown by the Italians in political news is reflected, to a considerable extent, in the lack of political content in the Italian ethnic papers. Gilson and Zubrzycki (1967) have shown that the Italian papers give little space to international affairs, and, more pertinently, devote few columns to either Italian or Australian politics. For example, only 2 per cent of space in two of the major Italian newspapers circulating on an Australia-wide basis (\textit{Il Corriere} and \textit{La Fiamma}) carried Italian political news,\textsuperscript{4} and an equally small proportion of space (approximately 3 per cent) contained news about Australian political and trade union matters.

Similarly, the majority of the Italians (67 per cent) never talk about Italian politics to other members of their family. Thus, Italians present a picture of political apathy. They do not, as Milbrath (1965: 20) has so aptly put it, 'bother to come to the stadium to watch the show', regardless of whether the 'show' is politics back in Italy or politics in Australia.

\textsuperscript{3} These data are based on responses to the questions: 'In general do you talk about Italian politics to other members of your family much?' and 'Do you follow news about politics in the Italian newspapers produced in Australia much?' Responses were coded in the same fashion as shown in Table 4.01. Respondents who answered nearly every day or about once a week or from time to time to the latter question were also asked the question: 'Do you read in the Italian newspapers mainly about politics back in Italy, mainly about politics in Australia, or a bit of both?'

\textsuperscript{4} A far lower proportion than 'political news from home' presented by other ethnic papers. For example, equivalent figures were 4\% for a Dutch paper, 6\% and 8\% respectively for two Greek papers, and 3\% and 6\% for two Polish papers (Gilson and Zubrzycki, 1967: 56).
### Table 4.02 Passive political participation scale: item-by-total score correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item or question number</th>
<th>Item-by-total score correlations</th>
<th>Item or question number</th>
<th>Item-by-total score correlations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australian*</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Item-by-total score correlations for Australian respondents are calculated on only the five items comparable with questions asked of British and Italian respondents. In the original study (Wilson and Western 1969: 28) two additional measures of passive participation were used which were not included in the Italian or British surveys because of their low item-by-item correlations in the original Australian study.

### Forming a scale of passive participation

So much for the general picture then—but what does it mean in terms of an individual's level of political participation? Does it mean that responses have been made by the Italians and British in a somewhat random fashion, or does it mean that there is some consistency in the responses over the five questions so that it is possible to speak of a generalised pattern of passive political participation? If there is consistency in the response pattern, it would be expected that those who had indicated a high level of participation on one item would be more likely to indicate a high level of participation on any other item than those indicating low participation on the first item. Clearly if one cannot demonstrate this consistency in response, then it cannot be asserted with much confidence that we are examining a single scale of passive participation. Accordingly, tests were made of the extent of relationship between responses to the items concerned, so providing a measure of the extent to which individuals who respond 'positively' (in the participating direction) to any one item respond similarly to all other items.

As can be seen from Table 4.02 the items which best predict total response for all three groups are items 4 and 5, namely...
Table 4.03 Distribution of scores over the passive participation scale of Australian, British, and Italian respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Australian</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Australian</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total* 101 99 99

Total N 456 223 225

* In this and subsequent tables the percentage total does not always add up to 100 per cent because figures have been rounded.

attention paid to politics in 'normal' times when no election is pending, and attention paid to politics during politically critical times, such as during state and federal elections. Items 1, 2, and 3, which concern interest in political news and political discussion, also have quite high values in all three groups. Even item 3 for the British (amount of political discussion with families or friends), the item with the lowest value of all, is significantly different from zero. It is clear, therefore, that we have a set of items to which responses are being given in a patterned and systematic manner; we have, in other words, a reliable statistical measure of passive participation for all three groups. Accordingly, the five items were combined together to form a single scale of passive participation. In scoring items, a score of three was given to high participatory responses (i.e. every day, very closely, much attention), a score of two was given for medium participatory responses (once a week, fairly closely, some attention), a score of one for low participatory responses (never, not much at all, almost no attention) and a score of zero for virtually no participation (never, hardly any, almost no attention). Consequently, the passive participation scale ranges from zero (no participation) to fifteen (considerable participation) over the five items. The distribution of the Australians, British, and Italians over the scale is presented in Table 4.03.

As can be seen from the distribution of scores for the Australians and British the scales are somewhat bimodal, suggesting that, at
least for these groups, it is the extremes of participation that are more common than the middle range. The Italian sample's distribution, however, is heavily skewed towards the low (non-participatory) end of the scale.

At the upper or high participatory end of the scale nearly three times as many British as Australians obtained the maximum possible score (15). However, the British were, relative to the Australian group, prominent at the other end of the scale with 7 per cent of United Kingdom respondents and no Old Australians receiving a score of zero. Of the Italian respondents, though, over a third failed to receive even one participatory score on any of the five questions.

For practical purposes, of course, a fifteen-point distribution is difficult to work with and so for all groups a collapsed scale was constructed (see Table 4.04). For the Australian and British groups those with a score between zero and five were called low passive participators, those with a score between six and ten medium participators, and those with a score of eleven or more high participators.

The cut-off points chosen to distinguish the low, medium and high participatory groups from each other were selected for several reasons. To begin with it was considered necessary to have sufficient numbers in each participatory group against which to contrast sociological and demographic factors. Secondly, a passive participation scale was formed measuring the participatory behaviour of British and Italian immigrants while they were in their country of origin. This scale was divided into three in the same way as the present measure. Cut-off points for the two scales had to be the same if comparisons between levels of participation in Australia and the immigrant's country of origin were to be made. Thirdly, and within the framework of the other two aims, we wanted the terms high, medium, and low participation to have 'objective' as well as statistical meaning. For example, in Australia and Britain persons with scores between eleven and fifteen were called high participators. To earn this label they would have had at least to give a response earning them three points to one of the questions on passive participation (i.e., stated that they followed politics in newspapers, talked about politics with their friends and family, every day, etc.) and given, in all the four remaining questions,
Table 4.04 Scores of Australian, British, and Italian respondents on passive participation in politics (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>Australian</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low and very low (between 0 and 5)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (between 6 and 10)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High (between 11 and 15)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

responses earning them two points (once a week, fairly closely, some attention, depending on the question). Therefore, using a cut-off of eleven and above, the category ‘high participators’ meant quite considerable interest in politics rather than simply a label given to an arbitrary statistical category. The same line of argument, of course, applies to the medium and low participatory groups. Finally, wherever possible it seemed desirable to compare the participatory categories among the three ethnic samples. To contrast low participators in Britain with low participators in Australia it is obviously necessary to have the cut-off points the same for each of the two samples.

As can be seen from Table 4.04 the cut-off points chosen meet quite nicely the requirements given above. There are sufficient numbers in each cell to permit further analysis; the scores distinguishing between low, medium, and high participators are the same for each ethnic group allowing comparisons between, say, low British and Australian participators; and for the three samples the cut-off points chosen allow us to speak realistically of high or low participation. The cut-off points, in addition, enable us to compare, in the case of the British sample, low, medium, and high passive participation in Australia with the corresponding levels back in the United Kingdom (see Chapter 5).

The Italian distribution over the passive participation items, however, presents some problems. Thirty-seven per cent of the Italians score zero on the scale and only 3 per cent have a score of eleven or more. This 3 per cent does not provide sufficient numbers to assess the effect of demographic and other characteristics. It was decided, therefore, to rearrange the Italian scores in two different ways.
In the first rearrangement, the Italian scores for passive participation were allocated to two categories, namely a low participation group with cut-off points between zero and five, and a medium participation group with cut-off points between six and fifteen. Using this division, the Italian low passive participators can legitimately be compared with their 'low' Australian and British counterparts. As well, the medium group can reasonably be compared with the two other medium groups, since only 3 per cent of the 27 per cent falling within this category had scores of eleven or more, that is within the cut-off points for high participators in the Australian and British groups interviewed.

Table 4.04 makes it abundantly clear that the Italians, relative at least to the Old Australians and British immigrants, participate infrequently in the Australian political system. Nearly twice as many of the Italians as British are what we have called low passive participators and three times as many of them fall into the lowest third of the scale as the Old Australians.

The second rearrangement, undertaken with a view to forming what in the next chapter we have called 'political participatory types', involved collapsing the Italian scores into three categories using different cut-off points, so that 37 per cent scored very low, 35 per cent scored low, and 27 per cent scored medium and high.

With these categories there are sufficient numbers in each group not only to permit assessment in terms of other factors, but also to form the participatory types which are discussed in the next chapter.

So much for the formation of the participatory categories. They tell us that, relative to the other two groups, the Italians are well behind in their passive participatory behaviour. Of more interest is the fact that while the same proportions of the British and Australians are high political participators, a small number of the British immigrants hardly participate at all. As Table 4.03 shows, 11 per cent of the British obtained the maximum possible score (15) while only 4 per cent of the Australians reached this level.

Active participation

We have seen, then, the amount of passive political involvement of not only a number of British and Italian immigrants but
Table 4.05 Active participation in politics: Australian, British, and Italian respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you:</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Campaigned for a political party?*</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Written to your M.P.?*</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Attended a political meeting?*</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Joined a politically motivated group?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Joined an Australian political party?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. On state and national issues,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) written to newspapers?</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) taken part in political debates?</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) signed a petition?</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) demonstrated petitions?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) assisted with petitions?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For Questions 1, 2 and 3 the people concerned were given the choice of saying 'often', 'sometimes' or 'never'. For ease of presentation, however, 'often' and 'sometimes' have been recorded as 'yes' (or participatory) responses for the purpose of this table.

These results are, to put it mildly, unimpressive. Considering the Australians first, the nearest they come to being politically active is in signing petitions and attending political meetings: 9 per cent admitted to attending a political meeting 'often' and 32 per cent admitted 'sometimes' (thus giving a total of 41 per cent of the entire Australian sample who had ever attended a political meeting). Most of the Australians are not members of political parties (88 per cent), most do not write to newspapers on political matters (91 per cent), and most do not take part in debates or demon-
strations on political matters (93 per cent). Three-quarters of them do not write to their state or federal member, even more do not assist in conducting petitions, though slightly fewer avoid signing petitions. Finally, a little over half have not attended political meetings (59 per cent). The picture presented in this study is not dissimilar to that revealed by other studies: for example, Rawson's study of the 1958 federal election (1961: 186) showed that only 2 per cent of those interviewed attended political meetings, and that similarly small proportions admitted playing any active part in the election. Burns's study of the La Trobe by-election of 1960 (1961: 62) is consistent with these results.

The responses of the British to the active participation items are an interesting contrast to those given on the passive questions. It will be remembered that the British were, on at least some measures, more politically participant in a passive sense than were their Australian counterparts. Table 4.01 showed that, to take the highest response (follow politics every day, very closely, etc.) far more of the British followed news about politics, talked with their workmates or friends about politics or paid much attention to politics when there was not an election on, than did the Australians or Italians. However, on active participation items the British, generally speaking, scored well below the native-born Australians. Only 3 per cent had worked for one of the parties in a political campaign (as against 17 per cent of the Australians) and equally small proportions had contacted their state or federal member, attended a political meeting, or joined a group for a political purpose. When we consider the amount of active participation in political issues raised by the state or federal government, however, the British were similar to the Australians. The same (small) proportions of British and Australians wrote letters to newspapers, signed petitions, took part in demonstrations, or assisted in conducting petitions on political issues. Twice as many of the Australians as of the British took part in public debate on political issues.

There are good reasons to suspect that the British immigrant finds it easier than do most Italians or other European immigrants to adapt to and involve himself with the Australian political system. The main Australian political parties, although different in some respects from their British counterparts, do have some important
basic similarities. Also, British immigrants, because they speak the same language as Australians, come from a similar social and political structure, and generally belong to higher occupational groups than southern and eastern European immigrants, are more likely to participate actively in politics. Jupp (1966: 109) has pointed out that British immigrants 'are much more likely to write to the papers or to engage in public controversy than Europeans'. Davies, in a similar vein (1966: 117), suggests that the British immigrant, because of his relatively high educational level, will exceed most, if not all other immigrant groups in political competence. Evidence from other sources suggests also that the British actively participate more than other groups in Australian politics. Lonie, in his study of activists in the Queensland State Liberal Party (1968), found that whereas the 1961 census revealed that 6 per cent of the state's population were born in Britain, 8 per cent of his sample of Liberal Party activists came from that country.7 Likewise, Burns reports (1961: 160) that 8 out of the 200 Liberal and A.L.P. members questioned in La Trobe claimed previous membership of a British political party. This was a far greater proportion than those of European descent belonging to the La Trobe political machine.8

The results presented in Table 4.05, then, confirm the observations of other social scientists on the relative amount of active political participation of British immigrants. However, Jupp also claims, 'there is, then, some reason to suppose that the proportion of politically active British migrants is higher than that of the locally-born population' (1966: 86). The present study does not suggest that the absolute level of active political participation among British immigrants is higher than that of the Australian-born population, at any rate amongst the 223 British immigrants interviewed.

If the overall picture of active political participation of the British and Australians studied is one of lack of interest, then the situation revealed by the Italians can best be described as massive.

7 Lonie's results have to be treated with some caution. His survey was based on a mailed questionnaire to Liberal Party members with a relatively low return rate.

8 Like Lonie's study, Burns's results have to be taken with caution as only half of the party activists in La Trobe sent mailed questionnaires returned to them.
political apathy. Only 1 per cent of the Italians had worked for one of the political parties or contacted an Australian politician. Though 3 per cent had attended a political meeting and 2 per cent signed a petition, not one Italian interviewed admitted joining a group for a political purpose, writing a letter to a newspaper, taking part in a public debate or demonstration, or helping in conducting petitions.

The lack of active participation by Italians in Australian politics is not surprising, given their motivation for emigrating to Australia, their drive for economic security and their general cynicism towards political institutions. In addition, Italians have considerably more linguistic problems than do British immigrants and have to meet far more stringent requirements before they are eligible to vote.9 There is also the fact that Australian political parties have shown little interest in attracting Europeans into their organisations. Indeed, many instances are recorded where the A.L.P. and Liberal Country parties, at both the state and federal levels, have shown considerable hostility towards European immigrants generally and Italians specifically. New Australian Councils, formed by both parties, have, in most cases, been dismal failures.10 Australian citizens, at times, have displayed considerable hostility towards Italian candidates in various elections. To give just one example from many available, an anti-Labor candidate, Mr B. Bonomo, was, during his 1965 local council campaign in Richmond, Victoria, ‘abused as a foreigner and told to get back to my own country. I was chased into the polling booth by a man shouting threats’ (Herald, Melbourne, 30 August 1965). Writing in his native language, Italian, Mr Bonomo was even more descriptive. ‘Dago bastard, go back to Italy and save your skin’, was one of the gentler phrases used when he wrote to Il Globo (21 September 1965). Even the most determined Italian political participator might lose some of his political ardour given this type of experience.

The complete lack of any interest by Italians in actively partici-

9 Many of the informal comments made by Italian immigrants who were not yet eligible for Australian citizenship suggested that, because of their lack of being able to influence political decisions, they took little interest in politics.

10 See Jupp (1966: 86-7). Jupp gives many examples of the hostility of Australian parties and politicians to New Australians. He also points out the historical failure of New Australian Councils to integrate Europeans successfully into Australian party organisations.
paring in politics shown in this study corresponds with the findings of many other writers. For example, Borrie's 1951 survey in Queensland showed that Italian-born settlers displayed little interest in Australian politics and, for that matter, politics back in Italy; they could best be described as 'apolitical', Borrie suggested (1954: 122). These observations were similar to those made by Kelley in Queensland and Gamba in Western Australia (quoted Borrie, 1954: 76, 122), both of whom pointed to the complete lack of interest that Italians showed in Australian politics. Hempel (1959: 166) further confirmed these findings by pointing out that though citizens of Italian descent could quite easily influence the vote in their favour in a number of electorates, they show little interest in doing so. Hempel's explanation for the lack of political interest among Italians is similar to that given by other observers (Borrie, Gamba, Kelley, Price, etc.).

Undoubtedly Italians have occasionally forced themselves into Australian politics by organising political pressure groups, but this has only occurred when either their economic livelihoods were threatened or their migration system endangered (see Price, 1963: 305-6). Generally, Italians have remained politically inactive throughout the years, and our survey evidence points strongly to the fact that they were doing so up to the late 1960s.

**Relationship between active and passive participation**

We have analysed the answers of some Australians, British, and Italians to individual items on both the active political participation measures, but the question remains whether persons who are high active participators are also high passive participators. In short, are the two types of political participation related?

An answer to this question requires a scale of active participation. Unfortunately, with such skewed distributions in all three groups (see Table 4.06), an item analysis was inappropriate. Consequently, the scaling procedure in this instance simply became the allocation of a score of one every time a respondent mentioned participation. With ten separate items on which participation was possible, scores could range from zero to ten, and, surprisingly,

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11 Mrs C. Kelley was a social anthropologist who carried out extensive field investigations amongst the Italians in Queensland in the immediate post-war years. See Borrie (1954: 66, 122).
considering the skew over the items, they did for at least the Australian group. The data are presented in Table 4.06.

The concentration in low scores is considerable for all three groups, but particularly for the Italians. Ninety-five per cent of the latter group had never, in Australia, engaged in any active form of political participation in comparison with 48 per cent of the British and 34 per cent of the Australians.

For practical purposes, of course, it is difficult to work with such a score. Consequently, it was rearranged in a similar way to the passive participation scores, the same criteria being used to determine the cut-off points for each of the groups.

Australians and British with a score of zero were called low participators, those with a score of one became medium participators, and those with a score of two or more were called high participators. The Italians presented the same problems here as they did in passive participation. Consequently, the rearranged measure comprised only two groups—low and medium. Table 4.07 presents the proportion of each sample in the respective groups.

### Table 4.06 Distribution of scores over the active participation scale: Australian, British, and Italian respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Australian</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.07 Low, medium and high active participation among Australian, British, and Italian respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Australian</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low (score of 0)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (score of 1)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High (score of 2-10)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>98</th>
<th>100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.08 Relationship between active and passive participation, Australian respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High passive</th>
<th>Medium passive</th>
<th>Low passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High active</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium active</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low active</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total N 132 216 108

The results confirm the picture of active participation presented when responses to individual questions were discussed. The Australian sample contained by far the highest proportion of high participators and conversely the lowest proportion of low participators. The British, with the same proportion of high passive participators as the Australians, fall behind when active participation is considered. The Italians have no highly active participators and only 5 per cent of their number have ever engaged in even one form of active political behaviour.

We are now in a position to examine the relationship between active and passive participation. More specifically, we can find out whether the high active participators in each of the three groups are also high passive participators. Can one be active and not necessarily passively participant or conversely, can one be passively participant and not necessarily active? Tables 4.08 and 4.09 show the relationship between the two types of participation for the Australians and British respectively. The situation is clear for the Australians. The two types of participation tend to go together. Among the high passives, 55 per cent are high actives, and among the low passives 75 per cent are low actives. Examined in reverse order, the findings are similar: 42 per cent of the high actives are also high passives, while 48 per cent of the low actives are also low passives. For the Australians surveyed, then, high passive political participators are also likely to be high active.

12 It should be pointed out that the criteria for being classified as a 'high' active political participator was not nearly as stringent as that used for categorising respondents into the 'high' passive political participation category. To qualify as 'high active' respondents had only twice in their life to attend a political meeting, write a letter to a newspaper on a political issue or actively engage in another form of behaviour listed in Table 4.05.
Table 4.09 Relationship between active and passive participation, British respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High passive</th>
<th>Medium passive</th>
<th>Low passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High active</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium active</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low active</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

political participators. But is the same pattern evident with the New Australians?

Table 4.09 shows that a similar pattern of participation occurs among the British immigrants interviewed as occurred among Old Australians, although the relationship is not quite as marked; only 43 per cent of high passive participators were also highly active in politics—the equivalent figure for the Australians was 55 per cent. Similarly, whereas 17 per cent of the Australian high passive participators were low actives, 27 per cent of the British fell into this category. In short, over a quarter of all British interviewed were relatively heavily involved in talking about and discussing Australian politics but, at the same time, refrained from actively participating in the political process.

Generally, however, among both the Australians and British the thinkers were also doers; in other words, those who had an interest in politics and tended to pay attention to political matters with their friends and relatives were also more likely to be active in political affairs than those who paid little attention to, and had little involvement in matters political.

With only 5 per cent of the Italians scoring in the ‘medium’ position on the active participation scale, it is not worthwhile presenting a table relating the two measures of participation. Analysis revealed, however, that there was a close association between the two scales. For example, not one respondent who was a low passive participator was a medium active participator. Similarly, all medium active participators were made up of respondents who were classified as high passive participators.\(^{13}\) For the Italians,

\(^{13}\)It will be remembered that for the Italian group there was no high active participation category.
then, the two measures of participation are very much related. Low passive participators remain correspondingly low when it comes to actively doing things political.

The patterns of political behaviour of the British and Australians interviewed sharply contrast with those exhibited by Italians. We have, then, one immigrant group which overall is well below the Australian group in terms of political participation and one group which is, in at least one form of participation, roughly equal to Old Australians. Not only are there considerable variations in behaviour between the two groups, however, but there are also considerable variations within each of the two immigrant groups. For example, there is a substantial proportion of British immigrants who are highly politically participant in Australia. Are these the same immigrants who were similarly active in politics back in Britain? What about the Italians found to be relatively passively participant? Were they also equally interested in politics when they were living in Italy? The object of the next chapter will be to answer these and related questions—in short, to examine the changing patterns of political participation which occur when immigrants leave their country of origin to settle in a new land.
So far the discussion has centred on the present level of political participation of two immigrant groups. An important question still to be answered is how the immigrants' present levels of participation compare with their participatory behaviour before coming to Australia. This chapter begins, then, by discussing the level of passive and active participation of our respondents in their countries of origin. The levels observed will enable us to compare the political behaviour of our immigrant groups with samples of the population from which they came. We can then compare this participatory behaviour with current rates of participation in Australia.

**Political participation in country of origin**

Immigrants were asked to describe their participatory behaviour in Britain or Italy by means of questions identical with those used to assess participation in Australia. Retrospective questioning is, of course, a technique fraught with problems. The errors, inconsistencies and biases of our own memories caution us against relying too heavily on survey results based on research procedures dealing with past behaviour (see Cuber and Gerberich, 1946; Harper, 1946-7). The research methods used, however, seem to suggest that the questions dealing with the immigrants' past political behaviour elicited responses which served as accurate indicators of political interest and activity in Britain or Italy. This arose partly from the fact that those questioned had to answer in very general terms only—for example, 'from time to time', 'fairly closely', 'not much at
Table 5.01 British and Italian immigrants' passive participation in their country of origin and in Australia (figures in brackets refer to Australia) (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Every day</th>
<th>Once a week</th>
<th>Time to time</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Follow news</td>
<td>49 (46)</td>
<td>16 (24)</td>
<td>6 (11)</td>
<td>6 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 (32)</td>
<td>20 (27)</td>
<td>13 (11)</td>
<td>56 (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Talk about politics</td>
<td>45 (23)</td>
<td>4 (0)</td>
<td>15 (10)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to family</td>
<td>24 (43)</td>
<td>29 (32)</td>
<td>13 (22)</td>
<td>62 (65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Talk about politics</td>
<td>44 (20)</td>
<td>6 (2)</td>
<td>17 (9)</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with friends</td>
<td>22 (38)</td>
<td>36 (38)</td>
<td>15 (32)</td>
<td>52 (55)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very closely</th>
<th>Fairly closely</th>
<th>Not much</th>
<th>Hardly any</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Attention when no</td>
<td>40 (19)</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>22 (30)</td>
<td>8 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>election</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16 (28)</td>
<td>18 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21 (25)</td>
<td>62 (64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Attention when</td>
<td>49 (25)</td>
<td>6 (3)</td>
<td>18 (24)</td>
<td>10 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>election</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13 (20)</td>
<td>20 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18 (18)</td>
<td>59 (60)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

all', and so on. As several studies have shown, reliability is increased when subjects have only to answer in general terms (Cuber and Gerberich, 1946; Harper, 1946-7; Goode and Hatt, 1952). To some extent this is a function of precision: when very exact answers are required, a minor error in memory becomes a perceptible deviation; when the answers required are very general, a similar amount of memory error will not be registered (Goode and Hatt, 1952: 166-7).

In addition, both the British and Italian interviewers reported that the persons interviewed had little difficulty in recalling their level of political participation in their country of origin. Responses to these questions were given as quickly and with as much confidence as were responses to questions dealing with participation in Australia. Further, there was no evidence during the interviews that immigrants deliberately distorted their past political behaviour to make them appear an 'influential' back on Coronation Street. While the points mentioned above do not conclusively demonstrate a lack of error in recall, it seems that errors were slight and do not invalidate the general findings.

Tables 5.01 and 5.02 present the amount of passive and active participation in Britain or Italy of those interviewed. Not unex-
Table 5.02 British and Italian immigrants’ active participation in their country of origin and in Australia (figures in brackets refer to Australia) (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question*</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Have you ever written to or contacted a member of Parliament?</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Have you attended a political meeting?</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Have you ever joined a group for a political purpose?</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Are you, or have you ever been a financial member of any political party?</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. On any issue that the State or Federal government has considered have you ever:</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) written a letter to a newspaper?</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) taken part in a public debate?</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) signed a petition?</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) taken part in a demonstration?</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) assisted in conducting petitions?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(97)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See note to Table 4.05.

expectedly, the proportion who passively or actively participated in any form of political behaviour is small. Less than 50 per cent of the British sample regularly followed or talked about politics while in Britain, while well under 20 per cent of the Italians showed a similar interest in politics. Active participation was even less frequent among both immigrant groups examined.

Perhaps the best way to discuss the political behaviour of immigrants while in their country of origin is to compare their rate of participation with that of the population from which they came. To some extent Tables 5.01 and 5.02 allow us to make such comparisons.

Almond and Verba (1963) give some indication of the level of political participation of citizens in the British Isles. In their sample, 43 per cent followed public affairs in newspapers at least weekly, 70 per cent sometimes talked about public affairs to other
people, and 25 per cent paid close attention to politics during elections.\(^1\) The corresponding figures for our sample of British immigrants were 55 per cent, 83 per cent, and 49 per cent.\(^2\) Comparing our survey results on the active participation measures with similar United Kingdom studies is extremely difficult because of the lack of equivalent measures to gauge participation. Membership of a political party is one item, however, where the present sample of immigrants can be compared with the British population. Rose (1965: 92) has estimated that 25 per cent of the British electorate were members of a political party while Blondel (1963: 93) arrives at a similar figure but points out that two-fifths of Labour members seem to play a part in the activities of their party; with the Conservatives the proportion is probably around a quarter or a third. However, Rose and Mossawir (1967), in their study of the political participation of Stockport residents, showed that only 10 per cent of their sample considered themselves to be members of a political party. This figure is close to the 8 per cent of our sample who considered that they had been financial members of a British political party.

Unfortunately, no other comparisons are possible since different measures of behaviour are used in the nationwide British investigations. For example, although Butler and King showed that only 2 per cent of the electorate attended any political meetings in the election year 1966, their study and others do not reveal the proportion of voters who have ever done so.\(^3\) Thus, the 40 per cent of our sample who had, at some time, attended a political meeting in Britain cannot meaningfully be compared with the Butler and King results.

The present findings, however, might allow the conclusion that

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1 See Almond and Verba (1963: 89-116). There are slight differences in the wording of the Almond and Verba questions in comparison with the ones asked in the present study but not of such a nature as to invalidate comparisons between the two investigations.

2 Although comparisons with other British studies of political participation are difficult because different measures of passive participation are used, a comparison of the present study with Almond and Verba's data allows for tentative conclusions to be drawn. These conclusions are in the main supported by other British electoral investigations. See, for example, Rose (1965), Butler and King (1966), Abrams (1962).

3 Butler and King (1966: 197). Their figures are based on National Opinion Poll Surveys.
those who have emigrated since the war from the United Kingdom to at least one Australian city—Brisbane—were more interested in following and discussing British political matters than their counterparts who stayed in Britain.

The Italian immigrants studied appear to have been less interested in politics in Italy than those studied by Almond and Verba. Comparisons suggest that whereas only 27 per cent of their sample paid 'almost no attention' to the campaigning that goes on at the time of a national election (Almond and Verba, 1963: 89), 59 per cent of our sample admitted to a similar low level of interest in politics at election times. However, to complicate matters, whereas 22 per cent of our Brisbane Italians followed newspaper accounts about politics at least weekly when they were in Italy, only 16 per cent of Almond and Verba's sample had a similar pattern of newspaper reading (1963: 94). Further, while 66 per cent of the Almond-Verba Italians never talked politics with other people, 62 per cent of the Brisbane sample never talked about politics to family members in Italy, and a slightly lower proportion (52 per cent) never talked about politics with their friends or workmates.

When active participation is considered it becomes virtually impossible to make meaningful comparisons between Italian immigrant and non-immigrant groups. To a certain extent this is due to the unreliability of survey material on political participation and voting among Italians. But equally important is the fact that most studies of political participation among Italians use different measures of political activity from those used in the Brisbane study.

Although there are considerable difficulties in making any firm statement, comparisons of the Brisbane and Italian studies do not lend weight to McDonald's contention (1956) that the more politically conscious peasants and labourers have tended to stay in Europe in order to be politically participant. Nor does the Brisbane

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4 Barnes (1967: 27) has pointed out that due to the refusal of many respondents to divulge their party identification or participatory behaviour in Italy, data about who votes for whom and who participates in what in Italy are limited and should be used with caution. See also Chapter 7 in the present work.

5 For example, Cantril (1962) found that 15% of a sample of industrial Italian workers had great interest in politics, 55% had only a little interest and 30% didn't know. It is difficult to compare his measure of participation with any of the ones used in the present study.
Table 5.03 *Comparison of immigrants’ participation in Britain or Italy with that in Australia (%)*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Passive participation</th>
<th>Active participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More participant in country of origin</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No change in participation</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More participant in Australia</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

inquiry show that the less politically conscious have left their native land to settle overseas; in this sample of immigrants there is no evidence to suppose that Italians emigrating to Australia have been any more or less participant than their countrymen who have stayed in Italy.

**Comparison of participation in country of origin and Australia**

Tables 5.01 and 5.02 allow us to compare the participatory habits of our immigrant groups in their country of origin and in Australia. The answers to individual questions in the tables, however, do not in any systematic way allow us to estimate the proportion of Italian or British immigrants who participated more, or less, in Australia relative to their participation in Italy or Britain. Clearly, the material needs reorganisation.

An appropriate measure—referred to here as a ‘difference’ measure of political participation—was therefore created and the results set out in Table 5.03.

A comparison of British with Italian differences yields interesting results. Considering passive participation, it is apparent that in general the Italians are more participant in Australia than they were in Italy. In contrast, the majority of the British immigrants examined were more participant back in Britain. While the absolute level of Italian passive participation may be lagging behind that of the British immigrants, for a substantial proportion political interest has increased after the Italians moved to their new home in the Antipodes.

Though many of the Italians have increased their rate of following and talking about politics while in Australia, few are willing
to translate words into action: in short, to join political parties, take part in political campaigns or indulge in other forms of active political participation in their new land. Nine out of every ten interviewed did not, in fact, change their level of active participation after moving from Italy to Australia. Of the British immigrants roughly a third were more politically active in Britain, a third had not changed in the amount of their active participation, while a quarter had, relative to their behaviour in Britain, become more politically active since coming to Australia.

Changing patterns of participation
Although the difference measure of political participation reveals the proportion of immigrants who change their pattern of behaviour when moving from country of origin to country of adoption, it does not tell us much about the direction and degree of change. For example, the difference measure does not tell us whether the high participants in Italy remained high in Australia or whether they have become medium or low participators. We do not know either, whether the low participators in Italy have remained low in Australia or whether a proportion have become medium or perhaps even high participators in Australia.

The passive and active scales relating to country of origin were divided into two or three, with exactly the same cut-off points to form high, medium, or low categories as before. This enables us not only to calculate the percentage of high, medium, and low participators in the country of origin but also to relate these levels to corresponding levels in Australia. We are in a position, in other

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6 Twelve per cent of the sample did change their level of active participation but changes over the difference scale were extremely small. For example, of the twenty-two respondents who were more active in Italy, fifteen of them deviated by only one scale point from the zero or no change position. Three out of the four respondents who were more active in Australia deviated similarly by only one scale unit.

7 Item homogeneity for passive political participation scales for country of origin was tested by calculating item by total score correlations. The resulting coefficients showed that, statistically, reliable measures of passive participation in country of origin had been formed.

8 It will be remembered that one of the four criteria used to select cut-off points for the scales was that comparisons would be possible between high, medium and low participation levels in Australia with corresponding levels in country of origin.
words, to see whether the political ‘drop-outs’ in Britain or Italy have remained the same in Australia and whether the participatory ‘gladiators’ in the two countries have continued to fight in the political arena in their new land. Table 5.04 presents the results.

It is clear that participation in Australia is, to a considerable extent, associated with participation in Britain, although the relationship is by no means a complete one. There are substantial proportions of immigrants who were, for example, high passive participators in Britain but low participators in Australia. The table reveals four ‘types’: the ‘continuous drop-outs’, the ‘upwardly mobile participators’, the ‘downwardly mobile participators’ and the ‘continuous gladiators’. The ‘continuous drop-outs’ are those immigrants who were low participators in Australia as well as in Britain, while ‘continuous gladiators’ are those who have been high or medium political participators in Australia as well as being high or medium in Britain. The other two categories represent, on the one hand, persons who have moved up one of the participatory categories in Australia relative to their position in Britain (the upwardly mobile participators) and on the other those who have moved down one or more levels in Australia in comparison with their level in Britain (the downwardly mobile participators). Table 5.05 summarises the situation.

The pattern is clear: a substantial proportion of the British, for both passive and active participation, fall into the downwardly mobile type. Since coming to Australia their level of passive and active participation has dropped either from a high level to a medium or low level or from a medium to a low level. A proportion (14 per cent in the passive scale, 23 per cent on the active)
### Table 5.05 Proportion of British respondents of each participatory type*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participatory type</th>
<th>Level in Britain compared with level in Australia</th>
<th>Passive $N$</th>
<th>Active $N$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>Low to low</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile participators</td>
<td>Low to medium</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low to high</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium to high</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile participators</td>
<td>High to medium</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium to low</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High to low</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous gladiators</td>
<td>High to high</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium to medium</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>223</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* While it would have been useful to keep each level as a separate category (i.e. high to medium, medium to low etc.) numbers were too small for analysis purposes to warrant doing this. Thus, for example, the medium to medium level has been combined with the high to high level to form one type—the continuous gladiators.

### Table 5.06 Relationship of low, medium and high passive participatory levels in Italy with corresponding levels in Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation in Australia</th>
<th>Passive participation in Italy</th>
<th>Active participation in Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low $N$</td>
<td>Medium $N$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

have, since coming to Australia, moved from a low level to a medium or high level in Australia or from a medium to a high level: these are the upwardly mobile participators. Seventeen per cent of the sample on the passive measure and 27 per cent on the active scale are 'continuous drop-outs' while 29 per cent and 18 per cent of the sample are respectively passive and active 'continuous gladiators'. Let us turn now to the Italian sample.

As with British immigrants, Table 5.06 reveals that participation in Australia for the Italians is, to a certain extent, associated with participatory behaviour in Italy. There are, however, political deviates—those, for example, who had low levels of participation in Italy yet had reached relatively high participatory heights in Aus-
Table 5.07 Proportion of Italian respondents of each participatory type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participatory type</th>
<th>Level in Italy compared with level in Australia</th>
<th>Passive $N$</th>
<th>Passive %</th>
<th>Active $N$</th>
<th>Active %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>Low to low</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile participators</td>
<td>Low to medium</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low to high</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium to high</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>High to medium</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participators</td>
<td>Medium to low</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High to low</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous gladiators</td>
<td>High to high</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium to medium</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>225</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Italians interviewed were divided into the four types as shown in Table 5.07.

Considering passive participation, 30 per cent of the Italians are ‘continuous drop-outs’ and the same proportion are ‘upwardly mobile’. Twenty-eight per cent are ‘continuous gladiators’ and the remaining 12 per cent are ‘downwardly mobile’. On the active measure, as would be expected from previous results, the vast majority (85 per cent) are ‘continuous drop-outs’, 9 per cent are ‘downwardly mobile’, and the remainder of the sample are split between the ‘upwardly mobile’ and the ‘continuous gladiators’.

The next problem is to assess the factors responsible for making immigrants more or less politically active after migration. This, like so many matters of social change, is an exceedingly difficult one to tackle. This is so partly because ‘causal’ statements in the social sciences have to be made with extreme caution; partly because in a survey of this type the dynamic elements of participatory change cannot be exhaustively examined because of the lack of information about past experiences and behaviour, and partly because of the dearth of exploratory investigations into changing immigrant participation patterns. While many studies have shown that political participation is largely a function of sociological and demographic factors (age, sex etc.), few have attempted to relate these to changing levels of participation over time.

9 The American literature on correlates of political participation has been adequately summarised by Milbrath (1965). Milbrath’s findings are in substantial agreement with those of equivalent European studies (see, for example, Lipset, 1960) and Australian studies (see Wilson and Western, 1969).
This study, as a preliminary first step, then attempted to look for some of the factors responsible for changing political participation patterns. With the survey results available (particularly those dealing with sociological and demographic characteristics) and with skilful interviewing, it was possible to obtain flashes of insight into the factors responsible for political change. Initially, all information about social characteristics was related to the participatory types. This painstaking but necessary task revealed that only a small number of what are called sociological and demographic factors were useful in an understanding of changing patterns of participation. I do not consider these the only factors relevant in explaining political changes, although they do appear to be important in the context of the present study. But they serve as the basis for future research involving larger samples and more refined analysis. Let us, then, consider some of these factors (particularly period of residence in Australia) significant in understanding the changing patterns of political participation among post-war British immigrants.

Factors affecting participatory change among British immigrants

There are several a priori grounds for suspecting that the number of years an immigrant spends in Australia strongly influences his political participation. Years in Australia, for example, affect substantially the satisfaction and identification the immigrant has with his adopted land—a point explored in more detail in the next chapter. This and other considerations imply that on arrival in Australia the new settler is more concerned with establishing himself in his new country—obtaining accommodation, getting a job and so on—than in interesting himself in things political. One suspects, therefore, that those respondents who have been in this country for relatively short periods of time are more likely to reduce their level of political activity than long-term residents.

10 Over twenty sociological and demographic variables (age, education, religion, etc.) were related to the participatory types. See Appendix A, which lists the demographic questions asked in the survey, for an indication of the material collected and analysed.

11 For brevity, and because few Italians were either downwardly or upwardly actively mobile participators, the discussion for both British and Italian immigrants has been limited to passive participation. Unless otherwise stated it can, however, safely be assumed that the trends reported and the conclusions reached generally hold for the active dimension as well.
Table 5.08 Number of years British respondents have lived in Australia, by changing patterns of political participation (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>Years in Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.08 appears to support this supposition. Those who have been over ten years in Australia are far more likely to be upwardly mobile participators than are those who have spent lesser periods of residence in Australia. Even more dramatic, perhaps, is the fact that the immigrants with shorter periods of residence in Australia are much more likely to be downwardly mobile participators than those with longer periods of residence. Sixty-five per cent of those with less than one year’s residence in Australia have been downwardly mobile as against 19 per cent of those with over ten years’ residence.

But is the effect of years in Australia on changing political participation patterns perhaps confounded with the effects of age? Are those who have been in Australia for periods of over ten years simply older? Age, as we know from other studies, is an important factor in political participation (see Milbrath, 1965). When related to the ‘mobile’ participatory types, however, few differences emerged between the younger and older persons interviewed. What is needed is a combined analysis relating age and number of years spent in Australia to passive participation, as is presented in Table 5.09. This reveals considerable differences between the immigrants with relatively short as against those with relatively long periods of residence in Australia. Specifically, the table shows quite clearly that both the younger and older British immigrants are more likely to be upwardly mobile participators if they have been in Australia over ten years. In the younger age group only 11 per cent with less than ten years’ residence in Australia were upwardly mobile participators, as against 40 per cent of those who had spent over ten
Table 5.09 Passive political participation of British respondents according to age and number of years in Australia (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>Younger (aged 18-40)</th>
<th>Older (aged over 40)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>Over 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10 Passive political participation of British respondents according to age they left Britain (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>15-29 years</th>
<th>30 years and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>Over 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

years in Australia. In the older age group the situation was similar, the equivalent figures being 3 per cent and 24 per cent. Equally impressive is the fact that in both age groups those who had shorter periods of residence in Australia were more likely than those with longer periods to be downwardly mobile participators. Clearly, then, it appears that the number of years spent in Australia is an important contributory factor in changing an immigrant's political participation. This finding was reinforced by analysis of other factors. For example, when the age at which the immigrant left Britain and the number of years he spent in Australia were related to the participatory types, years of residence in Australia again appeared to have a significant effect on mobile participators, as Table 5.10 shows.
Generally, those who had left Britain while relatively young were more likely than those who had left at a relatively late age to be upwardly mobile participators. However, as Table 5.10 indicates, in both 'age left Britain' categories, those who had spent relatively long periods of residence in Australia were more likely to be upwardly mobile participators, and conversely less likely to be downwardly mobile, than those who had only been in this country for a short period.

This does not conclusively demonstrate that period of residence in Australia 'causes' the immigrant to change his level of participation. Common sense dictates, however, and more pertinently many of the immigrants' spontaneous comments reveal, that a certain period of residence in Australia is necessary before at least some of the British immigrants increase their level of participation relative to what it was back in Britain. Intuitively we suspect that those who have spent a relatively long time in Australia and are upwardly mobile are immigrants who are reasonably assimilated into Australian society. Conversely, those who have been in Australia for a relatively short period of time and are downwardly mobile participators are those who have not had time to assimilate into the host society. Political participation, perhaps, is a luxury which increases or decreases according to how satisfied or assimilated one is in the adopted country. Satisfaction and assimilation in turn take time to achieve. But so far this is only conjecture.

So much, then, for the immigrant who changes his pattern of participation in Australia relative to his behaviour in Britain. Does, however, length of time in Australia help to explain 'gladiatorial' and 'drop-out' political activity? Considering the gladiators first, Table 5.08 shows that a greater proportion of respondents who had spent over four years in Australia were gladiators than were immigrants with less than four years' residence. However, a more refined analysis (Tables 5.09 and 5.10) shows that this trend was very much confounded with the age of the respondent. The 'continuous drop-outs' present a somewhat different problem. Table 5.08 suggests that the proportion of 'continuous drop-outs' does not differ according to varying periods of residence in Australia. Reversing the table we see that 35 per cent of the 'continuous drop-outs' had spent three years or less in Australia, 26 per cent had spent between four and ten years while 39 per cent had spent over
ten years. This pattern contrasts sharply with that of the mobile participators and the gladiators.

In comparison with the mobile participators then, length of residence in Australia is of little use in explaining gladiatorial and drop-out political activity. What appears to be important in explaining the behaviour of British immigrants at the extremes of the participatory hierarchy is the occupation of the head of household. Generally, the gladiators were more likely than the other three participatory types to come from the top of the occupational hierarchy while the continuous drop-outs were more likely to come from the bottom. For example, 33 per cent of the gladiators had, while in Britain, professional or managerial jobs as against 8 per cent of the continuous drop-outs, 16 per cent of the upwardly mobile participators, and 13 per cent of the downwardly mobile participators. Conversely, 26 per cent of the continuous drop-outs had unskilled occupations as against 13 per cent in each of the other three participatory types. Occupation failed to distinguish the upwardly from the downwardly mobile participators with both groups generally coming from the middle of the occupational continuum.

These trends suggest that the gladiators, because they are more likely to come from high socio-economic groups, continue to battle in their new country's political arena almost as soon as they arrive. We know from many studies that no matter how socio-economic status is measured, persons of high status are more likely to participate in politics than persons of lower status. Years of residence in Australia, and also the level of assimilation, are not as important for the gladiators as for the mobile participators. Similarly, the continuous drop-outs, because they come from relatively low occupational groups, continue to show little interest in politics in their new land regardless of the number of years they have spent in Australia or the degree to which they have become assimilated into the host society.

12 If the respondent was not the head of the household (i.e. a wife), the head of the household's occupation was used to categorise each immigrant into one of Zubrzycki's occupational categories. See Appendix B, table VI.

13 Milbrath (1965: 114-28) adequately summarises the studies relating socio-economic status to political participation. Of direct relevance to this study is the fact that professional persons are the most likely to get involved in politics. Gladiators, it will be remembered, had a relatively high proportion of their number who had professional jobs. See also Buck (1963).
Table 5.11 Number of years Italian respondents have lived in Australia, by changing patterns of passive political participation (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>1 or less</th>
<th>1 to 3</th>
<th>4 to 10</th>
<th>Over 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above arguments obviously have to be treated with some caution. There is always a danger of interpreting behavioural changes over time, when the survey itself was conducted at only one point of time. The changes suggested so far, however, deserve further consideration.

Factors affecting participatory change among Italian immigrants

The British results suggest that length of residence in Australia is one of the most important factors determining the direction of participatory change. With the Italians there are even more reasons to suspect that this is important. The Italian, as was shown in Chapter 2, is generally cynical towards the political system and to a considerable extent removed from it. On arrival in Australia he may well have no reason to suspect that the host country's political institutions are any less corrupt, any less bureaucratic than the ones he left behind in his native land. But what happens when he has spent a few years in his adopted country? Does he become less cynical towards politics and politicians? Does this, in turn, lead him to become more interested in politics? More important is the fact that the Italian immigrant is almost entirely motivated during his first few years in Australia to establish economic security for himself and his family. Let us imagine that after a few years he manages to achieve what for him is a satisfactory level of security. Does he then have the time and, perhaps, the interest to follow other activities?

The data in Table 5.11 are impressive: with one exception (between 4 and 10 years in Australia) those with longer periods of
Table 5.12 Passive political participation of Italian respondents according to age (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>21-29</th>
<th>30-44</th>
<th>45 and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.13 Passive political participation of Italian respondents according to age and number of years in Australia (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>Younger Years in Australia</th>
<th>Older Years in Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 to 10 Over 10</td>
<td>0 to 10 Over 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>37 28</td>
<td>20 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>16 48</td>
<td>15 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>18 3</td>
<td>45 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>29 22</td>
<td>20 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 101</td>
<td>100 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>81 80</td>
<td>20 44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Residence in this country are likely to have more upwardly mobile participators among their number than those with shorter periods of residence. Only 18 per cent of those with one year or less in Australia are upwardly mobile participators as against 41 per cent of those who have been in this country for over ten years. The same trend, but in reverse, is apparent when number of years in Australia is related to downward mobility.

Age (perhaps a mediating variable in the length of residence by participation relationship) was cross-tabulated with the participatory types, and the results presented in Table 5.12.

Age appears to relate to participatory change but the effect is not nearly as strong as that produced by length of residence. What is needed, then, is a combined analysis relating age and number of years spent in Australia to passive participation, as presented in Table 5.13.
As was the case with British, both the young and old Italian immigrants are more likely to be upwardly mobile participators the longer they spend in Australia. When the age at which the immigrant left Italy and the number of years he had spent in Australia were related to the participatory types the same sort of relationship was shown.

These trends, together with the immigrants' own comments and the interviewers' observations, make it reasonably apparent that length of residence in Australia significantly affects the way in which the Italian immigrants have changed their pattern of political participation. Both the upwardly and downwardly mobile participators come mainly from the lower part of the occupational hierarchy. Their first few years in Australia, it seems, are taken up in satisfying their housing and occupational needs. Their singularly determined efforts to acquire a foothold in their new land push aside all political interest. They become, in fact, less interested in passively participating in politics than they were back in Italy. It is only when they satisfy their material needs, and even identify with Australian society, that they spend time following politics in newspapers, talking about politics with their friends, and engaging in other forms of passive participation.

Problems arise, however, when attempts are made to interpret gladiatorial and drop-out political activity. Considering the gladiators first, a greater proportion of their number come from relatively high status levels than is the case with the continuous drop-outs. For example, 11 per cent of the Italian gladiators were from professional and managerial occupations as against 4 per cent of the continuous drop-outs. At the other extreme of the occupational ladder 21 per cent of the gladiators were unskilled workers as against 40 per cent of the continuous drop-outs. Generally gladiators tended to come from high status levels (relative that is to the continuous drop-outs) while the drop-outs tended to congregate at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. Relative to the other two groups, both mobile participators came from the middle of the occupational hierarchy. Higher status immigrants, it has been suggested, are more likely to continue their high level of political activity regardless of the number of years they have spent in their new land.

Table 5.11 appears to support this interpretation of gladiatorial
political activity. Reversing the table, it is apparent that of the gladiators 45 per cent had spent less than ten years in Australia with the remainder having spent over ten years. Equivalent figures on the other hand for the downward participators were 89 per cent and 11 per cent, while of the upwardly mobile participators 24 per cent had spent less than ten years in Australia and the remainder over ten years. However, the argument is not as convincing as for British gladiators; Table 5.13 shows that the proportion of Italian gladiators varies according to different periods of residence of younger and older Italian respondents. Clearly, other factors, at this stage unknown, are responsible for maintaining high participatory levels.

The Italian continuous drop-outs are more likely than the other three participatory types to come from low occupational levels. The educational level of this group was also considerably less than that of gladiators or mobile participators. Low status immigrants, it has been suggested, continue their political inactivity in Australia unaffected by the number of years they have spent in their new land. Length of residence in the host society, and even the amount of assimilation into that society, do not affect the political activity of those who come from the bottom of the status hierarchy—they remain political drop-outs regardless. The survey supports this interpretation: 48 per cent of the continuous drop-outs had spent less than ten years in Australia while approximately the same proportion (51 per cent) had been in this country for ten years or more. As with the gladiators, this relationship is confounded with the age of the respondent (see Table 5.13) and thus the interpretation given for Italian drop-out activity should be accepted with some caution. The interpretation does serve, though, as a working hypothesis worthy of further consideration.

14 The cut-off points chosen to make comparisons (less than ten years' residence and over ten years' residence) were picked because roughly half the Italian sample had spent less than ten years in Australia while the other half had spent ten years or more.

15 Italian respondents generally, and Italian gladiators specifically, had lower occupational levels than did British respondents. It is therefore not surprising that the argument advanced to explain Italian gladiatorial behaviour is not as strong as the equivalent argument for British gladiators.

16 These percentages are obtained by reversing the dependent and independent variables examined in Table 5.11 so that the participatory types become the independent variables.
So far our discussion of immigrant political behaviour has concentrated on how characteristics such as period of residence in Australia and occupation relate to political participation. While this exercise in itself does much to explain patterns of political participation, political behaviour must be studied within a broader social framework. First, the adaptation of the individual to his environment plays a large part in determining, channelling, and confining his pattern of political participation (see, especially, Almond and Verba, 1963). Secondly, the way in which British and Italian immigrants adapt or assimilate to their new environment very greatly affects the validity of the arguments advanced so far to explain the four types of political participation. For example, we have shown that upward political mobility is more pronounced after a period of years in Australia, and we have assumed that this is because the immigrant spends his first few years 'assimilating'. This could arise if among the upwardly mobile participators a higher proportion are 'assimilated' into Australian society while among the downwardly mobile the reverse is true. This possibility requires empirical testing.

It is first necessary, however, to consider the concept of assimilation and to describe the measures of assimilation used in this investigation, and also the levels of satisfaction and identification with the new land. We may then discuss how satisfaction and identification—two measures of assimilation—relate to participation, and then examine other measures of assimilation, such as clubs and organisations belonged to, naturalisation intentions, and birthplace of wife or husband. Finally, a tentative model of immigrant political participation is presented.
The meaning and measurement of assimilation

In the present work the term 'assimilation' has been frequently employed. Other writers, as Taft (1965: 4) has pointed out, prefer alternative terms such as accommodation, adaptation, amalgamation, absorption and integration. The meaning of the term 'assimilation' is complex and varied. It is complex because, as Martin (1965: 10) has shown, it can refer to individuals or groups, to the process of immigrant adaptation or to the final result of that process. Price has pointed out, in detail, the variety of ways in which the term is used by different scholars and there is little point in sketching, in this book, the numerous studies he has summarised so aptly (Price, 1966). While a full-scale theory of assimilation would need to embrace the various dimensions of the term isolated by many scholars it seems fair to say that assimilation refers to the process by which an immigrant adapts himself to life in a new country,1 to the culture and skills of the host country, to the pattern of social and group relations, to the new country as a reference group, and so on. The methods of classifying the ways in which an immigrant can adapt or assimilate to the host country are varied;2 the one used in this work may be called the satisfaction-identification and acculturation typology. Assimilation, under this typology, involves the satisfaction an immigrant has with his life in Australia, his identification with the host country and his acculturation (acquisition of language and general behaviour patterns and beliefs of the new community).

The breakdown of assimilation into these three dimensions is illustrated by the work of psychologists, Richardson and Taft.3 Richardson has applied his typology to the study of British immi-

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1 Martin (1965: 10) takes a similar position when discussing the concept. Martin correctly points out that the term is also applied to the fundamental social process by which individuals become incorporated into new groups or groups merge into other groups. However, common practice justifies the use of the term without specification of the particular case. See Park and Burgess (1921).

2 Price (1966) discusses in detail formal theories of assimilation and methods of classifying such behaviour.

3 Richardson's works are too numerous to be listed in a footnote. A convenient summary of his typology is, however, presented in Richardson (1960: 33-40). See also Richardson (1961b: 1-75). Like Richardson, Taft's works are numerous—the most important ones are listed in the bibliography. A particularly important summary of Taft's typology though, illustrating how it has evolved, is found in Taft (1965).
grants while Taft, with a more elaborate theory of immigrant assimilation, has tested the satisfaction-identification-acculturation notion with a variety of immigrant groups in Western Australia. Ruth Johnston, while not using the same terms as Richardson and Taft, adopts a similar framework. She has pointed out that assimilation has been conventionally conceived in terms of diminution of differences between immigrants and members of the receiving community. Indeed, some have believed that as soon as an immigrant learns the language of the host community with a certain degree of proficiency and adopts the mode of dress or acquires the nationality of the new group he is, in fact, assimilated. Johnston calls this pattern of adaptation *external assimilation*, as it refers to the outward manner of the immigrant, and distinguishes it from *subjective assimilation*, which is the immigrant's psychological identification with Australians in areas which initially set him apart—whether or not he prefers to mix with members of the host society, prefers Australian food and so on.

Johnston's distinction between external and subjective assimilation has much in common with the Taft-Richardson approach, as her subjective assimilation is akin to their identification; likewise various measures that Johnston employs in gauging external assimilation are similar to those used by Taft and Richardson to measure what they call acculturation (see Taft, 1965: 37).

Before turning to the rationale for using the Taft-Richardson-Johnston framework in the present study it might be as well to mention the problems involved in the measurement of assimilation. To begin with, how assimilation is measured depends to a considerable extent on the orientation of the scholar. As Price (1966: A7) has shown, the economist tends to measure assimilation with reference to job opportunities, opportunities for investment and saving and other economic indices. The sociologist uses measures such as the availability and location of housing while the political scientist measures assimilation by the willingness and ability of immigrants to join native political organisations. More pertinently, however, is the fact that the literature on both the concept and the measurement of assimilation ranges from impressionistic sketches to

4 Johnston (1965). More recently she has applied the concepts of external or subjective assimilation to the problem of cultural conflict. See Taft and Johnston (1967) and Johnston (1968).
methods requiring the use of advanced statistical techniques. Examples of the more impressionistic approach can be seen in the work of such scholars as Child (1943), Cirtautas (1957), Eisenstadt (1954), Wentholt (1957), Kosa (1957), and others. In Australia the more intuitive method has recently been used by Martin (1965) and Price who, in the words of the latter, 'examine differences [in migrant behaviour] to see whether any pattern intrudes itself, and then divide the total area into what seems to be the distinctive types or stages' (1966: A54).

In sharp contrast to this intuitive or subjective approach are the behavioural methods adopted by Richardson, Johnston, Taft and others (conveniently summarised by Taft, 1965). The behaviourists' methods range from analysis of behaviour and attitudinal data using simple statistical techniques such as chi-square and t-tests to the more sophisticated but time-consuming factor analytic approach relating hundreds of variables together from which it is hoped to discover underlying dimensions or factors of the assimilation process.

Those who adopt the intuitive more anthropological approach consider that the methods, and the assimilation types that are generated from complex statistical analyses, oversimplify the diversity and complexity of the assimilation process. Martin (1965: 109), for example, thinks that Taft's and Richardson's methods give 'such a meagre and unsatisfying impression of the substance of immigrant thinking and activity that the theoretical arguments are less convincing than they might be'. Price (1966: A48) similarly implies the same sort of criticism when he states that sometimes 'the psychologist may well be becoming too abstract in his thinking as well as in his presentation'.

The behaviourists, on the other hand, and particularly the social psychologists, point to the subjectivity and unreliability of the intuitive approach. It is extremely difficult to verify the findings of an investigator when the anthropological or historical frame of reference which he or she uses is implicit, hidden often only in his mind and therefore not replicable. The empirical social scientist, striving as he usually does for reliable measures, is frequently suspicious of the sometimes poetic descriptions of the anthropologist and historian.

In obtaining measures of assimilation, I have tended generally to
use objective behavioural indices and, more specifically, adopted the framework used by the psychologists Taft and Richardson. While recognising the objections raised by Price and Martin to the Taft-Richardson measures, I believe they offer, at least in the context of the present study, the following advantages:

1. The measures and dimensions they lead to have been tested with a wide variety of immigrant groups in Australia. They allow, therefore, comparisons to be made between British and Italian immigrants in Brisbane and corresponding groups in other parts of the country.5

2. The conceptual scheme outlined by Taft, Richardson and, to a lesser extent, Johnston, has probably been tested in Australia (and to some extent verified) more than any other assimilation classification scheme.

3. As much as was possible the writer wanted to relate objective scales of assimilation to the measures of participation already formed. The Taft-Richardson framework allowed for the possibility of constructing such scales.

In the present study, items used to measure assimilation were classified as measuring either satisfaction, identification or acculturation. The items used were a mixture of ones created by the Western Australian psychologists and original items specifically constructed for the present project. All questions were thoroughly tested in the pilot study (see Chapter 3) and, as a result of pre-testing, modifications were made in the main investigation.6

In the statistical analysis undertaken (and described more fully in Appendix B), two groups or 'clusters' of items emerged. The first cluster was as follows:

5 Although the Taft-Richardson scales have been tested with a considerable number of immigrant groups, sample sizes have often been small and sometimes unrepresentative of urban populations. The present study attempts to measure assimilation in Australia with relatively large and fairly representative samples of British and Italian post-war immigrants living in a major Australian city.

6 The fourteen British and seventeen Italian questions are presented in Appendix A. Responses over all questions are not represented in the book although results are given for those questions which formed the final measures used in the study; see Tables 6.01 and 6.02. The assimilation scales in this study generated a wealth of useful information on immigrant adjustment to Australian society, much of which is beyond the scope of the present book. It is hoped that later publications will discuss in more detail the assimilation scales and the results that flowed from them.
1. Satisfaction with present accommodation.
2. Satisfaction with (husband's) job.
4. Happiness in Australia relative to happiness in country of origin.
5. Desire to spend rest of life in Australia.

It can be seen from the above list that all five items refer to a feeling of satisfaction with life in Australia—satisfaction with one's job, accommodation, and general standard of living—or involve the immigrant's attempt to obtain security for himself and his family; this, as suggested earlier, is one of the basic dimensions of the assimilation process. This dimension is best described as satisfaction with life in Australia.

The other items obtained from the analysis are a mixture of what Richardson (1960: 34-5) has referred to as identification and acculturation items. The items that follow all indicate, in a general sense, a feeling of identification with Australia:

1. Feels more Australian than British (Italian).
2. Interest in joining ethnic or Australian clubs.
3. Buy British (Italian) or Australian goods.
4. Wanted British (Italian) or Australian team to win.
5. Friends mainly British (Italian) or Australian.

It is interesting to note that what have been called here satisfaction and identification closely approximate two dimensions revealed in other studies of immigrant assimilation. Taft (1965: 70-1), after reviewing the studies on immigrant satisfaction, identification, and acculturation concluded that there are two main assimilation dimensions common to nearly all of the studies carried out. The first he calls primary integration, measured by an immigrant's satisfaction with his life in Australia and his desire to spend the rest of his life in the country; primary integration is very similar to the measure which in this study has been called satisfaction. The second factor he entitles secondary integration; it includes most of the acculturation variables and social participation items. It resembles, broadly speaking, what has been described here as the identification measure.7

7 The differences between satisfaction and identification in the way the terms are used in this study and between Taft's primary and secondary integration are really refinements of the distinction usually made by social psychologists between reference and membership groups (e.g. see Newcomb, 1950: 225).
Besides the satisfaction and identification measures, the present study used three other indices of assimilation useful not only in understanding immigrant adaptation to Australian society but also in interpreting changing patterns of political participation. These were birthplace of the immigrant’s spouse, clubs and organisations to which the immigrant belongs and, in the case of the Italians, attitudes towards naturalisation.

**Assimilation of British and Italian immigrants**

Just how satisfied with their life in Australia are the Italian and British immigrants interviewed? Do these immigrants identify with the host country? Are the post-war British immigrants more assimilated than their Italian counterparts?

Table 6.01 summarises the answers to the relevant questions on satisfaction with life in Australia. It is apparent from the table that most of the British and Italian immigrants interviewed are ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ satisfied with their accommodation, job, and general standard of living in Australia. Indeed, not one Italian interviewed admitted to being ‘very dissatisfied’ with any of these. However, the Italians were not as a group happier with their life in Australia in comparison with their life in Italy, although the majority expressed ‘considerable’ or ‘some’ interest in spending the rest of their life in Australia. The British immigrants interviewed were generally happier in Australia than they were in Britain and desired to remain here. As Table 6.02 shows, however, they did not identify to any great extent with their adopted land. Sixty-five per cent felt more British than Australian and a substantial proportion (34 per cent) would barrack for a British sporting team competing against an Australian team. The Italians showed even less identification: 66 per cent were interested in belonging to Italian clubs and organisations only, and 70 per cent would support an Italian sporting team. Further, substantial proportions of the Italian sample felt ‘more’ or ‘slightly more’ Italian than Australian (48 per cent) and had ‘only’ or ‘mostly’ Italian friends (43 per cent).

For both the Italian and British samples, a score of zero was given for responses expressing no satisfaction or identification with Australia (very dissatisfied with present accommodation etc.) while a score of four was given for those responses expressing considerable
| Table 6.01  | Degree of satisfaction with life in Australia of British and Italian respondents (%) | \[\text{Very satisfied} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[\text{British} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Accommodation</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Job</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Standard of living</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[\text{Much happier} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Happiness with life in Australia</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[\text{Considerable interest} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Interest in spending life in Australia</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.02 Degree of identification with Australia of British and Italian respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>More Australian</th>
<th>More Brit./Ital.</th>
<th>Slightly more Australian</th>
<th>Less Australian</th>
<th>Equal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Feel Australian or British/Italian</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Clubs interested in belonging to</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Goods bought</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Team wanted to win</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Close friends</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.03 Scores concerning satisfaction and identification among British and Italian respondents (%)*

| Group                  | Satisfaction | | Group                  | Identification |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                        | British      | Italian         | British         | Italian         |
| Low (between 0 and 10) | 14           | 10              | 33              | 48              |
| Medium (between 11 and 17) | 41           | 75              | 49              | 46              |
| High (between 18 and 20) | 44           | 15              | 18              | 6               |
| Total                  | 99           | 100             | 100             | 100             |
| Total N                | 223          | 225             | 223             | 225             |

* As with the passive participation scales the cut-off points for satisfaction and identification were selected so that they were the best available given the aims of the scale. These aims included the need to have sufficient numbers in each group for cross-tabulations, the need to have the same points for both ethnic samples, and the need to have meaningful categories. In the table the group labelled low refers to respondents who were dissatisfied or who did not identify with Australian society. Satisfaction or identification with Australia (very satisfied with general standard of living in Australia etc.). The mid-point for each question was two, which was given to those who expressed opinions between the two extremes: a score of one indicated mainly dissatisfaction or lack of identification with Australia while a score of three showed general but not complete satisfaction or identification.

With scores between zero and four over the five questions in each of the two measures, it was possible to obtain a score ranging between zero and twenty. These distributions were then divided into low, medium, and high satisfaction and identification as Table 6.03 indicates. We can readily determine from the table the level of satisfaction and identification of the two ethnic groups. As can be seen, there are quite substantial differences between them. Table 6.03 reveals that a substantially greater proportion of the British post-war immigrants interviewed can be classified as being highly satisfied with their life in Australia in comparison with the Italian group. This result is not unexpected given other studies of immigrant satisfaction in Australia. For example, Taft's review (1965: 63) of immigrant satisfaction studies shows quite clearly that, generally speaking, the most satisfied immigrants were the Dutch and G.
the British. On the other hand, the Italians were not totally dissatisfied with their life in Australia. Only 10 per cent were classified as low on the satisfaction scale—that is to say dissatisfied with their occupation, their accommodation, and their general material well-being in this country. The vast majority were fairly satisfied with their life in their new land.

On the identification measure, the British immigrants again generally scored higher than the Italians. For example, three times as many British as Italians were classified as being high on the identification measure. Similarly, 48 per cent of the Italians and 33 per cent of the British were low in their attachment to Australia as a country. Despite these differences, the British interviewed cannot really be said to identify to any great extent with their new land. For example, to the question about feeling more British than Australian, 65 per cent stated that they felt more British. Several studies reveal similar results. Daw (quoted in Taft, 1965: 31), for example, in a study of immigrant children in Perth, found that whereas 39 per cent of British children would prefer to live in Australia, 54 per cent would prefer to live in Britain (7 per cent said some other country). Richardson, likewise (1957), found that substantial proportions of the British immigrants he interviewed in Perth would prefer to return to Britain if given the opportunity. However, Taft (1965) points out that, relative to other immigrant groups, the British immigrants investigated have the highest level of identification with Australia.

The present study shows that the British immigrants interviewed are relatively satisfied with their life in Australia and tend to identify themselves with their adopted country, although not totally. The less satisfied and less identified Italian pattern is similar to that obtained by Heiss (1966, also 1964) and Taft (1965).

We now need to ask whether the two measures are related. In this particular survey, are those immigrants who are highly satisfied with their life in Australia also those most likely to identify with their new country, or can an immigrant be satisfied and at the same time not identify with Australia? With the British immigrants it appears that 85 per cent of those who were high or medium on satisfaction were also in the high or medium groups on identification. The Italians showed a similar pattern although the relationship was not as marked.
These results again are similar to those obtained by Richardson\(^8\) for his group of British immigrants and Heiss\(^9\) for his Italians. The evidence, then, not only from the present study but also from other similar investigations, suggests that satisfaction with life in Australia is strongly correlated with identification with Australian society. Conversely, those who are not satisfied with their occupation, income, and similar conditions do not appear to identify with the Australian nation. Taft (1965: 66), then, seems right when he states: ‘Irrespective of the determinants, a fairly high level of satisfaction is required before an immigrant feels identified with his new country’.

Clearly, period of residence is connected with satisfaction and identification in this survey.\(^{10}\) For these immigrants, at least, a certain length of residence in Australia seems necessary before a person considers himself satisfied with his lot in his new land. In addition, those British immigrants who were high on the satisfaction scale were more likely to be married to Australian-born spouses, live in low ethnic density areas, be high on measures of social and economic status, and have left Britain at a relatively young age. And so too with the identification measure.\(^{11}\)

With the Italian sample, the relationships, though present, are not nearly as marked. Those who were most likely to be in the high or medium groups of satisfaction were: married to Australians, in professional or skilled occupations, living in relatively high socioeconomic and low ethnic density areas, and likely to have left Italy while still relatively young. As suspected, there was a strong positive

\(^8\) Richardson's (1960) scales of satisfaction and identification were different from the ones constructed here. However, Richardson found that identification correlated with satisfaction and social and economic adjustment, both of which acted as a prerequisite for identification with Australian society.

\(^9\) Like Richardson's scales, Heiss's (1966) measures of satisfaction and identification are composed of different items than the ones used in the present study. However, the relationship between the two measures was strong. For example, 63.4% of Heiss's Italian respondents who were low on his satisfaction measure were also low on the identification score.

\(^{10}\) Richardson (1960: 37) found a similar relationship between length of residence in Australia and scale position on his assimilation measures.

\(^{11}\) It is beyond the scope of this book to present a detailed analysis and description of the correlates of the assimilation measures. However, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the correlates of satisfaction and identification in the present study approximate those found in other investigations (see Taft, 1965: 64-8).
relationship between length of residence in Australia and satisfaction. No clear-cut relations were found when place of birth in Italy (i.e. South, Central, North Italy, or Sicily), church attendance, educational level or sex were related to satisfaction.

With two notable exceptions the same thing happened when relating these characteristics to identification. Comparing place of birth with identification revealed that those coming from the north of Italy were far more likely to identify with Australian society than those coming from other parts of the country. Relating education to identification suggests that those with at least secondary schooling were also more likely to identify with the host community.

Although most of these relationships approximate those found in other investigations, there are some important and significant exceptions. For example, Heiss (1966: 167, 173) found that southern Italians were generally more satisfied with life in Australia, unlike the present study where no differences in satisfaction between the northern and southern Italians emerged. Similarly, while Heiss found that northerners and southerners did not differ in degree of identification with Australia, clear-cut differences emerged in the present investigation. In part, the discrepancies can be explained by different measures of satisfaction and identification and, in part, by the different samples used. Heiss limited his investigation to the fathers of sixth and seventh graders in Perth schools, whereas the present sample was drawn from all post-war Italians living in the Brisbane area. It is clear that further work is needed on the relationship between satisfaction and identification and place of origin in Italy, work which specifically explores differences between subgroups originating in different parts of Italy.

Naturalisation, birthplace of spouse, and club and organisation membership were the three other measures of assimilation found to be important in understanding changing patterns of political participation. Considering first the immigrant’s spouse, analysis revealed that those who had married Australians were generally more satisfied and identified more with Australian society than respondents who had a British or Italian-born spouse. Similarly, immigrants who belonged to clubs generally, and to ‘native’ Australian clubs specifically, were more likely to score high on the satisfaction and identification measures than immigrants who did not, or who only belonged to ethnic-based organisations. The rela-
tionship between these two measures of assimilation and political participation will be discussed later in this chapter.

Turning finally to naturalisation, many writers, on theoretical grounds, deny that it has any significance for assimilation. Jones (1967), for example, argues that naturalisation, involving as it does a political-legal action which has different consequences for each ethnic group, is not an adequate index of assimilation. Gessain and Doré (1946) provide a similar argument. On the other hand, scholars such as Fields (1938) and Poignant (1949) take the opposite view and argue that an immigrant's willingness to become naturalised is an index of his overall assimilation. In Australia, empirical investigations relating naturalisation to assimilation present conflicting results. Martin, in her study of displaced persons in Australia (1965: 74), found that of the people she interviewed who became naturalised within the minimum time, all except one had above average scores on her identification with Australia index. Taft (1961) found that naturalisation intentions proved to be closely related to identification scores for Dutch immigrants, but in his general review of the Western Australian studies (1966: 74) points out that naturalisation has only a limited effect on assimilation.

The present study found that amongst the Italians, naturalised immigrants were far more likely to identify with Australian society than eligible Italians who had not been naturalised, but were not more satisfied with their life in Australia. Specifically, only 33 per cent of those who were naturalised were classified as belonging to the low identification group, as against 60 per cent of those who were eligible for naturalisation but who had not yet taken out Australian citizenship. No such trend emerged when naturalisation was related to satisfaction.

When questioned about their reasons for seeking Australian citizenship, respondents replied with a variety of explanations, for example, so that they could work permanently in the public service, or because they thought they could then get government pensions or else obtain bank loans. Few became naturalised because they identified strongly with their new land. However, many comments made by the Italians interviewed suggested that naturalisation led to increased identification with Australia. After naturalisation these immigrants considered that the act of accepting Australian
citizenship committed them and their children to Australia rather than to Italy. There was an almost conscious attempt by the new citizens to rationalise their decision by identifying in a variety of ways with Australian society—one of the ways being to identify politically with their new land.

Satisfaction, identification and political participation
It has been argued throughout the book that mobile political participators are likely to differ in the extent to which they identify and are satisfied with Australian society; the upwardly mobile participators, it was suggested, are likely to identify more strongly and be more satisfied with Australia than the downwardly mobile. Increased political interest, we then argued, was likely only when the immigrant had reached a certain level of assimilation—a process which may take a period of years. On the other hand, those at the extremes of the participatory hierarchy—the continuous drop-outs and the gladiators—are not affected nearly as much as are the mobile participators by either length of residence in Australia or by the degree to which they assimilate into the host society. For these two groups political behaviour is better explained by social status factors, particularly occupation, than by the amount of satisfaction they obtain in Australia or the degree to which they identify with their new land.

These patterns of immigrant behaviour may be summarised in diagrammatic form, as Fig. 1. This means:

1. Immigrants of medium socio-economic status are more likely than those at the extremes of the socio-economic status hierarchy to change their pattern of political participation when moving to a new land.

2. Those immigrants of medium socio-economic status who have only been in Australia for a relatively short period (roughly less than ten years) are generally low in terms of their satisfaction and identification with their adopted country. Their determined efforts to obtain security for themselves and their families, and to identify with Australia, leave them with little time or interest for participating in politics. Consequently, their level of political participation drops below the level they obtained while in their country of origin.

3. After a relatively long period in Australia (roughly ten years
or more) immigrants of medium socio-economic status are likely to be reasonably satisfied with their occupation, housing and general standard of living in their new land. In addition they have come to identify with Australia. Increased satisfaction and identification lead to increased political interest as well as allowing immigrants more time to participate in politics. Consequently, their level of political participation rises above the level obtained while in their country of origin.

4. Respondents of high socio-economic status—those, for example, who have professional or managerial occupations—are likely to be as highly politically participant in Australia as they were in their country of origin.12

5. Respondents of low socio-economic status—those, for example,

12 Lane (1959: 334) has suggested that these characteristics of high prestige jobs facilitate political participation: (1) the development and use of intellectual skills that carry over to politics; (2) opportunity to interact with likeminded others; (3) higher than average stakes in governmental policy; (4) roles on the job that carry over to public service.
who have unskilled or semi-skilled jobs and little education—are likely to be as little interested in politics in Australia as they were in their country of origin. This occurs regardless of how assimilated into Australian society they become.

This, then, is one model of immigrant political behaviour. But what do our data tell us? Do satisfaction, identification, and years spent in Australia relate to the participatory types in the ways suggested in Fig. 1?

We can test our argument in two ways, both of which bear on the level of assimilation reached by the different participatory groups. First, we can see whether our different participatory types have different levels of assimilation. Alternatively, we can see whether those differing in degree of assimilation are likely to exhibit different patterns of political participation. We have settled principally on the second alternative because it relates more readily to the model of immigrant political behaviour summarised in Fig. 1. We begin by first considering the British sample. As in the last chapter, the discussion for both British and Italian immigrants is generally limited to passive participation; this is largely because few Italians fell into either of the two 'mobile' categories of active participation.

It should be noted at this point also that comparing level of assimilation and political participation will not by itself help us to unfold the causal connections; in short, to say what factors 'cause' different patterns of political participation. However, such comparison when considered in conjunction with a general understanding of immigrant behaviour gained through personal observation and experience does help us to suggest a tentative sequence of events leading to different patterns of political participation. The problem in deciding whether assimilation levels relate to political participation is made more complicated by the fact that satisfaction and identification are closely related to length of residence in Australia. Consequently, a three-way comparison is necessary, relating the assimilation levels and period of residence in Australia to the participatory types. We begin the analysis by considering the relationship between satisfaction, years in Australia, and participation.

The relationship is complex. Satisfaction and time in Australia appear to be having a cumulative effect. In the first instance, it is clear that time in Australia is associated with mobile participation,
Table 6.04 Assimilation satisfaction of British respondents by number of years in Australia (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>Low satisfaction</th>
<th>Medium satisfaction</th>
<th>High satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>Over 10</td>
<td>Over 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For in each satisfaction group a downwardly mobile pattern is more common among those who have been in Australia ten years or less and an upwardly mobile pattern is more common among those resident more than ten years. But satisfaction is also important for an upwardly mobile pattern, though only for those who are highly satisfied. At lower levels of satisfaction, time in Australia appears to be the most important factor associated with participation because, for both the low and medium satisfaction groups, there is very little difference between patterns of mobile participation when length of residence is controlled.

For the continuous drop-outs and the gladiators neither time in Australia nor satisfaction appears to be having any systematic effect. There are, of course, differences between levels of satisfaction and periods of residence in Australia for those at the extremes of the participation hierarchy but the differences are not generally as large as for the mobile groups; neither do they form a consistent pattern. What though of the second measure of assimilation, identification?

Quite clearly, as Table 6.05 demonstrates, length of residence in Australia is associated with the mobile patterns of political participation. On the other hand, there is no evidence that identification affects either upward or downward political behaviour when length of residence is controlled. As well, neither length of residence nor identification with Australia distinguishes those at the extremes of the participation hierarchy. Generally the gladiators identify more with Australia than do the continuous drop-outs, but there are some exceptions. For example, in the group who are high on the identi-
Table 6.05  
Assimilation identification of British respondents, by number of years in Australia (%)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>Low identification</th>
<th>Medium identification</th>
<th>High identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>Over 10</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.06  
Assimilation satisfaction of Italian respondents, by number of years in Australia (%)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>Low satisfaction</th>
<th>Medium satisfaction</th>
<th>High satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>Over 10</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fication measure and have spent over ten years in Australia there is the same proportion of drop-outs and gladiators. Further, and as with the satisfaction measure, differences between the two groups at each level of identification and period of residence in Australia do not form any systematic pattern.

We turn our attention now to the Italian respondents. Table 6.06 clearly demonstrates that time in Australia is much more closely associated with mobile participation than is satisfaction. In each satisfaction group a downwardly mobile pattern is more common among those who have been in Australia ten years or less and an upwardly mobile pattern is more common among those resident for more than ten years. Satisfaction, then, does not appear to be an important explanatory variable in interpreting mobile patterns of
Table 6.07  Assimilation identification of Italian respondents, by number of years in Australia (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>Low identification</th>
<th>Medium identification</th>
<th>High identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
<td>Years in Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>Over 10</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

political behaviour. The second measure of assimilation, identification, is considered in Table 6.07.

The relationship between identification, period of residence, and mobile participation is quite complex. Time in Australia is again important for mobile political behaviour but so too is identification. Not one respondent in the high participation group who had spent less than ten years in this country was an upwardly mobile participator, but 50 per cent of those with over ten years' residence were.13 In fact, the differences in the proportion of upwardly mobile participators at the two time periods for the high identification group is far greater than the differences for the corresponding time periods at the other two identification levels. Similarly, downward mobility is clearly associated with identification as there are roughly seventeen times more downwardly mobile participators in the zero to ten year group compared to the over ten year group for those immigrants with low identification. This difference is far greater than that existing for the medium and high groups at each period of residence in Australia level. Finally, and as has been the pattern with the other measures, no systematic trend emerges when either satisfaction (see Table 6.06) or identification (Table 6.07) and time spent in Australia are related to the continuous drop-outs and the gladiators. Relative to the two mobile groups at least, time in Australia and assimilation are not important explanatory factors in interpreting gladiatorial and drop-out activity.

13 With small numbers in the high identification group, trends are obviously tentative.
Quite clearly, then, our model of immigrant political behaviour needs modification. It holds generally for those at the extremes of the participation hierarchy but does not account adequately for mobile behaviour. Upward and downward political behaviour is, it seems, related differently to satisfaction and identification. To complicate matters, both assimilation factors work in different ways with each immigrant group. A modified model of immigrant behaviour is needed, therefore, tentatively to explain immigrant political participation.

Other measures of assimilation and political participation
So far I have employed such standard demographic and sociological measures as socio-economic status, period of residence in Australia, satisfaction and identification with Australia, to explain the behaviour of immigrants who change their patterns of political participation or who maintain the same pattern in their new land as they had in their country of origin. Obviously, many other factors are at work determining the immigrant's political behaviour. Upward political mobility, for example, could be due in part to the immigrant having a politically active neighbour, from working in a politically charged environment, or from countless other causes. In a study such as the present one, necessarily a preliminary investigation, it is only possible to investigate some of the factors associated with political participation. Others will be revealed only by further study, particularly investigations where the dynamic elements of participatory change are not curtailed by lack of data over time. Nevertheless, the present survey generated three additional factors useful in understanding the participatory patterns. These factors—birthplace of immigrant's spouse, naturalisation, and clubs belonged to—deserve more intensive investigation. Let us begin by considering the relationship between the participatory types and the birthplace of the immigrant's spouse.

Among the British sample of upwardly mobile participators, 30 per cent had an Australian-born spouse as against 8 per cent of the downwardly mobile participators, 10 per cent of the continuous drop-outs and 11 per cent of the gladiators. It would appear then that the birthplace of the spouse is importantly related to the pattern of participatory change for British respondents. The Italians
Table 6.08 Naturalisation compared with changing passive participation patterns of Italian respondents (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>Naturalised</th>
<th>Not naturalised but eligible</th>
<th>Not yet eligible</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total N</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

displayed the same pattern. Only 3 per cent of the Italian sample were married to Australian-born spouses but of the seven respondents who were, six were upwardly mobile participators. The same trend emerged when length of residence was controlled. Retrospective questioning of several British and Italian families where the spouse was an Australian suggested to the writer that the spouse determined, to a considerable extent, the increased interest in politics. Hearing or watching the spouse talking or following Australian politics generated interest in the partner sufficient to result in a greater level of involvement than had been displayed before arrival in Australia. In the best tradition of the measles theory of political socialisation, then (see Connell, 1967), political interest is 'caught' through close proximity with a significant other person.

The relationship between the participatory types and naturalisation is illustrated in Table 6.08. The pattern is striking: of those who are naturalised, 41 per cent are upwardly mobile participators while only 2 per cent are downwardly mobile participators. Even when length of time spent in Australia is considered, a marked difference between the two mobile participatory types remains.

Although the data do not allow us to make causal statements, many comments made by our respondents suggested that the act of naturalisation led to increased interest in Australian society. The comments suggested that those who had accepted Australian citizenship identified more than they had prior to naturalisation with Australian society. It was almost as though one concrete political-social action on the part of the immigrants led them to indulge in other political-social activities—namely, following
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Table 6.09 British and Italian respondents’ membership of clubs and organisations in Australia, by changes in passive political participation (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Do not belong to clubs</th>
<th>Total N</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Do not belong to clubs</th>
<th>Total N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belong to clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

politics in newspapers and talking about politics with friends and close relatives.

Turning to the other measure of assimilation investigated, studies demonstrate that participation in voluntary associations is associated with increased political participation even if the associations are, themselves, non-political (Freeman, Novak, and Reeder, 1957; Maccoby, 1958; Wright and Hyman, 1958). This relationship appears to be one that holds for nations with widely different political histories and political institutions. Almond and Verba (1963) found that:

Organizational membership appears to have a cumulative effect . . . Those who belong to an organization show higher political competence than those who are members of no organization but the members of more than one organization show even higher political competence than those whose affiliation is limited to one. And in their political competence multiple members differ from members of a single organization about as much as, if not more than, single members differ from non-members.

Their measures of competence differ from those used in the present study but they can be broadly equated with what here is referred to as participation.

But does the relationship between membership in organisations and political participation, demonstrated so consistently in a variety of nations, occur amongst citizens who have moved from one country to another? Do clubs and organisations assist in the immigrant's political socialisation or, more pertinently perhaps, resocialisation?
British and Italian immigrants were asked the question: ‘Do you belong to any clubs or associations besides trade unions or professional organisations?’ The results of this question cross-tabulated by the passive participatory types are presented in Table 6.09.

For both British and Italian immigrants the downwardly mobile participators are less likely to belong to any clubs or organisations than are the other three participatory types. Similarly, and again for both ethnic samples, the upwardly mobile are more likely to belong to clubs or associations. On the other hand, the high passive participators (the gladiators) do not have a greater proportion of their number belonging to clubs or associations than those who had a relatively low rate of participation back in their country of origin and in their adopted country (the continuous drop-outs).\(^\text{14}\)

One final question remains: does the type of organisation belonged to correlate with participatory changes? Are, for example, the upwardly mobile Italians the ones who belong to clubs with primarily Old Australians as their members or do they belong mainly to ethnic based organisations containing only Italian members?\(^\text{15}\) Immigrants in both samples were asked to list the type and nature of every club they belonged to. Every person was then classified as belonging only to Italian clubs, mainly to Italian clubs, belonging to the same number of Australian as Italian clubs, belonging mainly to Australian clubs or belonging only to Australian clubs. These results were then cross-tabulated against the active and passive participatory types. The number of Italians who belonged to mainly or only Australian clubs was too small to allow valid generalisations to be made but the trends from the analysis revealed that the upwardly mobile Italian participator was less likely than immigrants of the other three participatory types to belong only to Italian clubs and organisations. With the British immigrants, however, the pattern was very clear. Forty-eight per cent of the upwardly mobile passive participators belonged only to

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\(^{14}\) These conclusions are reached by reversing the dependent and independent variables in Table 6.09. When length of residence in Australia was injected into the analysis differences were reduced somewhat, but the same patterns emerged.

\(^{15}\) The importance of studying the immigrant’s group affiliation is emphasised by, among others, Price (1966) and Zubrzycki (1960c: 12-22). Price particularly pleads the case for studying the internal political life of migrant groups and for setting political studies of ethnic groups within the framework of their formal and informal pattern of social relationships.
Australian clubs as against 41 per cent of the gladiators, 26 per cent of the continuous drop-outs, and 22 per cent of the downwardly mobile. The same trend was evident with the active participatory types. While analysis revealed that the differences were in part compounded with time spent in Australia, the type of club belonged to was still strongly related to mobile participation.  

It is apparent, then, that the ethnic nature of the club or organisation is related to the pattern of political participation. Particularly for British immigrants (to a lesser extent with Italians), New Australians who are participating more in politics in their adopted country than they did in their homeland, as well as immigrants who have maintained their high level of participation, are more likely than continuous drop-outs or downwardly mobile participators to belong to at least some 'native' Australian clubs and organisations.

However, the relationship between the type of organisation belonged to and pattern of participation does not seem to be due to the sort of conversation that occurs in the club. Only 1 per cent of the Italians and 3 per cent of the British interviewed admitted to sometimes talking about politics in any of the organisations they belonged to. Unlike other immigrant groups—Greeks and certain other southern European immigrants for example—Italian and British settlers have a rather dull ethnic political group life. Charles Price has observed that the ethnic club lives of other immigrant groups are miniature political systems which enable many of the politically minded to liberate their energies and satisfy their urge for political debate (Price, 1963: 303; see also Davies, 1966).

However, in this study, the effect of belonging to clubs generally, and to Australian clubs specifically, on political participation is due not so much to the activities that occur in the clubroom but more to the overall feeling of identity with Australia that comes with belonging to a club. This feeling of identification with the new society spreads over to Australian politics in which the respondent begins to take an increased interest. The effect of belonging to clubs and organisations, according to my observations

10 These results come from the answers to Questions 40, 45 and 46 in the questionnaire. They are also supported by my own personal observations in club premises.
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and experience, is very similar to the effects of taking out Australian citizenship and, like the latter factor, only affects those respondents who change their pattern of political participation. Gladiators and continuous drop-outs, coming as they do respectively from high and low socio-economic levels, are not affected by such factors as naturalisation intentions, birthplace of spouse, or type of organisation belonged to. For that matter, as we have seen, their political behaviour is not closely related to their degree of satisfaction and identification with Australian society.

A model of immigrant political participation
A consideration of the relationship between assimilation, time in Australia, and patterns of political participation has made it necessary to modify the model of immigrant political participation presented in Fig. 1. A more realistic model of immigrant political behaviour should consider the connections between satisfaction and identification and British and Italian mobile political participation. Such a model is presented in Fig. 2.

The model, of course, is tentative, needing further empirical investigation. In my own opinion, however, it represents fairly adequately the results analysed in the present investigation. The actual causal sequence involved in immigrant political behaviour is difficult to establish definitively; but a consideration of the survey material, together with my own experiences and observations of post-war British and Italian immigrants, suggests that their political participation, schematically shown in Fig. 2, can best be described as follows.

1. Immigrants of medium socio-economic status are more likely than those at the extremes of the status hierarchy to change their pattern of political participation when moving to a new land.

2. Those immigrants of medium socio-economic status who have been in Australia for only a relatively short period (roughly less than ten years) are generally low in terms of their satisfaction and identification with their adopted country. Their determined efforts to obtain security for themselves and their families leave them with little time or interest in participating in politics. While it is possible that medium socio-economic immigrants who arrived before 1958 (ten years before the survey) were more politically...
active to begin with than those who arrived after 1958, there is no historical or demographic evidence to suggest that this is so. Besides all the evidence from this survey, together with comments and stories told to interviewers by British and Italian immigrants, would suggest that a period of time is required for immigrants to establish themselves in their new land before they take an interest in politics. In fact the impression that I obtained from interviewing immigrants from diverse areas of origin who arrived in Australia at different periods between 1945 and 1968 was that the general problems of economically and socially establishing themselves overrode to a considerable extent differences in ethnic background. For this reason their level of political participation drops below the level they obtained while in their country of origin. For the Italians, lack of identification with the host country contributes to reduced political activity.
3. After a relatively long period in Australia (roughly ten years or more), immigrants of medium socio-economic status begin to take an interest in politics, their level of political participation rising above the level obtained in their country of origin. At the same time, these immigrants are likely to become reasonably satisfied with their occupation, housing, and general standard of living in their new land. In addition they begin to identify with Australia. In the case of British immigrants (but not Italians) relative satisfaction is linked with an upwardly mobile pattern of political activity. In the case of the Italians (but not the British) increased identification is linked directly with an upwardly mobile pattern of political behaviour.

4. Upward political mobility is more likely among respondents who marry an Australian, take out Australian citizenship (in the case of Italians), and belong to Australian clubs and organisations. These factors are connected with the immigrants’ willingness to identify with Australia and, particularly in the case of Italians, to take an increased interest in Australian politics.

5. Respondents of high socio-economic status—those, for example, who have professional or managerial occupations—are likely to be as highly politically participant in Australia as they were in their country of origin. Relative to immigrants of medium socio-economic status, time spent in Australia and level of satisfaction and identification are unimportant in any understanding of their political behaviour. These people are highly participant regardless of their length of residence or the degree to which they assimilate into Australian society.

6. Respondents of low socio-economic status—those, for example, who have unskilled or semi-skilled jobs and little education—are likely to be as uninterested in politics in Australia as they were about politics in their country of origin. Compared with immigrants of medium socio-economic status, time spent in Australia and level of satisfaction and identification are not of critical importance in understanding their political behaviour. These people are low participators regardless of their length of residence or the degree to which they assimilate to Australian society.

While the survey material generally supports the model, much more work needs to be done towards verifying some of the cause and effect assumptions made in it. Admittedly statistical association
alone is not enough to establish causality, but if taken in conjunction with the qualitative material obtained through observation and spontaneous comments made by many of the immigrants the causal connections indicated in Fig. 2 would seem to me to be a reasonable reflection of reality. Nevertheless future research could well use a more anthropological 'case-study' approach to establish more firmly the direction of some of the statistical associations discovered in my study. For example, does belonging to Australian clubs and organisations contribute towards upward political mobility or does upward political mobility lead a person to belong to Australian clubs and organisations? We have assumed in the present study that the former alternative is the correct explanation but our evidence is based, to a large extent, only on intuition and the comments of immigrants interviewed. In addition, more research is needed to uncover the reasons why such factors as length of time in Australia are related so markedly to mobile political behaviour. Finally, further investigation is needed to discover other possible factors contributing towards the various patterns of political participation.

The analysis of the changes that do or do not occur in political activity when British and Italian immigrants move from their country of origin to Australia ends here. From the point of view of both the practising politicians and political scientists, however, one very important question remains. Does partisanship, an individual's party preference, change when he moves from one country to another? Do, for example, British immigrants who in the United Kingdom supported the Labour Party support in this country the Australian Labor Party?
Partisanship and Political Participation

Australian political scientists have in the past paid very little attention to the pattern of political participation displayed by immigrants in Australia. Similarly, the internal political life of immigrant groups, often an intriguing mixture of European and Australian politics, has rarely been the subject of sustained and comprehensive inquiry. As both Borrie (1960: 203) and Price (1966: ix) have pointed out, the role that immigrants play in political parties and elections will never be understood until these matters have been investigated.

While it is true that immigrant voting behaviour will never be properly understood until set in a wider social context, it is also true that social scientists lack even basic information on just which parties the various immigrant groups are supporting. If present migration and natural increase trends continue then the foreign-born element of the adult population (21 years and over) in mid-1972 will be about 22.5 per cent and, if present naturalisation trends continue, the foreign-born proportion in the voting population will be about 18.5 per cent. By 1980 the post-war immigrant element with their children born in Australia, therefore, will be just under one in three (Price, private correspondence). Clearly the immigrant is electorally an important figure.

While there is a dearth of empirical information on ethnic partisanship, speculations about how immigrant voting behaviour is affecting Australian party politics are rife. Jupp (1968: 34-5), for example, sees a strengthening of the Democratic Labor Party and Liberal Party base as increased immigration and naturalisation
occur. Similarly, Smith (1967: 14-19) expects the Liberal and Coun­
try parties to benefit from the ever-increasing affluence of the com-

munity, the immigrants' share of it, and the anti-communism of
many European immigrants.

It is not only the academic political scientists, however, who
believe a clear majority of the votes of European immigrants are
cast in the direction of the Liberal and Country parties. It appears
to be widely held among political parties and politicians themselves
that the non-Labor parties have benefited from the influx of
immigrants into this country. Thus the Australian Labor Party has
tended to see the immigrant as voting against it (Smith, 1967: 15).
Indeed, the A.L.P. not only believes that European immigrants
are anti-Labor but somewhat paradoxically appears not to want
the electoral support of New Australians. In 1958, for example,
Mr Lovegrove, a former Deputy Leader of the A.L.P. in the
Victorian Parliament, declared that the government was welcome
to some migrant votes. He went on to state:

Persons coming to this country from some of the filthiest parts of Europe
are being permitted to carry on the way of life which has been followed
for centuries in their home countries . . . It [a Bill on the bread industry]
represents an attempt to introduce continental habits of dirt into the
Australian community.¹

The Liberal politician, in common with his Labor rival, also
believes that New Australians are supporting parties of the right.
The opinion of Sir Robert Menzies is worth noting in this respect:

So far, I would judge that they have been more right wing than left,
most of them having brought with them a hatred of Communism. (Quoted
in Smith, 1967: 18)

The few empirical studies that have been conducted would tend
to indicate that Sir Robert Menzies and other politicians (for
instance his successor, Harold Holt) are correct. The Australian
Survey Project, an ongoing study of the political opinions and
behaviour of a nationwide sample survey of the Australian electorate,
dicates that immigrants are generally voting for the non-
Labor parties, although at the time of writing, preliminary results

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Victorian State Assembly, Vol. 256, 11 November 1958,
pp. 1519-20. This is only one of many examples of the hostility expressed by the
A.L.P. to European migration. Other examples can be found in Jupp (1966).
only were available. Kahan (1970), a co-organiser of the Australian Survey Project, suggests that of extreme importance in the non-Labor affiliation of immigrants are the attitudes of trade unions towards the acceptance of trade qualifications and ethnic representation in union hierarchies. This factor, plus the antagonism of the Labor Party towards European immigrants, created a hostility towards both trade unions and the Labor Party, a hostility which is acted out in the polling booth.

Even more meagre than the above is evidence relating to the voting behaviour of different immigrant groups. For example, are British immigrants reinforcing the electoral support supposedly given by most Europeans to the Liberal and Country parties? And, for that matter, do post-war Italian immigrants support the parties of the right to the same extent as the highly anti-communist refugees from Eastern Europe? Although it was impossible to obtain valid data on post-war Italian immigrants' voting behaviour, for reasons which will be explained later, it was possible to ascertain with some degree of exactness the electoral behaviour of the sample of British immigrants surveyed in this study.

Our dearth of material on how different immigrant groups are voting is paralleled by an almost complete gap in our knowledge of why immigrants support one party or another. Do immigrants, for example, simply transfer their political allegiance to the party in Australia that most closely resembles the party they supported back in their native land? Alternatively, does the lack of historical attachment that the immigrant has to any of the traditional Australian party systems make him more susceptible to the short-term forces of politics? If so, what sort of forces or policies are likely to win the electoral support of the New Australian?

Again, in relation to partisanship, we do not know whether the post-war British immigrants who vote for the Liberal Party are downwardly mobile participators or whether they are perhaps the gladiators or upwardly mobile participators. As we shall see, this point has some quite important electoral implications. I want to begin, though, by considering the political issues that concern British and Italian immigrants.

**Political issues**

If lack of historical attachment to any of the traditional Australian
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Most important</th>
<th>2nd most important</th>
<th>3rd most important</th>
<th>Weighted total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welfare and social services</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>103</td>
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<tr>
<td>Development of country and conservation</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More defence generally</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement in Vietnam</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenities, roads, sewerage</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better employment opportunities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help to Aborigines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know, other response</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The total was obtained by statistically weighting all three choices according to the order of importance in which each issue was given.

party systems makes him more susceptible to the short-term forces of politics, the immigrant will not be affected to the same extent as native-born Australians by the voting habits of his forefathers, or by the overall image of the parties that they have built up over a period of time. Instead, the New Australian will put more emphasis on the specific policies of the political parties, and on the political events of the day. This research project did not attempt to test the validity of this assumption but it did attempt to collect some preliminary material on the political and social issues which New Australians consider to be important.

Although Italian immigrants were extremely reluctant to provide information on their party affiliations and in fact appeared not to be interested in party politics, they displayed considerable enthusiasm when asked questions on political and social issues. The British respondents interviewed were likewise equally co-operative when asked to discuss issues which were important to them.

Both groups were asked the question: 'What do you think are the three most important issues which the Government of Australia should concern itself with?' The question was of the open-ended type with respondents being allowed to answer in their own words and using whatever frame of reference they liked. Interviewers, however, were instructed to obtain, if possible, three answers.
Partisanship and Political Participation

from each respondent and to obtain the issues in order of importance (see Table 7.01).

Overall the two most important issues for the British immigrants interviewed were welfare and social services, and, interestingly enough, development of Australia and issues of conservation. The latter issue was judged to be the most important by 20 per cent of the people surveyed and nearly half of those interviewed mentioned the topic. The concern which the sample expressed over this topic suggests that among a substantial proportion of British immigrants there is an identification with Australia which does not concern itself entirely with personal matters such as full employment and 'boom' conditions. Those interviewed frequently mentioned conservation problems such as the Barrier Reef, the destruction of kangaroos and other native animals, and the lack of development in various areas of the country, particularly in north Queensland. One person summed up well the feeling of many of those interviewed when he said:

'It amazes me when I look round this country. You don't seem to care a damn about it. You kill the animals, you destroy the fauna, you sell all the land to the Americans. I came over here to get back to nature and away from the industrialization of England. I may as well have stayed at home.'

Problems of welfare and deficiencies in Australian social services were the most frequently mentioned issues. Those interviewed continually referred to what they perceived as more comprehensive and efficient welfare services in the United Kingdom and the relative lack of organised and comprehensive social services in Australia. Reference was frequently made to the high cost of medical treatment in Australia, the lack of free dental care, the low unemployment benefits and the general lack of concern by the state for those who were sick or out of work. One immigrant, a married man with five children who was not working because he was ill, said:

'This country's O.K., I suppose, if you're single and fit. The man who's healthy and doesn't have any responsibilities can lead a pretty good life. But if you're poor, or sick like I am, or if you can't get work then watch out. You could rot here and nobody in the Government would care. Australia House should tell the Englishmen who're thinking of migrat-
Table 7.02 *Italian respondents' opinions on issues with which the Australian government should concern itself (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Most important</th>
<th>2nd most important</th>
<th>3rd most important</th>
<th>Weighted total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development of country and conservation</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>117</td>
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<tr>
<td>Better employment opportunities</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare and social services</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenities, roads, sewerage</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement in Vietnam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More defence generally</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help to Aborigines</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know, other response</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The total was obtained by statistically weighting all three choices according to the order of importance in which each issue was given.

...ing that the social services are lousy here. I've written to my mates back in London and told them not to come over here with their families. It’s not worth it. They treat you far better back in Pommie land.

Defence was the third most important issue to the British immigrants—the most important of the responses of those who mentioned the necessity of a settlement in the Vietnam war are combined with those who mentioned the need for Australia to increase its military strength. Issues which many observers have considered to be very important to the British immigrant—housing, employment and local amenities for example—received relatively little mention from these Brisbane settlers. Although the mass media have frequently referred to the anxiety that a housing shortage arouses among British immigrants, only 3 per cent of those interviewed gave this as the most important issue with which the government of Australia should concern itself. The fact that housing policy in Australia is largely under state government control does not appear to be the reason for the lack of attention paid to this topic. I feel that housing, although obviously of importance to the British immigrant, does not cause him the worry and anxiety that many writers have suggested—perhaps because his accommodation in Australia is relatively better than it was in Britain, and perhaps because Brisbane is growing less rapidly than Melbourne or Sydney.
The Italians mentioned the same issues as their counterparts from the United Kingdom, although, as can be seen from Table 7.02, their priorities were different. The concern of the Italian immigrants with matters that transcend their own immediate self-interest can be seen by the relatively high proportion who considered issues relating to conservation and development of the country as being the most important problems facing the Australian government. Although the Italians appear to be almost totally devoted to establishing economic security for themselves and their families while in Australia, the large number of them who mentioned the issue of national development suggests that Italians are aware of the wider Australian environment and problems facing it.

Employment, social services and amenities all figure strongly in the Italian immigrants’ scale of values. Twenty-one per cent of those surveyed placed better employment opportunities as the most important issue facing the government. Usually those interviewed illustrated the ‘problem’ of employment with reference to their own situation. An unskilled worker told one interviewer:

They bring us here to take on jobs that Australians won’t do. When I came I could only get a job sweeping a factory floor in West End. No one was interested in employing me in better jobs even though my English is quite good. I want to work hard in good jobs if only I’m given the chance. The government should help us.

Many expressed similar sentiments, frequently referring to the fact that Italians, and other immigrants, seemed to fill positions at the bottom of the occupational ladder that Australians would not touch. This attitude in many cases generated feelings of bitterness and resentment towards those born in this country and to government authorities. The latter group, it was felt, did not try to assist Italians to enter into better paid and more interesting occupations.

Not unexpectedly, issues of welfare and social services figure prominently in responses given by the Italians. They expressed dismay at what they considered to be poor unemployment benefits, inadequate medical services (many had not joined medical benefit funds because they could not understand the complex forms which they were required to fill out to join), and insufficient child endowment schemes. As one northern Italian said:
Australia we were told is very rich. Italy is poor. But in Italy the Government helped us more. Why doesn't the Australian Government look after us when we can't get jobs or are sick?

The relative importance of local amenities such as roads and sewerage in the priorities of Italians reflects in part the geographical position of large concentrations of Italians in Brisbane. The areas which contain large numbers of Italians (West End and New Farm, for example) are not connected to sewerage outlets, have old dilapidated houses inadequately constructed to cope with the extremes of the Brisbane climate, and have roads which are potholed and neglected. The Italians' concern for the condition of their local environment is therefore understandable. Although local amenities are controlled by the Brisbane City Council, the Italians felt this was one of the most important problems facing the Australian government. Their views, more than anything else, perhaps expressed their hazy and incomplete knowledge of the functions of local, state and federal political authorities. To most Italians all government activities were controlled by the same authority and the subtleties involved in the delimitation of the roles of the three bodies were beyond their comprehension.

As can be seen from Table 7.02, questions of defence were largely ignored as important issues facing the Australian government. This probably reflects a reluctance on the part of Italians to discuss questions involving political controversy. The Vietnam war, the F111, communism and other such topics seemed as 'taboo' for the Italians as questions of partisanship.

Although the information obtained from the surveys does not allow us to ascertain whether the immigrants are more susceptible to the short-term forces of Australian politics, it does increase our understanding of the facets of the political environment which the immigrant notices. To begin with, both the British and Italian immigrants are concerned with problems that they meet in their day-to-day existence: social services, education and, for the Italians, local issues such as roads and sewerage. Paradoxically the two immigrant groups do not confine their awareness of political problems to local or personal issues only. The fact that conservation and natural development was the most important issue for the Italians and the second most important for the British reveals that,
at least for these two immigrant groups, concern for issues transcends matters which relate to their own personal self-interest. It may be true that the Italians devote most of their time and energy to establishing themselves economically in their new land and therefore have initially little interest in politics. At the same time, however, they are aware of problems confronting Australia as a whole. But their lack of interest in party politics, and their far from complete knowledge of the relative roles of local, state and federal political authorities, suggest that their awareness of national problems is not associated with Australian political institutions. That is to say, their concern with issues of conservation and national development are not translated into electoral support for one of the major parties. For that matter, there is little evidence from this project to suggest that more personal issues (lack of employment opportunities, inadequate social services etc.) have been sufficient to draw the British and Italian immigrants into one of the political folds. Given the lack of interest displayed by both major parties to immigrant problems, this result is not surprising. Obviously there is considerable room for those political parties wishing to gain immigrant support to concern themselves with immigrants' problems of adapting to their new environment and with other matters that concern New Australians generally.

Problems involved in obtaining immigrant partisanship data
Obtaining reliable and valid measures of partisanship and political attitudes is not only a problem confined to immigrant groups. Many scholars have pointed to difficulties involved in obtaining such information even from 'native-born' voters. Rose and Mossawir (1967), for example, have described how, confronted by an interviewer asking questions about politics, a substantial number of individuals may give a large series of 'don't know' answers or answers of such low intensity that they are almost meaningless. Similarly, Converse (1964: 23) has found that reliability coefficients are extremely low for a great range of political opinion material obtained from survey research.2

The difficulties encountered in obtaining information from

2 See also Key (1964: Chs. 7-11). Perhaps the most trenchant and hyper-critical statement on the invalidity of political public opinion data though can be found in Plowman (1962).
'native-born' persons, however, are probably not as great as those involved in obtaining such material from certain immigrant groups. In Australia, scholars have noted the suspicion aroused amongst immigrants when questioned about a great variety of topics. Some national groups, particularly political refugees, are very reluctant to answer any survey questions. Others, according to their fellow countrymen, have a strong tendency to give the answers they believe are required (see Jupp, 1966; also Chapter 3 in this book). Zubrzycki (1960b) and Snow in particular have reported great difficulty in conducting interviews and surveys among immigrant groups, Snow (1964: 267) drawing attention to the fact that expressing or asking for an opinion on politics often arouses suspicion and mistrust among new settlers and 'inevitably leads to the destruction of a good relationship which has been established'.

In my experience, apart from European refugees, the immigrants most suspicious of survey questions dealing with politics generally and partisanship specifically are the Italian. In numerous pilot studies, I experimented with a variety of methods for obtaining information from Italians on the political party they supported both in Italy and Australia (see Chapter 3). Even with trained and experienced Italian interviewers, there was a great deal of reluctance on the part of the person interviewed to divulge his political affiliations. No matter how subtly questions on partisanship were worded, they tended to break the rapport that had been established between the interviewer and the immigrant concerned. In addition, those interviewed soon spread the word around to their compatriots that 'people were trying to get political information that could be used against them'. Particularly in areas of high Italian concentration, where information about the survey spread very quickly, there was a danger of the whole study failing completely through lack of co-operation if questions on partisanship were pursued too far or any interviewer pressure was applied to obtain answers to questions dealing with party affiliation. Consequently, although an attempt was made to ask Italians questions concerning partisanship, interviewers were told not to pursue the topic if the

3 Many Italians interviewed in the pilot study told the interviewers that they were afraid the information they gave might be given to the Department of Immigration. Because the Department is responsible for policing immigrant registration, admission, and deportation their anxiety was perhaps understandable.
person being interviewed showed any anxiety or reluctance to answer the questions.  

The reluctance of Italians to provide information on their voting behaviour and the difficulty involved in assessing whether such information, even if obtained, was reliable and valid, has often been discussed. Rokkan (1964), in his critique of Almond and Verba has shown that the results obtained for Italy have to be treated with some suspicion. He points out that the Milan organisation which collected the Italian survey data could only register 4.5 per cent Communist (P.C.I.) voters and 5.5 per cent Socialist (P.S.I.) voters in the sample as against 22.7 per cent and 14.2 per cent of the Italian electorate that voted for these parties in the 1958 election. Clearly, most of the Communists and even Nenni-Socialists refused to be interviewed or to report their votes to the interviewers (Rokkan, 1964: 678).

The refusal of many Italians to divulge their party identification is not confined to those on the left of the political spectrum. Almond and Verba (1963: 92) hinted at the difficulty they had experienced in obtaining reliable data from suspicious Italians when they reported: 'While there were some Italian respondents who described themselves as interested in politics the more typical reply stressed the danger and futility of interesting oneself in politics.' This feeling of 'danger and futility' expressed itself most strongly in questions dealing with partisanship as 32 per cent of the Italians interviewed refused to identify their national party choice and another 6 per cent said they did not know what party they had voted for (Almond and Verba, 1963: 116). These figures strongly suggest that political suspicion is generally distributed in Italian society and that substantial numbers of people feel that identifying their political party is unsafe or inadvisable, even when they have been assured that the information is to be kept confidential and used only for scientific purposes. (Almond and Verba, 1963: 118)

Similar sentiments have been expressed by a number of Italian

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4 The question finally asked in the main study was: 'Which party did you think was the best party in the last federal election?' 65% of the sample gave no answer to the question or stated that they 'didn't know'. Of the remainder 19% supported or voted for the Liberal Party, 14% the A.L.P. and 2% the D.L.P.
researchers who have drawn attention to the fact that knowledge about who votes for whom in Italy is limited and should be used with caution due to the refusal of many respondents in surveys to divulge their party identification or vote to interviewers.5

Little research has been conducted among Italians in Australia about political attitudes and partisanship. Were it done on a large scale, the same resistance would be found to questions on party affiliation. An interesting exception, however, has been found in a recent study by A. F. Davies and June Hearn on migrant political attitudes in Melbourne (see Hearn, 1971). This sample consisted of 400 post-war male immigrants who were on the voters' roll of three Melbourne suburbs. Of the Italians interviewed (52) only one-third refused to divulge the party they voted for in Australia. At first glance this is a most surprising result considering that the interviewers in the study spoke English only and that a large proportion of the sample came from poorer industrial areas—usually people most suspicious of survey questions dealing with politics. Perhaps the relatively high response rate in the Melbourne study to questions of partisanship arises from the fact that the Italians interviewed were naturalised Australian citizens, and therefore less suspicious of the interviewers' questions. In the Brisbane study, on the other hand, nearly half of the Italians interviewed were not naturalised. It is possible that the Melbourne Italians are just different in this respect. However, the findings of other research on Italian political partisanship suggest that the results of the Melbourne study on party affiliation should be treated with considerable caution.

The large proportion of Italians in the present study who refused to give information on their political affiliation, or who alternatively gave a don't know response, negates the possibility of discussing with any degree of precision the partisanship of post-war Italian immigrants in Australia. On the other hand, the large majority of British immigrants were quite happy to discuss either the party they voted for in Australia and in Britain or, if they did not vote, the party they supported. The ease with which inter-

5 See, for example, Dogan (1963). Barnes (1967) gives a number of Italian electoral studies that show the difficulty in obtaining reliable data on people's party affiliation. One of the most recent and definitive studies on Italian electoral behaviour, revealing similar difficulties, is Capecchi et al. (1968).
Table 7.03 Partisanship in Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British party voted for</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to say</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not support any party</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viewers were able to obtain this information and the lack of anxiety and resistance aroused among the people interviewed makes it likely that the information obtained was at least as accurate as similar data obtained from Old Australians.

Political preferences of British immigrants

British immigrants interviewed were asked to indicate the party they voted for or supported in Britain. As can be seen from Table 7.03 a greater proportion of the sample preferred the Labour Party to its main opposition, the Conservatives. It is perhaps not surprising that this should be so. Although, as we saw in Chapter 3 British immigrants have a higher proportion of their number in non-manual occupations than most European groups, the majority of British immigrants both in our sample and in the Brisbane population work in 'blue-collar' jobs. It is true to say that the bulk of manual workers traditionally vote for the British Labour Party.6

How do these British immigrants vote in Australia? Do they simply transfer their political loyalties from the party they supported in their homeland to the equivalent party in Australia?

6 It is beyond the scope of this work to analyse in detail the characteristics of British electoral behaviour. Suffice to say that while the majority of the manual working class vote for the Labour Party nearly a third do not. See Blondel (1963) for an exposition of the voting behaviour of manual workers. The manual workers who do not vote for the Labour Party, the working-class Conservatives, are discussed in McKenzie and Silver (1968).
Table 7.04 Partisanship in Australia among British respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party supported at last federal election</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberal and Country parties</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.L.P.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.L.P.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent candidate</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was not here</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not support any party</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.04 gives their answers when asked to state the party they voted for, or supported, in the last federal election.

It is apparent from the table that 18 per cent of all the British interviewed could not give an answer to the question because they had not been in Australia at the time of the last federal election. A further 9 per cent did not support any party. When we asked the question: 'If a Federal election was held tomorrow which party would you vote for or support?', the 18 per cent who had not arrived at the time of the last election stated that they would not support any party. Their reasons for giving this response were varied: some simply did not care at all about Australian party politics; others felt that they had not been long enough in their new country rationally to support one or the other of the major parties; still others expressed hostility and antagonism toward Australian parties and did not want to involve themselves in any way with them.

Those who committed themselves to a party were evenly divided between the coalition parties and the A.L.P. regardless of whether the question asked dealt with their partisanship at the last election or with their affiliation if an election was held tomorrow. In both cases 33 per cent of the sample supported the government and roughly the same proportion (32 per cent) the A.L.P.

From this it appears that there are a number of British immigrants who committed themselves to the Labour Party in their homeland but who do not support the A.L.P. What we cannot answer is whether former British Labour supporters were simply
Table 7.05 Partisanship in Britain compared with partisanship in Australia (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party in Australia</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Did not support any party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L.G.P.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.L.P.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not support any party</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total N</strong></td>
<td><strong>74</strong></td>
<td><strong>97</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

not supporting any party in their new land, or were transferring their allegiance to the Liberal and Country parties. Table 7.05 compares the partisanship of British immigrants in their homeland with their partisanship in Australia.

The table is interesting: considering those who supported the Conservative Party first, 38 per cent now do not support any party in Australia; a small number (5 per cent) have switched to the A.L.P. With former British Labour supporters, a large proportion do not support any party in Australia (29 per cent) while a substantial number (19 per cent) have switched allegiance—from British Labour to Australian Liberal. Paradoxically, then, the Liberal Party appears to be appealing to a substantial number of immigrants, in Brisbane at any rate, who previously were supporters of the Labour Party back in their homeland.

A detailed analysis relating the demographic and sociological characteristics of the immigrant (sex, occupation, club membership etc.) to partisanship was of little help for understanding the reason for the change. Some insight into reasons for a switch in party allegiance was gained, though, when immigrants were asked to compare political parties in Britain with those in Australia.

**Australian and British parties compared**

One of the reasons for changes in party allegiance relates to the political environment immigrants find in their new land. Many New Australians find it extremely difficult to understand even the most fundamental aspects of the Australian political system. For
European immigrants there are the obvious problems of language which reduce the possibility of intelligently discussing politics. In addition, some of our English-speaking immigrants found the Australian system virtually incomprehensible, in that they failed to understand the federal-state nature of Australian politics and the resulting division of powers, the compulsory and preferential system of voting and other aspects of the system (see also Hearn, 1971). The difficulty in understanding the new political environment, then, could conceivably result in some immigrants voting in an almost random or haphazard fashion, thus allowing for long-established partisanship patterns in Britain to change in Australia.

But what of the immigrant's comparative assessment of the major political parties in Australia relative to the parties in their country of origin? Do, for example, British immigrants perceive major differences in the structure and policies of the British and Australian Labour parties or do they see few differences? If a proportion of British settlers considered that there were significant differences, then perhaps this is one reason why a substantial number (19 per cent) of the people surveyed switched allegiances from British Labour to Australian Liberal.

When questioned, 60 per cent of the British said there were no differences between the major parties in Britain and Australia, 24 per cent 'didn't know whether there was a difference', and 16 per cent said there was some difference between the parties. Those interviewed were encouraged to give their views on the relative policies, organisation, leadership, and candidates of the parties in Britain and Australia. Most thought that the parties in both countries were similar on the dimensions mentioned. Those who were Labour supporters in both countries tended to say that the parties were basically socialist and 'supported the workers'. The Conservative voter in the United Kingdom and the Liberal supporter in Australia tended to see the two parties as being the same because they 'supported free enterprise' or were 'against socialism'.

The minority who perceived differences between the major parties in both countries tended to be quite specific and intense in their views. Only 6 per cent of the people interviewed thought

7 The exact wording of the questions dealing with similarities and differences between British and Australian parties can be found in Appendix A, Questions 19, 19a, 19b, 20.
Partisanship and Political Participation

the policies of the parties significantly different but this group considered that the A.L.P. was not as socialistically oriented in its policies as was the British Labour Party. A larger proportion (45 per cent), on the other hand, thought that the candidates here were inferior in intellect and ability to candidates in Britain. Finally, nearly a third of the sample (31 per cent) pointed to the lack of cohesion and organisation in Australian parties, particularly in the A.L.P. Typical of this group was the immigrant who said:

They're always fighting between themselves here and don't seem to care a damn for us workers. Back home the Labour Party doesn't stab itself in the back the way the A.L.P. does here.

References to the factionalism and the infighting within the A.L.P.'s ranks were frequent in many of the spontaneous comments given by the more articulate respondents.

Unfortunately the small number who either changed parties when they came to Australia or who gave specific comments on the differences between parties in the two countries made it difficult to untangle the reasons why many changed from, say, the Labour Party in Britain to the Liberal Party in Australia. However, the comments made by many of this group strongly suggested that some British Labour supporters were so disenchanted with the public squabbles of the A.L.P. that they voted for the Liberal Party in Australia. In other words, the interviews supported the view that the A.L.P. has lost some traditional British Labour supporters more because of its factional arguments than because of its policies being seen as different from the policies of the British Labour Party. More detailed studies are needed, however, to ascertain the extent and nature of a person's perceptions of party differences between country of origin and country of adoption and how this affects voting behaviour in the immigrants' new land.

The discussion so far has pointed to the differences between United Kingdom and Australian parties as perceived by the Bris-

8 This argument is supported by the fact that 53% of those respondents who supported the Labour Party in Britain but the Liberals in Australia mentioned some difference between the organisation of the two countries' major parties. This figure is far higher than the proportion of Labour (U.K.)-Labor (Australia) or Conservative-Liberal supporters who specifically mentioned some differences between the major parties in Australia and Britain. In the latter two cases the percentages were 22% and 19% respectively.
Immigrants and Politics

bane immigrants interviewed. This discussion, however, should not obscure the fact that the vast majority of respondents said there was no difference between the major parties in the two countries. Indeed, the major political parties in this country have some striking similarities with their British counterparts. For example, the British Labour Party and the A.L.P. are, as Jupp (1967) has pointed out, both based on affiliated trade unions. Similarly, they both operate in countries where the working class feels part of a community rather than an alienated minority. The same type of analysis could be applied to the Conservative and Liberal parties—both, for example, obtain the majority of their support from white-collar workers, and receive financial and other support from big business.

The differences between the major parties in both countries could well be rationalised by the British immigrant seeking possibly similar political institutions in his new country to those he left behind. Thomas and Znaniecki (1958: 1103), although not referring to politics specifically, did find in the case of Polish immigrants in America an attempt to find some substitute, however imperfect, for the social institutions they left behind in their country of origin. It is not surprising, then, that in our sample of British immigrants the majority maintained their partisanship affiliations when moving to a new land.

**The importance of partisanship**

Two points have emerged from our discussion of party affiliation. Firstly, these immigrants are divided in their support for the two major parties: of those who commit themselves to a party, around 50 per cent are Liberal and Country party supporters while the same proportion support the A.L.P. Secondly, a substantial number of Labour supporters in Britain do not transfer their loyalties to the Labor Party in Australia; instead they support the Liberal Party.

On the surface, then, it appears that the coalition government is doing better than it might have expected. If the British immigrants had simply transferred their party allegiance from their homeland to their new environment, the A.L.P. would be considerably better off electorally than it is at the moment.

9 Jupp presents a number of other similarities between the British and the Australian Labour parties besides the ones mentioned here.
Because of the apparent disillusionment with the A.L.P., one might argue that many of these British immigrants who now support the government parties could revert to their traditional Labour affiliations once the A.L.P., in the words of one person interviewed, puts 'its own house in order'. Only studies carried out over time can verify this assumption, but it was possible in the present investigation to gauge the strength of support of British immigrants for the parties in Australia.

Strength of partisanship among British immigrants is important for at least two reasons. To begin with, knowledge of partisanship loyalties can give some indication as to whether the British immigrant is likely to change his voting habits if in the future the parties present a different image to him than they do now; or, alternatively, if some other important change in the political environment occurs. Intuitively, it seems reasonable to assume that respondents who do not support a particular party very strongly may change their affiliations if they perceive important changes in the political environment. Conversely, respondents with a strong party allegiance may be less likely to switch their electoral support in the future. Again, a knowledge of strength of partisanship among British immigrants enables the political scientist to assess whether the largest immigrant grouping in Australia is reinforcing the patterns of party support displayed by Old Australians.

In Wilson and Western (1969) 33 per cent of Old Australians described themselves as wholehearted party supporters while the remainder said they were moderate supporters. Among the British immigrants, 24 per cent of the sample said they were wholehearted party supporters, 43 per cent said they were moderate supporters and the remainder declined to give a reply. The Italians again revealed their partisanship apathy with only 1 per cent of the sample describing themselves as wholehearted supporters of a political party.

There are, then, amongst those interviewed in these two inquiries, fewer strongly committed party supporters among British and Italian immigrants than there are among Old Australians. Among native-born Australians A.L.P. supporters are somewhat more partisan than their L.C.P. contemporaries. Thirty-eight per cent of the A.L.P. backers described themselves as wholehearted supporters compared with 26 per cent of the Liberals (Wilson
and Western, 1969: 107). The British immigrants are apparently reinforcing the patterns of party support displayed by ‘native’ Australians, as among those interviewed 42 per cent of the A.L.P. partisans described themselves as wholehearted supporters while only 26 per cent of the L.C.P. partisans responded similarly. If we assume that British immigrants who are only moderate supporters of a political party are more likely than ‘wholehearted’ supporters to switch their party affiliations some time in the future, then clearly the A.L.P. has a greater chance of gaining supporters than do the Liberal and Country parties.

Partisanship and political participation

While a knowledge of strength of partisanship among British immigrants is electorally informative, it tells us little about the extent of participation of immigrant supporters in Australian politics. In a previous study (Wilson and Western, 1969: 110) I suggested that the Liberal Party’s continued electoral success over the past fifteen years is to some extent the result of the relatively high level of participation of Liberal Party adherents. Among Old Australians it appears that although there is a small, highly active group of A.L.P. supporters, the bulk of Labor voters are relatively inactive politically. Further, this core of highly active Labor supporters contains a disproportionate number of professional and white-collar workers. On the other hand, the Liberal Party shows a different trend. It does not have as high a proportion of strong supporters nor as many strong supporters who are highly politically active; but significantly enough the great mass of Liberal voters have generally a higher level of political participation than do their Labor contemporaries (Wilson and Western, 1969: 109).

In the case of British immigrants it would obviously be an advantage to the Liberal Party if most of its supporters among British immigrants were gladiators or upwardly mobile participators. If one assumes that political proselytising has some positive effect for its missionaries then the party with the greatest number of supporters who display gladiatorial or upwardly mobile participation would benefit more electorally than its main rival.10

The relationship between partisanship and participation is, of

10 This assumes that high participators are more likely to try and influence the swinging or undecided voter than are low participators.
Table 7.06 Partisanship in Australia of British respondents, by changing patterns of passive political participation (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>L.C.P.</th>
<th>A.L.P.</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Was not here, did not support any party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering the two major parties, it is clear that amongst the British immigrants investigated the A.L.P. has a greater proportion of gladiators and fewer downwardly mobile participators. Interestingly enough, too, the table shows that those immigrants who did not support any party contained a substantial proportion of down-

11 It is worth repeating at this stage that the discussion and the analysis is confined to British respondents only. Lack of reliable partisanship data for the Italian sample negated the possibility of exploring, for that group, the partisanship-participation relationship.
wardly mobile participators. Of more practical importance, however, is the question of the relative amount of active participation of Liberal and Labor Party supporters. If the Labor Party has more supporters who give money to their party, attend political meetings, campaign at election time, and actively participate in other ways, then its chances of persuading the swinging or undecided voter are possibly greater than that of its political rivals—assuming, of course, that political proselytising brings some positive results for those who engage in it.

Table 7.07 strongly suggests that the British immigrants who support the A.L.P. are more likely than Liberal supporters to participate actively in politics. They have more gladiators among their ranks and fewer downwardly mobile participators than does the Liberal Party. Reversing the table it appears that 48 per cent of all gladiators are A.L.P. supporters while 33 per cent are L.C.P. backers. Similarly only 17 per cent of downwardly mobile participators favour the A.L.P. while 26 per cent support the coalition parties.

A combined analysis relating strength of partisanship to the four participatory types revealed no differences between the supporters of the two major parties in this particular sample. The proportion of gladiators who were strong supporters of the A.L.P. was the same as the proportion who were strong supporters of the government parties. If this finding holds over a large number of British immigrants then the Labor Party, with more gladiators, has a greater proportion of politically committed and active supporters than does the Liberal Party. The relationship between partisanship
and participation among British immigrants contrasts sharply, however, with the pattern displayed by Old Australians. It will be remembered that among native-born Australians there was a higher level of participation among the great bulk of Liberal Party adherents. Not only are these British immigrants who support the Labor Party apparently more strongly partisan than their Liberal counterparts but they also appear to have a higher level of political participation.

There is one remaining question: who are the gladiators and upwardly mobile participators among the A.L.P. supporters? In the Wilson and Western survey (1969), evidence was found for the 'vanguard of the proletariat' hypothesis—the strong A.L.P. supporters were not distributed randomly across occupational categories but were concentrated among people in professional or managerial jobs.

We saw in Chapter 5 that gladiators are more likely than the other three participatory types to come from the top of the occupational hierarchy. Further, it should come as no surprise that amongst those interviewed the Liberal and Country parties have a greater proportion of supporters in professional or managerial occupations than the A.L.P. (see Table 7.08).

The question is, of course, whether those at the top of the occupational hierarchy who support the Labor Party are more likely than their Liberal counterparts to display gladiatorial patterns of political participation. The findings for passive participation tend to support the 'vanguard of the proletariat' hypothesis

---

**Table 7.08 Partisanship in Australia of British respondents, by occupation (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation*</th>
<th>L.C.P.</th>
<th>A.L.P.</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>D.K., D.N.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P/M</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWC</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MW</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>99</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total N</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* P/M = Professional and managerial; OWC = Other White-collar Workers; MW = Manual Workers; O = Others.
Table 7.09 Partisanship in Australia of British respondents, by occupation and by changing patterns of passive political participation (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participatory types</th>
<th>P/M</th>
<th>L.C.P. OWC MW</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>P/M</th>
<th>A.L.P. OWC MW</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>P/M</th>
<th>Other OWC MW</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>P/M</th>
<th>D.K., D.N.A. OWC MW</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total N* 17 23 28 5 12 16 38 6 4 1 4 0 9 15 43 2
Table 7.10 Partisanship in Australia of British respondents, by occupation and by changing patterns of active political participation (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active participatory types</th>
<th>Partisanship and occupation</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L.C.P. OWG MW</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous drop-outs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upwardly mobile</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downwardly mobile</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladiators</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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although the numbers are too small to allow for definite conclusions; the situation is as suggested in Table 7.09. Of the twelve A.L.P. supporters who were professionals and managers, ten displayed gladiatorial patterns of passive participation. In fact, gladiatorial behaviour was far more common among this group than any others in the table. Nowhere among the L.C.P. group was there such a high degree of participation. In fact, of seventeen Liberal supporters who were professionals and managers only six were gladiators, the remainder being distributed between the upwardly and downwardly mobile participators.

The situation as far as active participation is concerned is revealed in Table 7.10. Again small numbers make definite conclusions difficult to draw but inspection of Table 7.10 suggests trends that would support the 'vanguard of the proletariat' hypothesis. Six of the twelve A.L.P. supporters who were professionals and managers were gladiators, and a further three were upwardly mobile participators. Gladiatorial behaviour was far more common among this group than any others in the table. Of the seventeen Liberal supporters who were professionals and managers only five were gladiators. There is, in fact, a fairly random distribution of Liberal professional and managerial supporters among the four active participatory types.
It was assumed in Chapter 2 of this book that the different socio-logical and historical background of British and Italian immigrants determines, to a considerable extent, their pattern of political and social behaviour in Australia. For many reasons, it was suggested, the British immigrant could be expected to display relatively high levels of political participation while Italian immigrants would display low levels.

In order to determine just what rate of political participation the British and Italian immigrants displayed, measures or scales of both active and passive political participation were carefully constructed. The two ethnic groups were then compared on these scales both with each other and with a sample of Old Australians. Although there appears to be a small number of highly participant British immigrants, the overall level of political activity displayed by these settlers from the United Kingdom is slightly lower than that displayed by Old Australians. However, these British immigrants have a significantly greater level of political activity than the Italians.

Differences were apparent in some instances between the immigrants’ present level of political behaviour compared with their behaviour in their countries of origin. By several scaling procedures it was possible to isolate and define four types here. The first type comprises people described as political gladiators—those immigrants who have a relatively high level of passive or active participation both in Australia and in their country of origin. At the other extreme are the continuous drop-outs—those who take little interest in politics either in their country of origin or in their new land.
The other two types change their patterns of political participation. One, the upwardly mobile participator, increases his rate of political activity when he comes to Australia. The other is the immigrant who reduces his participation level when in Australia, the downwardly mobile participator. A substantial proportion (40 per cent) of all British immigrants interviewed were downwardly mobile participators while only a relatively small percentage (14 per cent) increased their rate of passive participation after moving to Australia. Roughly the same proportions of British immigrants were distributed over four active participatory categories. On the other hand, the Italians, at least for passive participation, showed the opposite pattern. A large proportion (30 per cent) were upwardly mobile and a far smaller proportion (12 per cent) were downwardly mobile. On the active measure the vast majority of Italians were classified as continuous drop-outs.

An analysis of certain demographic and sociological characteristics of both immigrant groups suggested a crude and necessarily tentative model or explanation of immigrant political participation, namely that gladiators and continuous drop-outs are more likely than other types of immigrant political participators to come from the extremes of the occupational or socio-economic hierarchy. The former comprise people who come from relatively high occupational or socio-economic status levels, and the relative comfort of their lives is likely to facilitate high political activity. Consequently, immigrants in these occupations take an interest in the political culture of their new land soon after arrival. On the other hand, so the model assumes, the continuous drop-outs include a substantial proportion of immigrants from relatively low socio-economic status levels. Immigrants in these occupational and economic circumstances have little or no interest in politics either in their country of origin or in their adopted land. Both for gladiators and continuous drop-outs, then, occupation is assumed to be most important in explaining continued high or low political activity. Relative to the other two participatory types, length of residence in Australia and the overall satisfaction and identification with the new country play little part in gladiatorial or drop-out behaviour.

The model then continued with those who change their political behaviour—the upwardly and downwardly mobile participators. They tend to come from the middle of the occupational or socio-
writing the book of most of the census data concerning the demo­
graphic characteristics of the post-war British and Italian popula­
tions in Brisbane. Fortunately the Commonwealth Bureau of
Census and Statistics in Canberra very generously offered to pre­
pare, where possible, summary tables of certain characteristics of the
Brisbane population as found from the 1966 census. However, the
Bureau could not provide some data necessary in adequately com­
paring the sample with the population. For example, occupation
data for immigrants from Italy and the United Kingdom who
arrived in Brisbane since World War II were not available. Con­
sequently all census figures compared with the samples of immi­
grants contain data on immigrants who arrived before World War
II as well as children of post-war British and Italian migrants. It was
not possible, therefore, to tease out inter-generation occupational
differences in the census data even though the survey was confined
only to first-generation post-war immigrants. Consequently these and
other difficulties inherent in census data made it likely that some
discrepancy would exist between demographic characteristics of the
population as shown by the 1966 census and the characteristics
of the two groups interviewed (see also Zubrzycki, 1968). With
these reservations in mind, though, let us attempt to compare the
samples with the Brisbane population in terms of an occupational
breakdown.

Considering the fact that we are comparing samples of immigrants
drawn from the 1961 census with 1966 data, and that the census
data are based on a different population from which the sample
is drawn, the sample figures correspond quite well with census
data. With British immigrants we have slightly more white-collar
workers in the sample than in the population but the difference is
relatively small. With the Italians the sample contains 12 per cent
more skilled and semi-skilled workers than does the Brisbane
Italian population but otherwise the occupational characteristics of
those Italians interviewed match the population quite closely. With
both immigrant groups discrepancies between the characteristics
of the samples and the populations could be due to changes in the
population of Brisbane between 1961 and 1966 and/or to difficulties
in comparing census data with the respective immigrant samples,
rather than to sampling errors.

Although census figures are available on the age structure, length
**Table VI** Occupational classification* of samples compared with total British and Italian immigrant population in Brisbane

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational category</th>
<th>% British immigrants in sample</th>
<th>% British immigrants in Brisbane</th>
<th>% Italian immigrants in sample</th>
<th>% Italian immigrants in Brisbane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals, managers and executives</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and sales</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled and semi-skilled workers</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled workers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous, inadequately described</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total percentage</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The occupational categories listed in this table are based on a condensed form of the occupation classification of the Australian workforce suggested by Broom, Jones, and Zubrzycki, 1965.

of residence, and other characteristics of British and Italian immigrants living in the state of Queensland no census data were available on these factors for the Brisbane metropolitan area. Hempel does present some information on the demographic characteristics of a sample of Italians living in the Brisbane area for 1957 but this cannot adequately be compared with the present study conducted, as it was, in 1967.

Although we cannot usefully compare the two samples with their respective populations it is perhaps useful to summarise briefly the main characteristics of those interviewed.

Considering the British first, 77 per cent of the sample were born in England, 13 per cent in Scotland, 4 per cent in Wales, and 5 per cent in Ireland. Forty per cent of the sample had lived in Brisbane for three years or less while 33 per cent had spent between four and ten years and 27 per cent had been in the city for over ten years. Twenty-two per cent were under the age of 29, 61 per cent were between 30 and 49, and the remaining 16 per cent 50 or over.

8 It is pointless comparing the characteristics of Italians in Queensland as a whole with characteristics of the Brisbane Italian population because, as Hempel (1959: esp. 125-85) has shown, these characteristics vary considerably from one part of the state to another.
Of the Italians interviewed, 52 per cent came from central Italy, 8 per cent from the south, 23 per cent from the north, and 17 per cent came from Sicily. Eighteen per cent had spent less than three years in Brisbane, 27 per cent between four and ten years, and the remaining 54 per cent over ten years. The Italian age structure was very similar to the British sample. Finally, 54 per cent of the Italians in the sample were naturalised Australian citizens.9

For the reasons outlined earlier, it was then very difficult to compare adequately the two samples on these characteristics with their respective populations. However, the little information available from census data, together with the fact that fairly rigorous sampling procedures were employed, suggests that the two samples were representative of the populations under investigation.

The assimilation measures
Following completion of the pilot study, an initial pool of thirty attitudinal items relating to assimilation was reduced to fourteen for the British and seventeen for the Italian immigrants in the Brisbane survey. In the questionnaire, the questions were organised under the satisfaction-identification-acculturation dimensions (as described in Chapter 6) and the same question wording was used for the British and Italian immigrants studied. On all questions, five response categories were provided. These ranged from those involving the expression of considerable satisfaction or identification with Australia, to those, at the other extreme, providing for the expression of no identification or satisfaction with the host society.

For both the British and the Italian immigrants in the survey, all assimilation items were subjected to an item by item correlational analysis, and also an item by total score analysis. This procedure is really a simplified form of cluster analysis, which, although it is not nearly as rigorous or sophisticated as a factor analysis, allows the researcher more freedom in forming assimilation measures.

A consideration of both the inter-item correlational diagrams and the item by total score analysis suggested two groups or clusters of items. The first comprised measures relating to what could be broadly termed satisfaction with life in Australia. The other com-

9 The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics informed me that in the Brisbane metropolitan area 60 per cent of all Italians were naturalised.
prised a mixture of what were defined earlier as identification and acculturation items.

With respect to the identification scale, the question items have lower item by item correlations, and also lower item by total score correlations, than the satisfaction measure items. In addition, the identification scale comprised measures of not only the immigrants' attitudes to identify with Australian society, but also the behaviour of the immigrants interviewed in their host community. In short, the identification measure does not differentiate the two concepts—identification and acculturation—which Taft and Richardson, in their studies, have been careful to distinguish.

For the Italian immigrants surveyed in the present work, it would have been possible to obtain statistically sounder measures of satisfaction and identification by using a different set of items than those used in the British study. Ability to speak English correlated highly with ability to read the language and therefore perhaps could have been included in the identification measure. However, neither item greatly related to some of the other identification items. More importantly, for comparative purposes, I wanted to obtain equivalent measures of assimilation for both ethnic groups just as I had obtained equivalent measures of political participation.

Even with this compromise, the final satisfaction and identification scales were, statistically, quite adequate. It should be remembered, however, that the satisfaction measures were both statistically and conceptually far stronger than the identification scales—a point referred to in Chapter 6.
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