THE LETTESI IN NEWCASTLE:
A STUDY OF ETHNIC COMMUNITY FORMATION, CONSOLIDATION AND INTEGRATION

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I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

(Signed) _Judith Galvin_

DEDICATION

To Filomena, who opened the door.

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SYNOPSIS

The aim of this thesis is to explain the pattern of Lettesi
residential concentration in Newcastle. This pattern is explained by
detailed reference to processes of ethnic community formation,
consolidation and integration. To provide an adequate framework for
analysis I first attempt to clarify conceptual issues which have
hindered research during the post-war period, and then I select a
methodology whose scale is appropriate to understanding community
structure and for providing a basis for interdisciplinary dialogue.
Finally, I present a communications model of integration as a research
and policy framework.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

THE LETTESI[1] COMMUNITY

The Lettesi community, mainly resident in Hamilton[2], and comprising approximately 145 families, was formed by a process of chain migration from the village of Lettopalena, Abruzzi, Italy. This process began in 1925 with the arrival, in Australia, of Giacomo de Vitis, followed closely by his cousin, Arcangelo Rossetti. Arcangelo's sons, Antonio and Giacomo, bought a cane farm in Proserpine, northern Queensland, which became the focus for a major post-war exodus, sponsored mainly by Antonio, with help from Italian farmers. Emigration from the village was not a new phenomenon - many had left earlier for America and Argentina, but during the war, in 1943, Lettopalena was destroyed by German troops, an experience which resulted in mass emigration on a scale never before experienced by the village (Plates 1,2).

I first came to know the Lettesi community during the course of research in the early 1970s when, of a sample of 45 Italian households, seven families were from Lettopalena. I had been interviewing immigrants of different nationalities, within the Newcastle urban environment, to learn about their origins and destination patterns. I had found that among the southern European groups there were concentrations of village and regional origin and that the largest of these was from Lettopalena. The pattern did not apply to those from Germany and the Netherlands

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1. People from the village of Lettopalena, Abruzzi, Italy, refer to themselves as 'Lettesi'.

2. Hamilton is a suburb of Newcastle, N.S.W. Australia.

Plate 1:   Lettesi Gathering in Newcastle

Distrutta dagli eventi bellici nel 1943

Lettopalena (Chieti) - Panorama

Plate 2: The Old Village before 1943

Plate 3: The New Village 1977

(Galvin 1971, 1974). I wanted to know how this community had evolved, how it managed to retain its distinctive identity and how it functioned within the wider community.

After a year spent interviewing Lettesi in Newcastle, gathering data on community formation, consolidation and integration, I went to the village in July 1977 where, for the first time I met Antonio Rossetti, the principal link in this chain migration process. It was Antonio'¹ who showed me the rubble of the old town, sharing his memories as they formed among the ruins there, and the new town where even he had felt as a stranger. I recognised in the new town with its spacious layout, comfortable homes and quality furnishings, a way of life which was in stark contrast to that experienced in the old village, and in the make-shift homes which they had formed from the stables. I could see how these changes were symbolic of the break in the chain of continuity of migration from the village (Plate 3). An account of the process of chain migration from the village to the canefields, then from Proserpine to Newcastle, will be fully outlined later in this thesis.

NEWCASTLE - THE URBAN SETTING

The Lettesi community is a distinctive entity, both spatially and socially, within the wider urban setting which is defined by the local government areas of Newcastle and Lake Macquarie. Yet, despite its distinctive geographical character, this community could not be identified spatially from aggregate data from the national census, the principal source of data on ethnic social areas. Urban social areas defined at this level disguise the existence of communities of this kind

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1. We were accompanied, as well, by Pasquale Martinelli whom I had interviewed in Newcastle.

which can only be identified at a level of research based on household data and the analysis of social networks. This problem of scale of methodology is apparent from the following attempt to present the Lettesi as a spatially distinctive 'geographical' entity within the pattern of social areas in Newcastle.

The Early Growth of Newcastle and its Suburbs

Cities represent an historical record of their cumulative social and economic experience. In his account of the settlement and growth of Newcastle, Daly (1966) describes how the suburbs evolved as mining nodes which developed independently of the principal port and commercial centre. With the opening of the hinterland, following the building of the railway, Newcastle, however, gained a dominant role as a N.S.W. port second only to Sydney. Then as coal reserves dwindled in many nearby townships and communications began to improve, these townships became increasingly dependent upon Newcastle. In 1915 the B.H.P.[1] steelworks became a reinforcing factor in its dominant position, creating a focus for rapid suburban growth which tended to develop around the original mining nodes (Fig. 1).

Hamilton, the focus of Lettesi concentration, had its beginnings in 1848 when a pit was opened on Cameron's Hill by the Australian Agricultural Company. By the 1860s, settlement had spread along Denison Street as far as Lawson Street (Fig. 2). There were four mines operating in the area at the time. Further growth occurred when a new pit was opened where the racecourse now stands, between Hamilton and Broadmeadow. But following construction of the railway goods yards, settlement spread

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1. B.H.P. represents the Broken Hill Proprietary Co. Ltd.
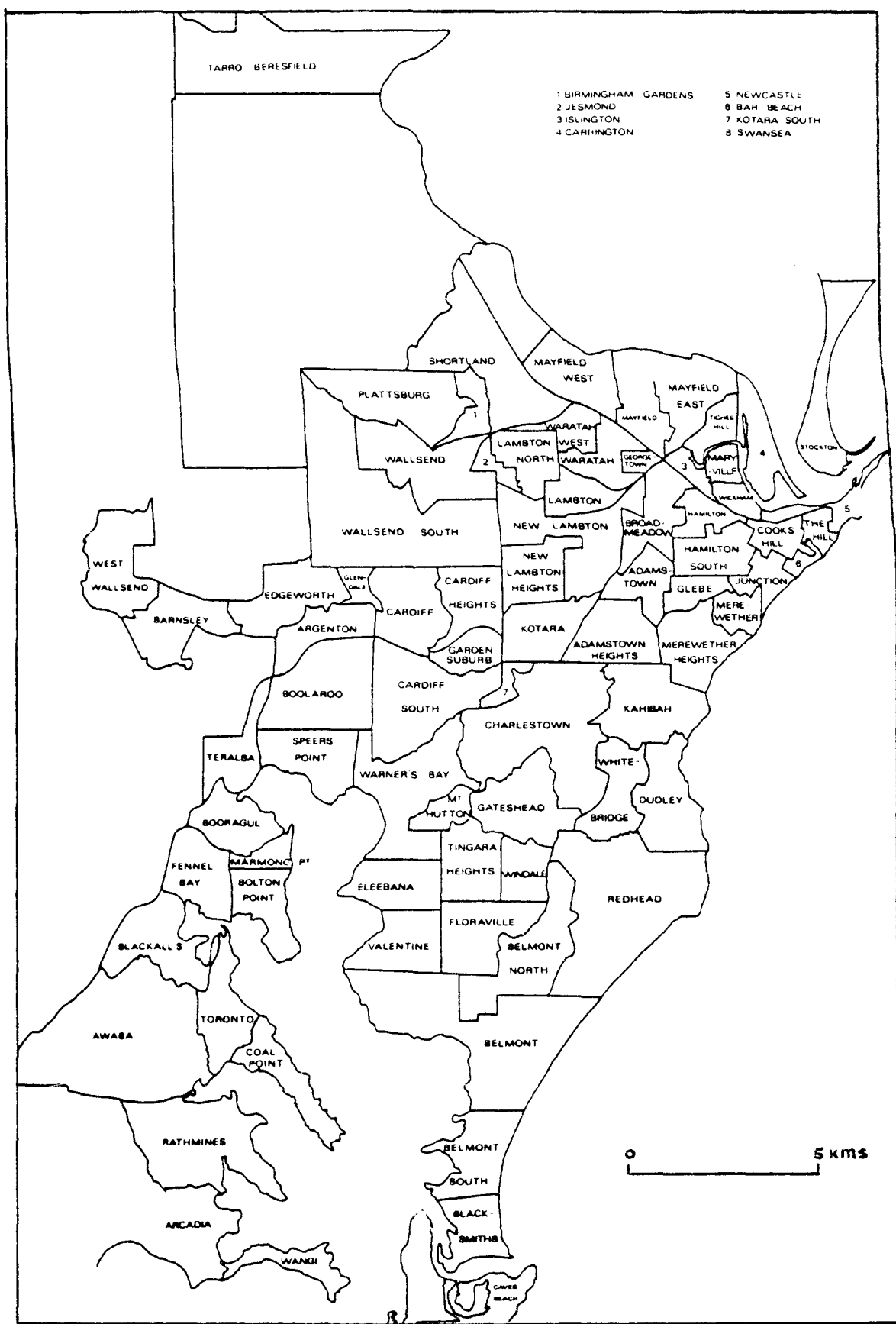
Source: Dept. of Geography, University of Newcastle

Figure 1: Newcastle Suburbs
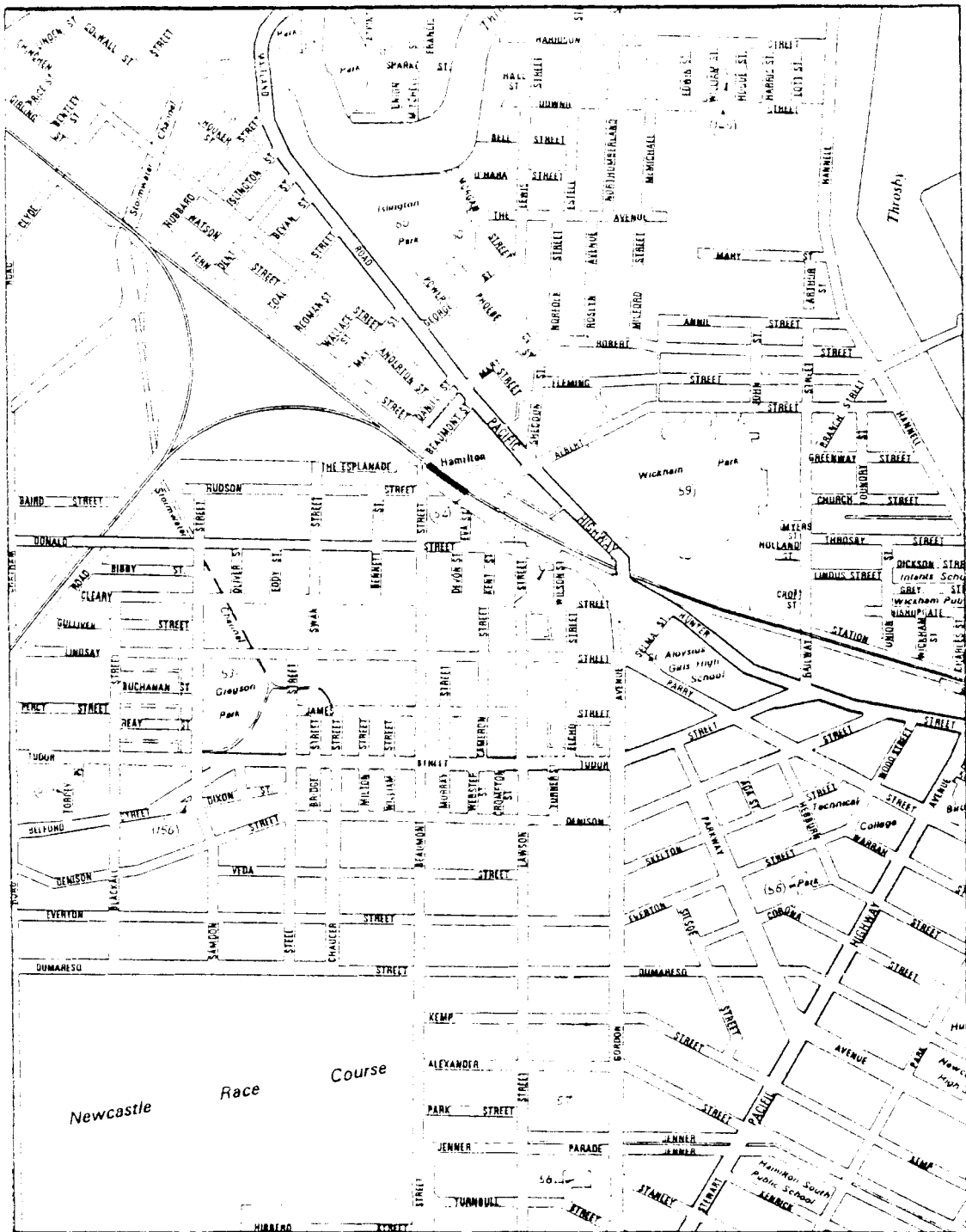
Source: Newcastle City Council

Figure 2: Hamilton and Islington, Street Map

north along Beaumont Street which is now the hub of commercial activity.
The most characteristic feature of this inner suburban area is the
mixture in the quality and age of the dwellings for homogeneity, over a
widespread area, only occurs in Hamilton South, a suburb of relatively
high socioeconomic status where the low, swampy land was a barrier to
settlement until drainage was completed after World War I (Daly 1966)
(Fig. 2).

Newcastle is now a city of 284670 people[1], its boundary being defined,
for the purpose of this research, by the contiguous built-up area
contained by the municipalities of Newcastle and Lake Macquarie.
Industrial and port activities are its main raison d'être, the principal
source of industrial employment being the B.H.P. and its related
industries[2]. Its significance, however, as an industrial and service
centre is dependent both on its site and situation, its site lying
adjacent to the Hunter River estuary, a port now undergoing significant
expansion. Its dominant location in the Hunter Valley Region provides
the city with immediate access to resources of coal and agricultural
products. Though economic development proceeded slowly in the past, more
recent emphasis on energy reserves has led to an increase in the
immigrant population. This trend, however, may be reversed with the
deepening recession in the industrial sector.

The Social Areas of Newcastle

The contemporary ecological structure of Newcastle has been outlined

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1. State Government Population Projection Group. Aug, 1981.

2. B.H.P. Steelworks' policy, at the present time (Feb. 1983), is to
    reduce its workforce at the Newcastle works to 6000. This policy
    foreshadows the possible closure of the works, an event which would
    cause a major industrial recession.

in a social area study by Parkes (1971; 1972; 1973). Within this
broader structure other research has examined the Transition Zone (Cahill
1968), the C.B.D.[1] (Purdon 1969) and specific neighbourhoods (Newton
1969; Sharma 1975) and social areas (Newton 1972). The social areas of
Newcastle, like other Australian cities, are characterised by dimensions
of socioeconomic status, familism and ethnic status (Figs. 3-5).

In his studies of the social areas of Newcastle Parkes (1971; 1972;
1973) described the zone of higher socioeconomic status (Fig. 3). It is
sectoral in form and follows a ridge of higher ground, settled stretches
of the coastline and Lake Macquarie (Fig. 6). Areas of lower socioeconomic
status, particularly the inner suburbs on the low-lying flood-plain, have
a relatively higher incidence of health and welfare problems (Vinson and
Hommel 1972). The dimension of familism is concentric in pattern, having
its lowest values within the inner city and increasing in suburbs towards
the periphery. Ethnic status has two distinct nuclei, one inner-suburban,
the other within the outer suburbs. These general patterns recur in
cities, not only in Australia, but in other western countries, and they
tend to follow the classical urban models of Burgess (1928), Hoyt (1939)
and Harris and Ullman (1945), as summarised by Murdie (1969) in his
generalised urban model.

Ethnic Social Areas in Newcastle

The ethnic pattern which Parkes (1971; 1972; 1973) describes for
Newcastle was based on the 'foreign-born' census category. Using
'national' data from the same census (1966) I found that the inner-suburban
pattern represented a zone of southern European dominance of mainly Greek,

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1. C.B.D. represents Central Business District.

Source: Census Data 1966
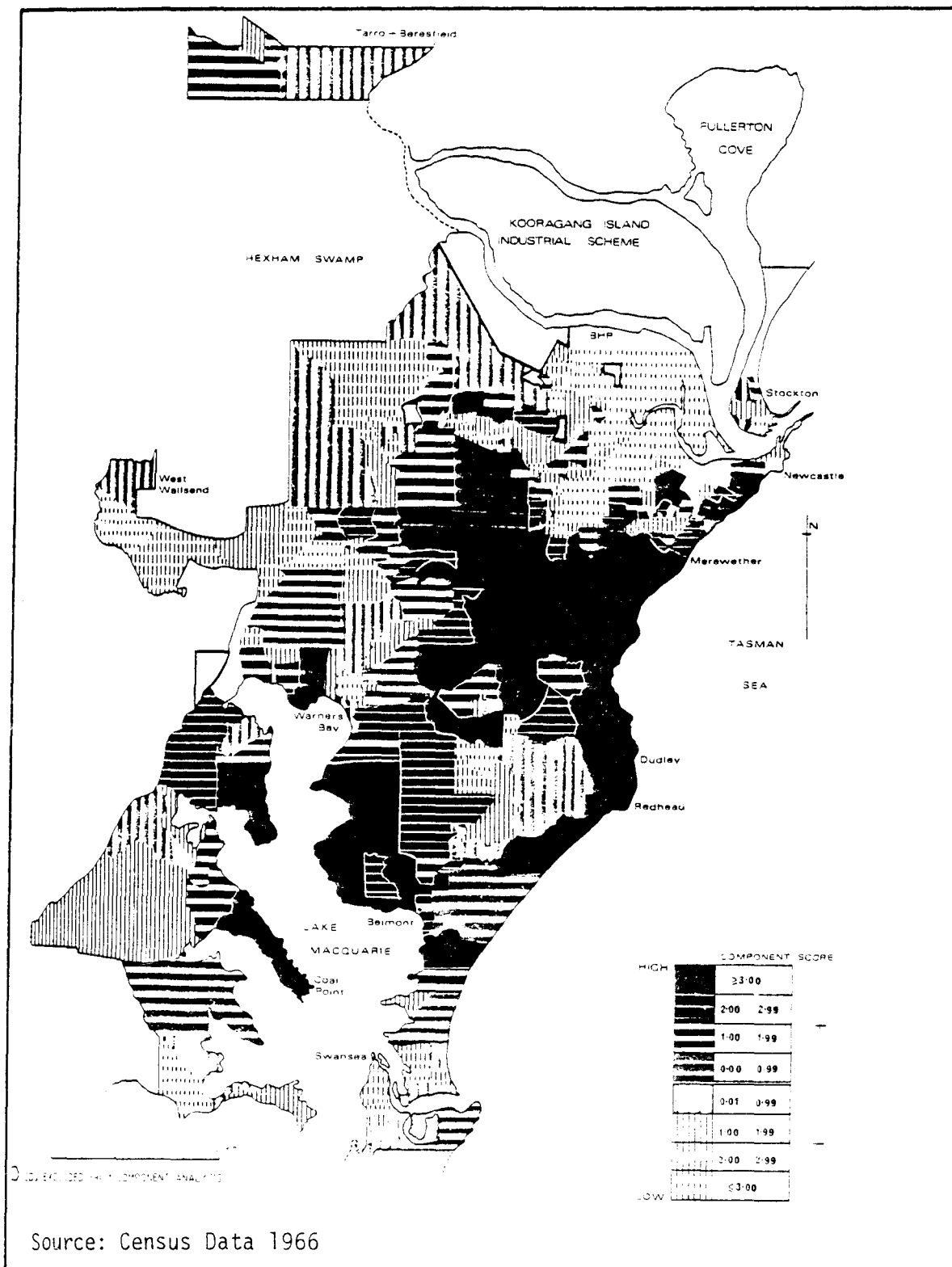
Figure 3: Socioeconomic Status, Newcastle (Parkes 1972)

Source: Census Data 1966
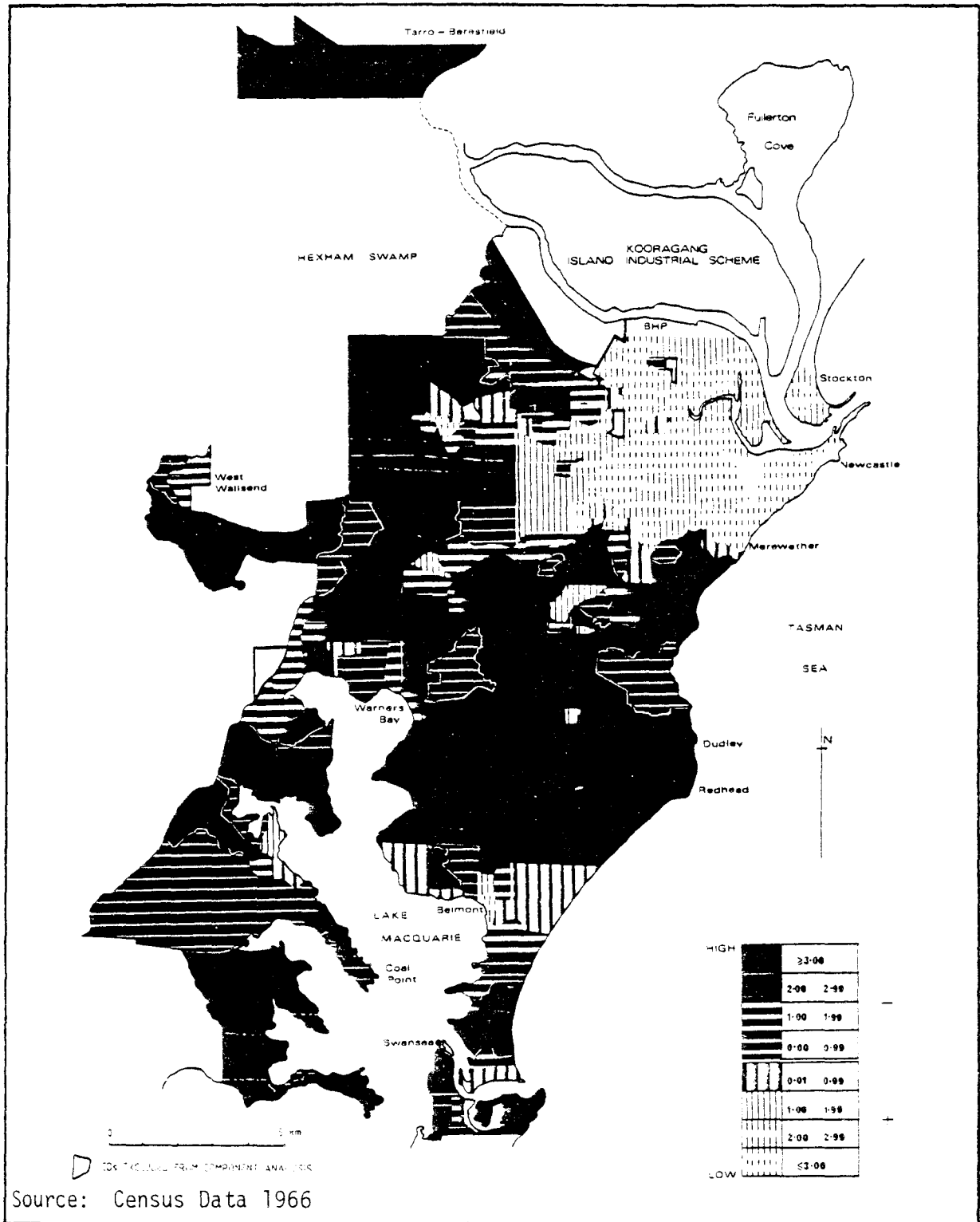
Figure 4: Familism, Newcastle (Parkes 1972)

Source: Census Data 1966
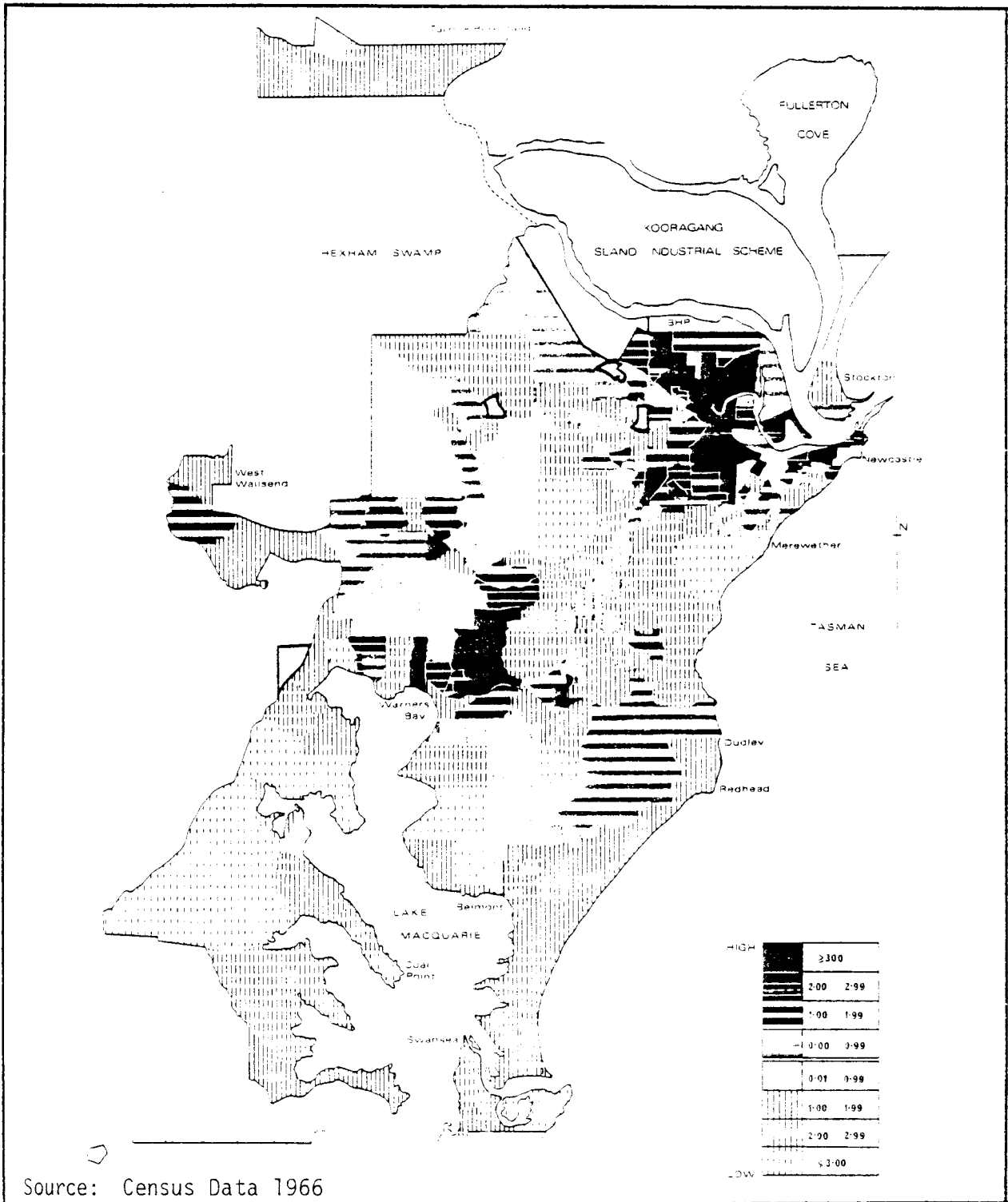
Figure 5: Ethnic Status, Newcastle (Parkes 1972)

Figure 6: Topographic Map, Newcastle (Galvin 1971)

Italian and Yugoslav nationals; the outer suburbs attracted northern
Europeans, the largest groups being the German and the Dutch (Figs. 7,8).
Measures of spatial association further illustrated this basic division
(Tables 1, 2)(Galvin 1971; 1974). It will be seen in Chapter 4 that
similar patterns recur in other major cities of Australia.

The Southern European Pattern

Spatial variations between southern European groups were detailed
in my earlier research (Galvin 1971; 1974) and subsequent analysis of
residential trends has reinforced the initial impressions (Galvin 1976).
To some extent, however, changes have occurred due to the changing trends
in immigration generally, and the contrasting patterns of ethnic
mobility. These must be considered when drawing comparisons.

My 1976 research showed that over the two intercensal periods, from
1961 to 1971, the Greek-born population had a small but steady increase;
Italian numbers, on the whole, fell slightly; Yugoslavs, on the other
hand, increased significantly, particularly between 1966 and 1971. These
findings were consistent with those of the previous study for the
majority of Greeks and Italians who were interviewed (1970) had resided
in Newcastle during these intercensal periods. Most of the Yugoslavs
had been recent immigrants. Census figures for 1976 also confirm the
above trends (Table 1).

In this earlier research (Galvin 1976; 1980) the spatial association
measures clearly demonstrated changing patterns of differentiation between
Greek, Italian and Yugoslav-born over the intercensal periods 1961-1971
(Table 2). The indices show the Italian population to be increasingly
similar to the host population, with decreasing levels of concentration
and segregation, a trend relatively constant over the intercensal periods.

DISTRIBUTION OF SOUTHERN
EUROPEANS
NEWCASTLE URBAN AREA

1st Decile

2nd Decile

Greek
Italian
Yugoslav

Source: 1966 Census

Source: Census Data 1966
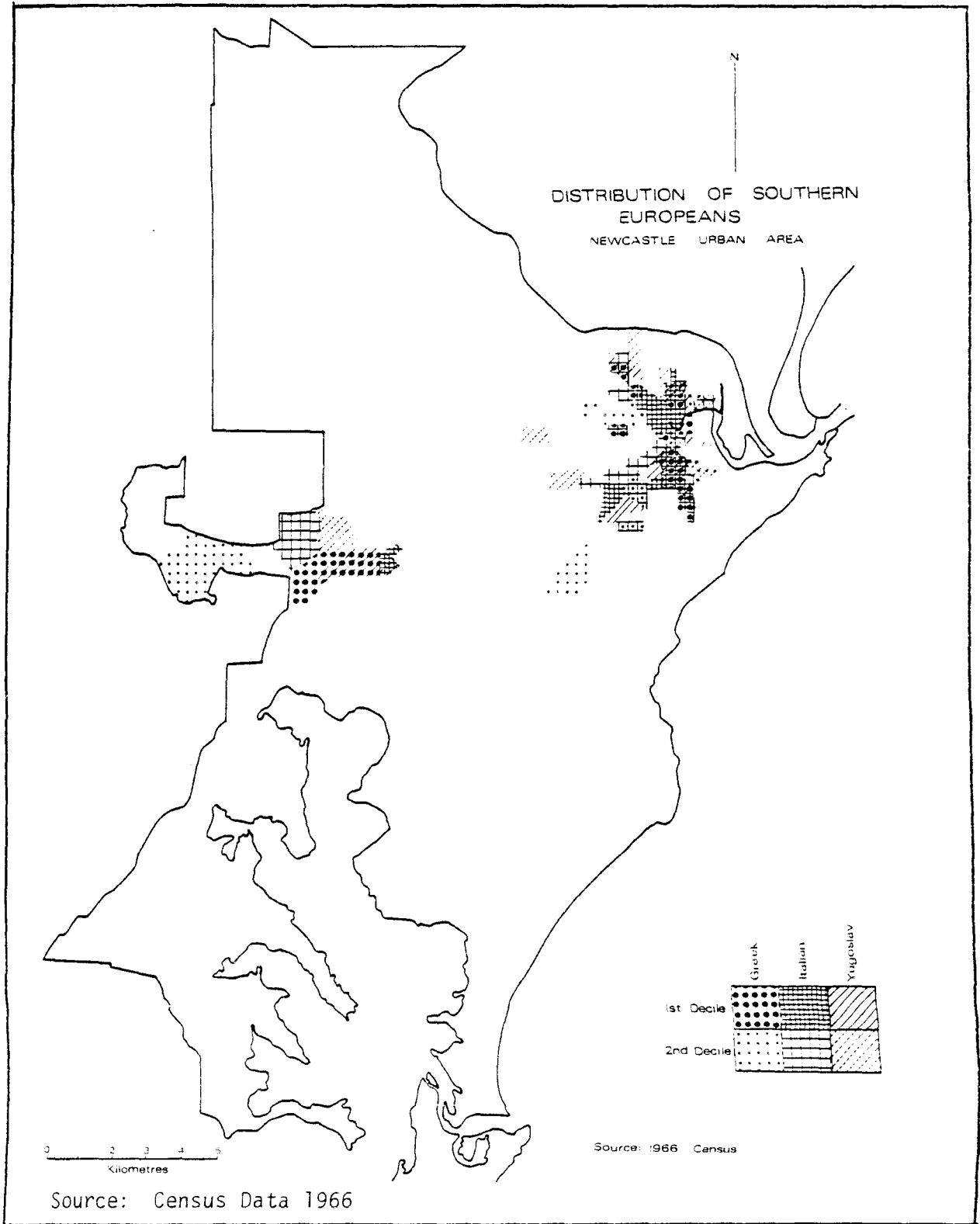
Figure 7: Southern European Pattern (Galvin 1971)

DISTRIBUTION OF NORTHERN
EUROPEANS
NEWCASTLE URBAN AREA

Source 1966 Census
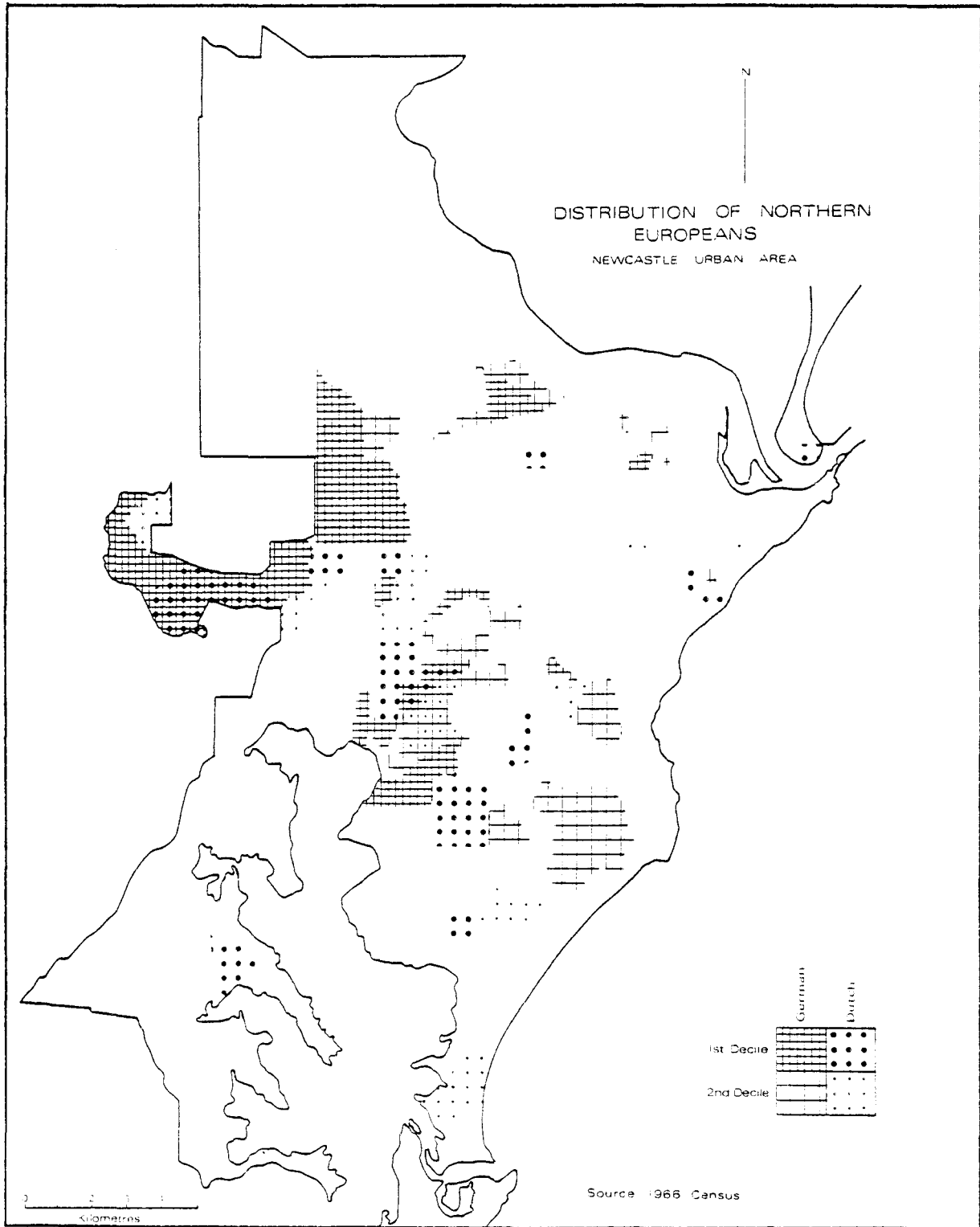
Figure 8: Northern European Pattern (Galvin 1971)

TABLE 1

POPULATION SIZE FOR ITALIAN, GREEK AND YUGOSLAV BORN

NEWCASTLE 1961-1976

Birthplace	1961	1966	1971	1976
Italy	1699	1616	1622	1823
Greece	895	982	1116	1122
Yugoslavia	504	1083	2551	2929

Source: Australian Census, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976.

TABLE 2

SPATIAL INDICES, SOUTHERN EUROPEANS

NEWCASTLE 1961-1971

(a) Concentration

Year	Lett.	Ital.	Grk.	Yug.	S.Eur.
1961	95.6	70.9	76.6	75.6	68.6
1966	93.7	65.1	72.0	67.4	63.9
1971	92.0	62.2	70.0	73.2	66.0

(b) Segregation

Year	Lett.	Ital.	Grk.	Yug.	S.Eur.
1961	88.6	54.3	59.9	64.1	51.2
1966	88.1	50.3	57.5	53.3	48.4
1971	86.8	45.4	57.5	63.8	53.6

TABLE 2 (cont.)

(ci) Dissimilarity 1961

Year	Lett.	Ital.	Grk.	Yug.	S.Eur.	Aust.-born
Lett.	0.0	59.0	68.5	72.0	63.2	88.9
Ital.	59.0	0.0	48.7	46.0	19.1	55.4
Grk.	68.5	48.7	0.0	49.2	32.0	60.6
Yug.	72.0	46.0	49.2	0.0	36.6	64.9
S.Eur.	63.2	19.1	32.0	36.6	0.0	51.7
Aust.-born	88.9	55.4	60.6	64.9	51.7	0.0

(cii) Dissimilarity 1966

Year	Lett.	Ital.	Grk.	Yug.	S.Eur.	Aust.-born
Lett.	0.0	59.0	62.9	70.8	61.8	88.6
Ital.	59.0	0.0	39.7	41.1	19.6	51.0
Grk.	62.9	39.7	0.0	44.5	28.1	58.1
Yug.	70.8	41.1	44.5	0.0	26.6	54.3
S.Eur.	61.8	19.6	28.1	26.6	0.0	48.8
Aust.-born	88.6	51.0	58.1	54.3	48.8	0.0

(ciii) Dissimilarity 1971

Year	Lett.	Ital.	Grk.	Yug.	S.Eur.	Aust.-born
Lett.	0.0	60.3	57.6	65.2	61.2	87.4
Ital.	60.3	0.0	40.3	44.4	26.4	46.3
Grk.	57.6	40.3	0.0	48.3	32.9	58.5
Yug.	65.2	44.4	48.3	0.0	22.1	64.6
S.Eur.	61.2	26.4	32.9	22.1	0.0	53.9
Aust.-born	87.4	46.3	58.5	64.6	53.9	0.0

Source: Australian Census 1961, 1966, 1971; Survey 1976 (Galvin 1980)

For the Greek-born the trend is similar but more pronounced, especially for 1971; and although this might reflect their slight increase in numbers, communal solidarity may be a more significant factor (Burns 1976). *Between 1961 and 1966 the Yugoslav pattern shows a similar trend* but by 1971 it is clearly reversed. *By then an influx of recent arrivals had found cheap accommodation close to the heavy industries.*

The mean centres of the above populations, for the three census years, further illustrate these trends (Fig. 9). The Italian mean centre continued to move outwards towards the mean centre of the host population; over the first intercensal period those of Greeks and Yugoslavs did likewise; but during the second intercensal period the Greek position remained stable, while the Yugoslav centre moved radically away from the mean centre of the host population and towards the industrial zone of the city, a zone defined in the earlier research as one of initial settlement for southern Europeans (Galvin 1971; 1974). Differences in pattern both between and within these groups are illustrated by Burns in a study of Greeks (in progress) and by Gordon (1974) in her work on Macedonians and Serbs. Again, similar variations are found in other cities and will be dealt with at length in Chapter 4.

The Italian Pattern

The Italian population has shown the most consistent trend among southern Europeans over the two intercensal periods and they, too, have experienced the least migration in and out of the city during the same period. Yet significant differentiation does exist among Italians and, indeed, it will be argued at greater length in Chapter 5 that the measures describing Italian spatial patterns do not represent the Lettesi community. Discrepancies are apparent between 'other Italian'
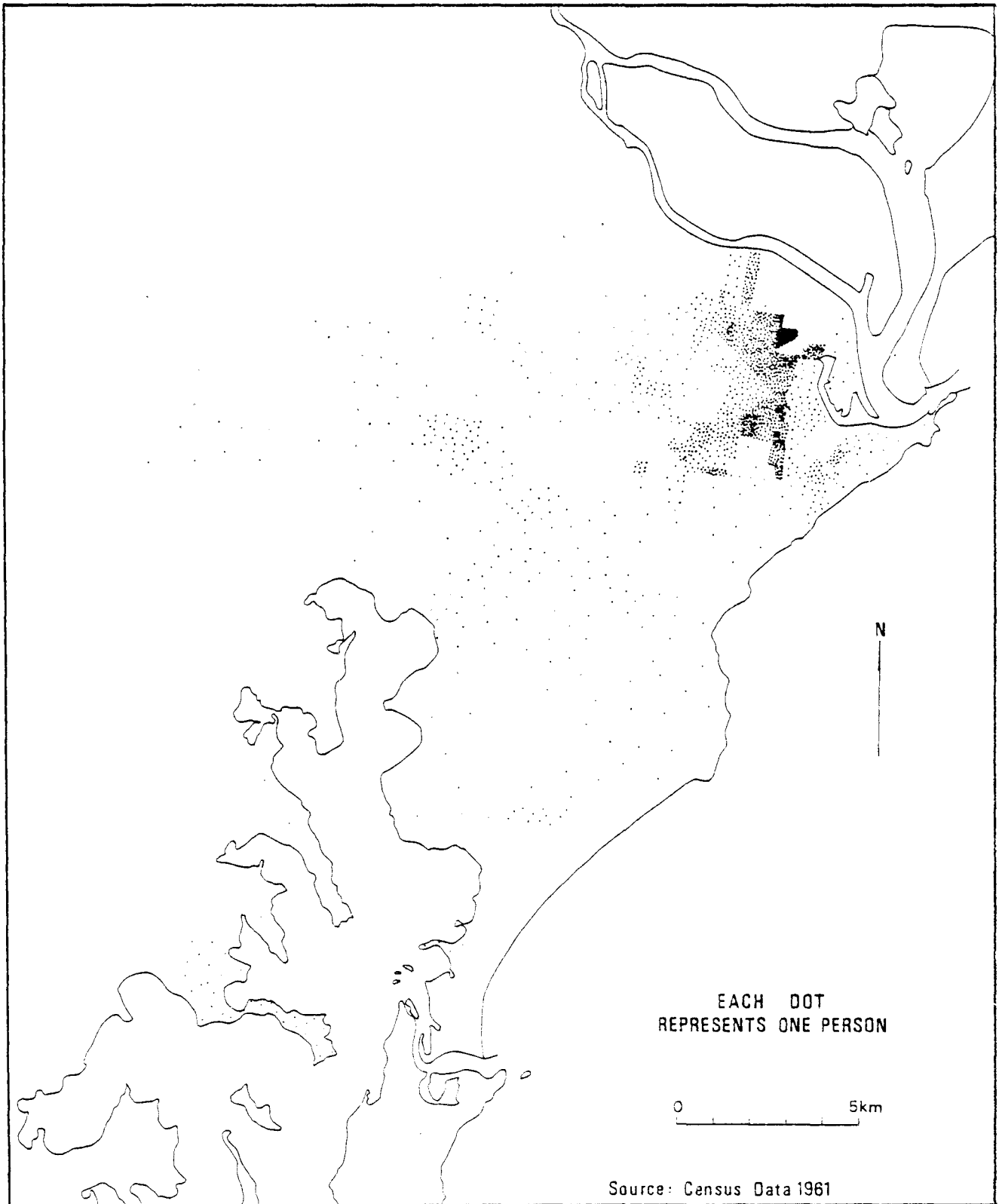
Figure 10: Distribution of Italian Born Population, Newcastle 1961 (Galvin 1976)

N

1.1 – 5.5
5.6 – 10.0
10.1 – 14.5

0   5km

Source: Census Data 1961
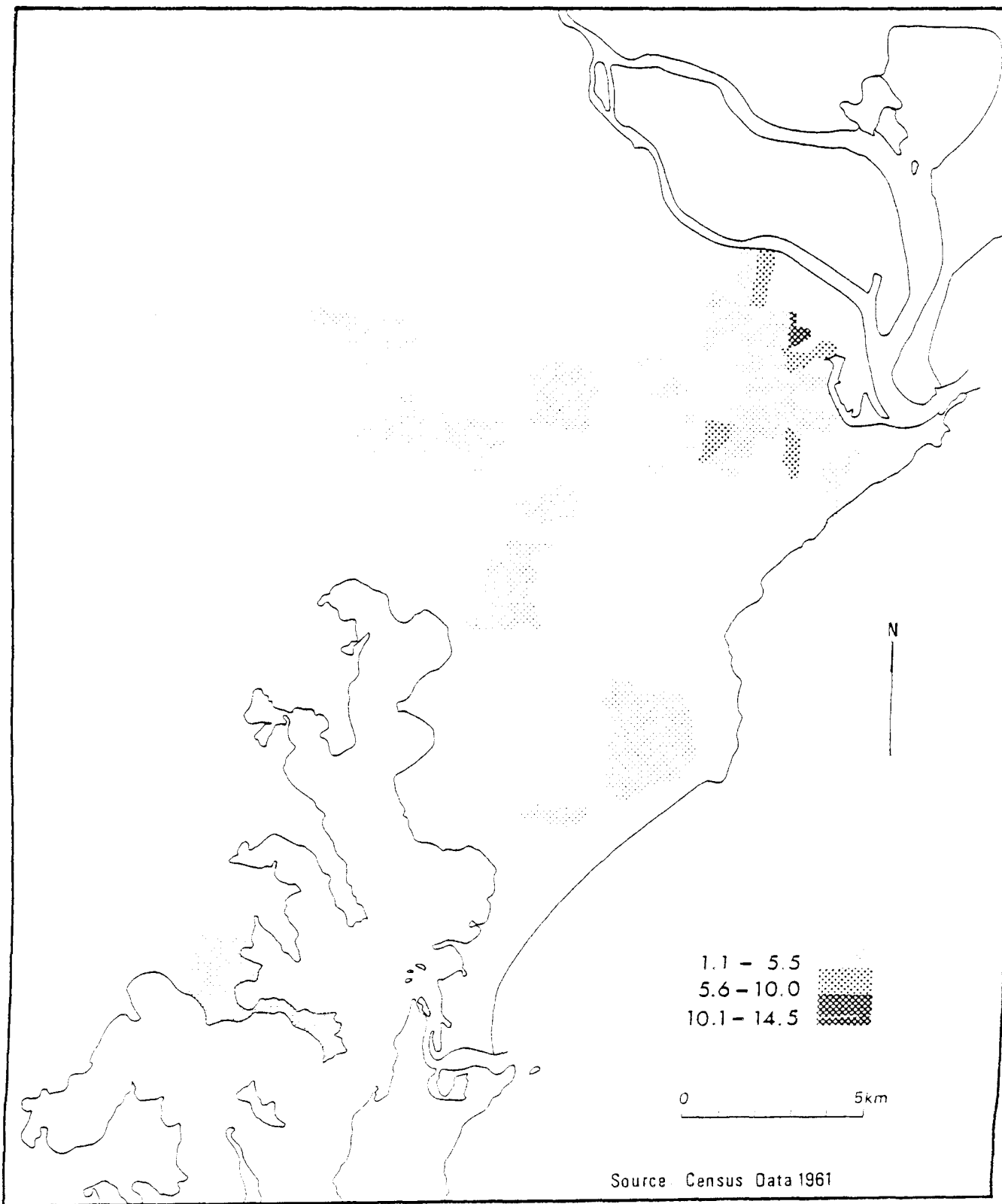
Figure 11: Areas of Italian Overrepresentation, Newcastle 1961 (Galvin 1976)

EACH DOT
REPRESENTS ONE PERSON

0   5km

Source: Census Data 1966
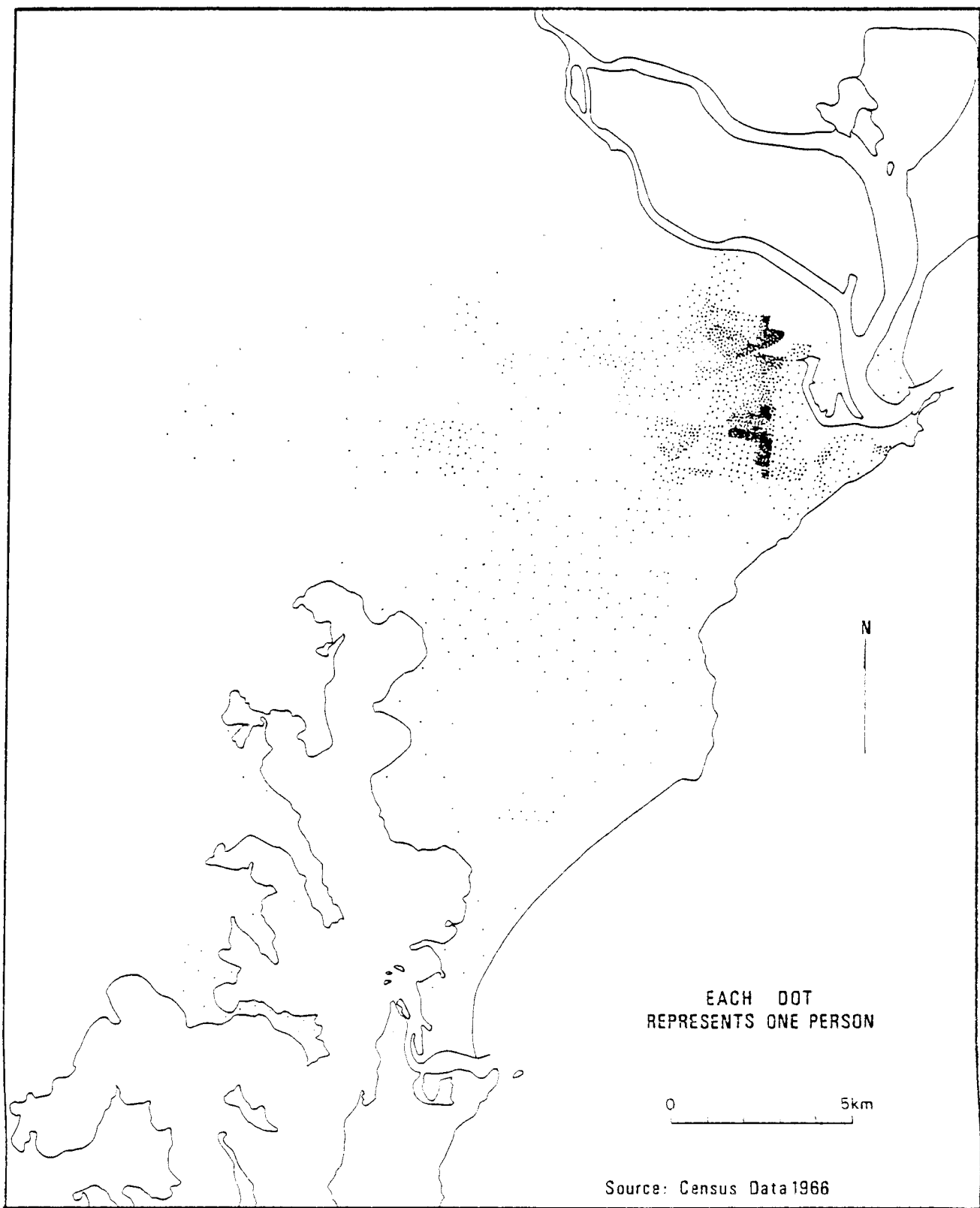
Figure 12: Distribution of Italian Born Population, Newcastle 1966 (Galvin 1976)

1.1 – 5.5
5.6 – 10.0
10.1 – 14.5

0   5km

N

Source: Census Data 1966
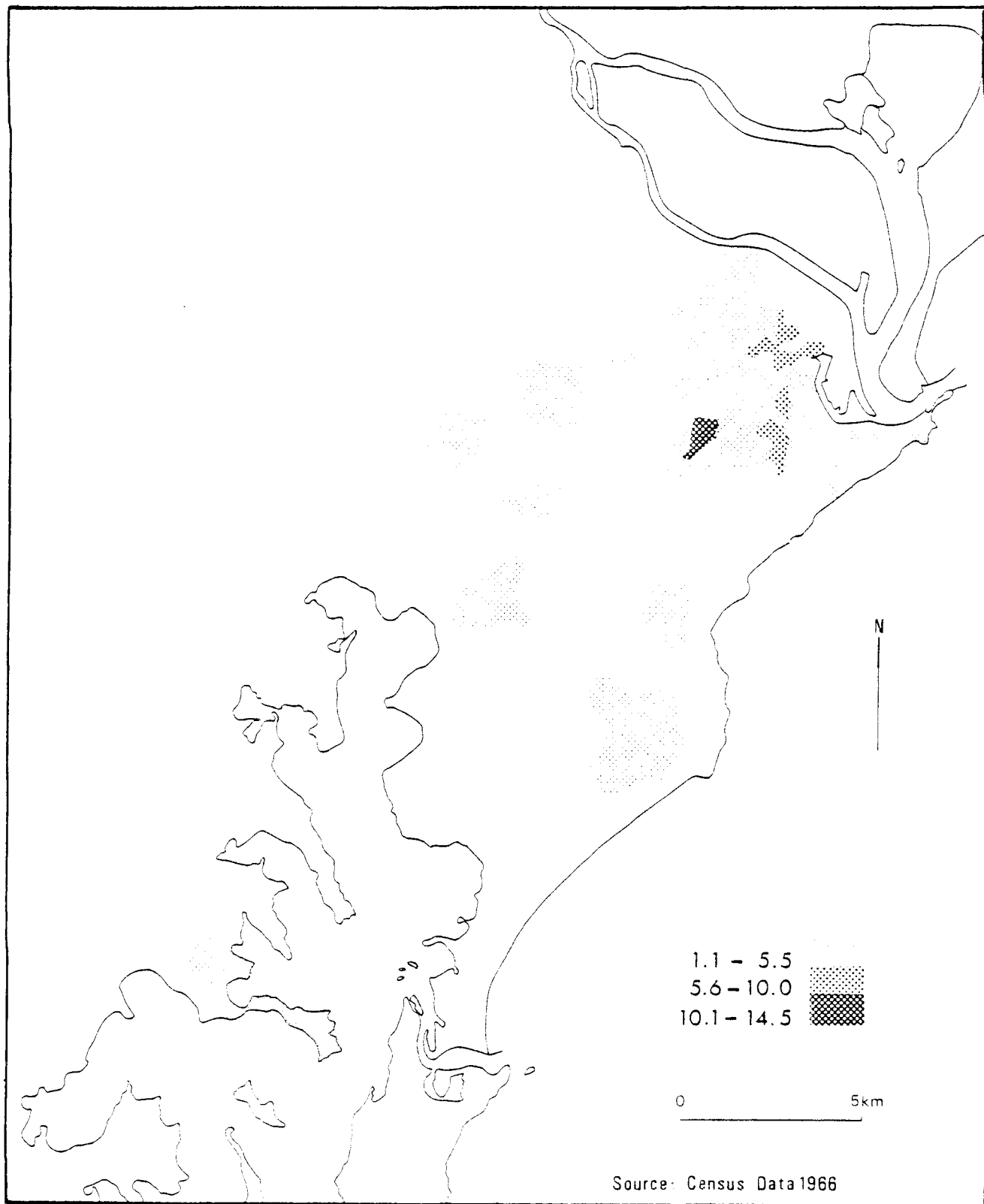
Figure 13: Areas of Italian Overrepresentation, Newcastle 1966 (Galvin 1976)

EACH DOT
REPRESENTS ONE PERSON

0   5km

Source: Census Data 1971
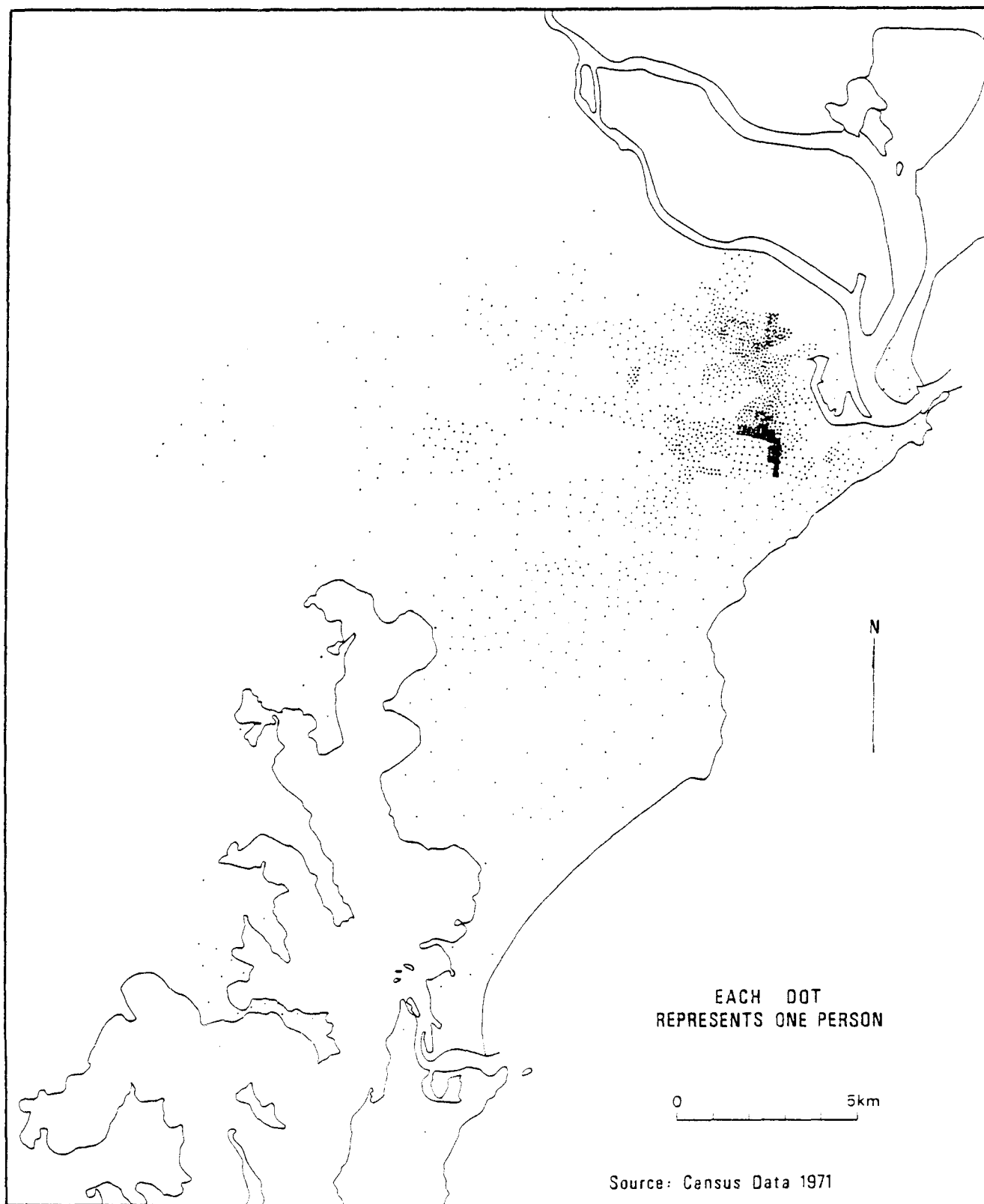
Figure 14: Distribution of Italian Born Population, Newcastle 1971 (Galvin 1976)

N

1.1 – 5.5
5.6 – 10.0
10.1 – 14.5

0   5km

Source: Census Data 1971
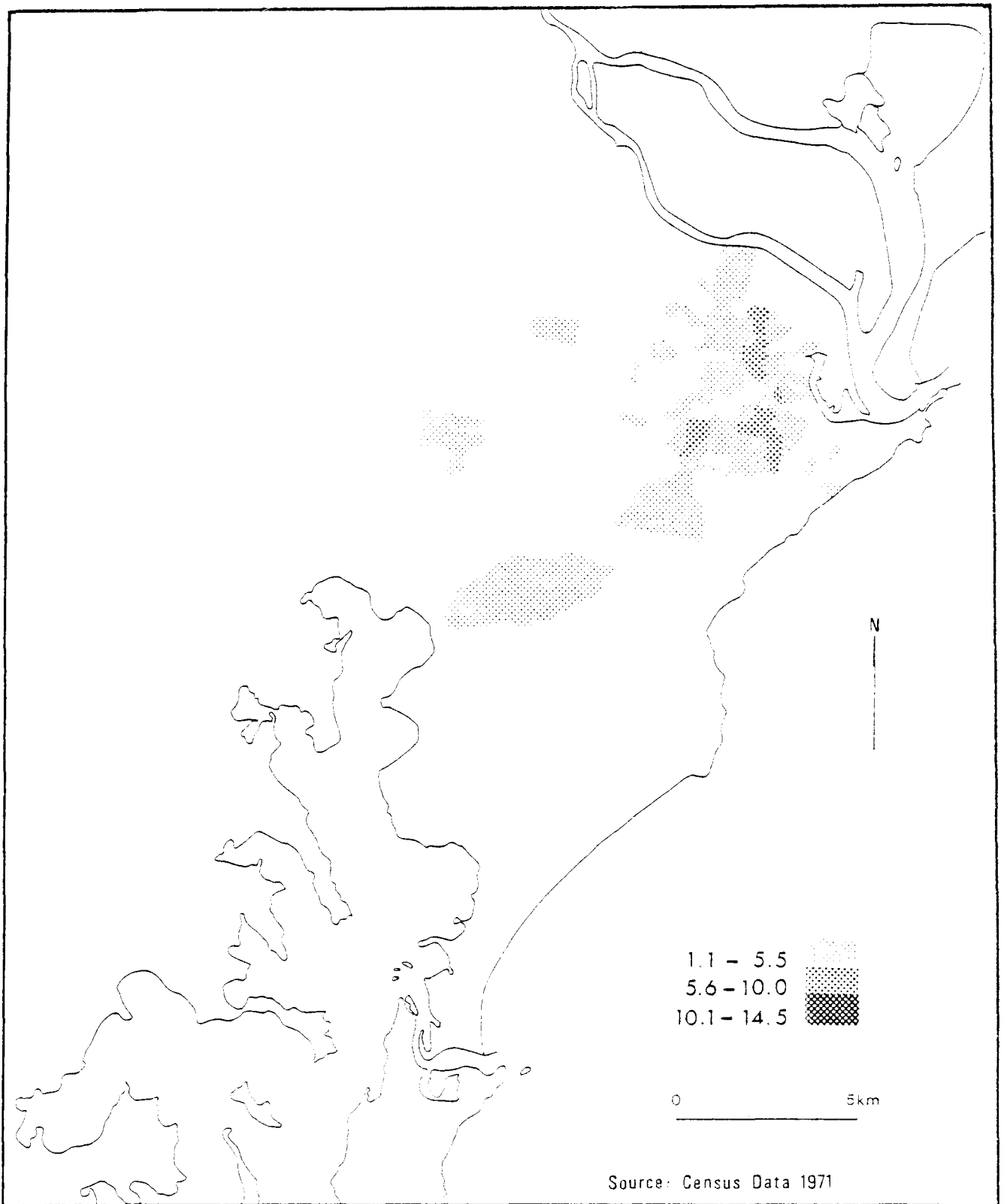
Figure 15: Areas of Italian Overrepresentation, Newcastle 1971 (Galvin 1976)

selecting potential immigrants.

Discrimination has occurred at government level through selective immigration and the Assisted Passage Scheme (Price 1975, p.A3). Mr B. Snedden, as Minister for Immigration, claimed that 'the government provided financial and other encouragement to prospective immigrants who might not otherwise be able to come here' (Snedden 1967, p.6). This motive would appear to be humanitarian; yet the irony is that southern Europeans could probably least afford the costs of emigration, and yet they received the least financial assistance. Tsounis believes that this probably reflected a measure of 'race preference' by framers of the policy (Tsounis, 1963, p.16). Justification for assisting northern Europeans was couched in terms of demand for skilled labour but it was seldom acknowledged that Australia, in the past, desperately required vast resources of unskilled labour - to do jobs that Australians seemed unwilling to do. Southern Europeans have largely filled this need.

Immigrants, especially southern Europeans, have been expected to cast off all distinguishable traits, irrespective of their potential value to the society. Diversity has been deplored and the greater the cultural distance, the greater the degree of intolerance that has prevailed. Tsounis has described discrimination against the Greeks and how they have been relegated to an inferior social position in a society sometimes hostile, intolerant and xenophobic. Tsounis also questioned Australian values and he found them wanting in comparison with those of Greeks - especially in relation to family and kinship (Tsounis 1975, p.47). Questioning the demand for unqualified assimilation, immigrants have asked:

> Why presume that the Australian pattern of human decency
> must be infinitely superior to any other pattern? (Kavass
> 1962, p.57).

Figure 20: Lettesi Distribution, 1976

Within the first map:
1976
SOUTH
NEWCASTLE
PACIFIC
LAKE
MACQUARIE
OCEAN
LETTOPALENA HOUSEHOLDS
• ONE HOUSEHOLD
0 1 2 3 4 5 Km
Source: Survey 1976

Within the second map:
Location Plan
HUNTER RIVER
STOCKTON
NEWCASTLE
CHARLESTOWN
SOUTH
LAKE
BELMONT
PACIFIC
MACQUARIE
SWANSEA
OCEAN
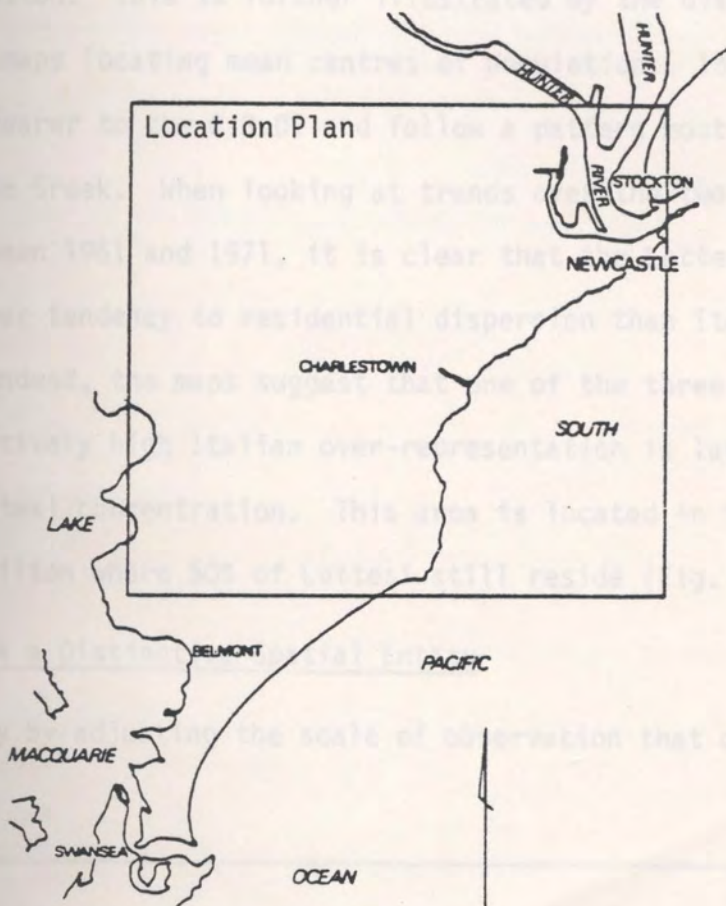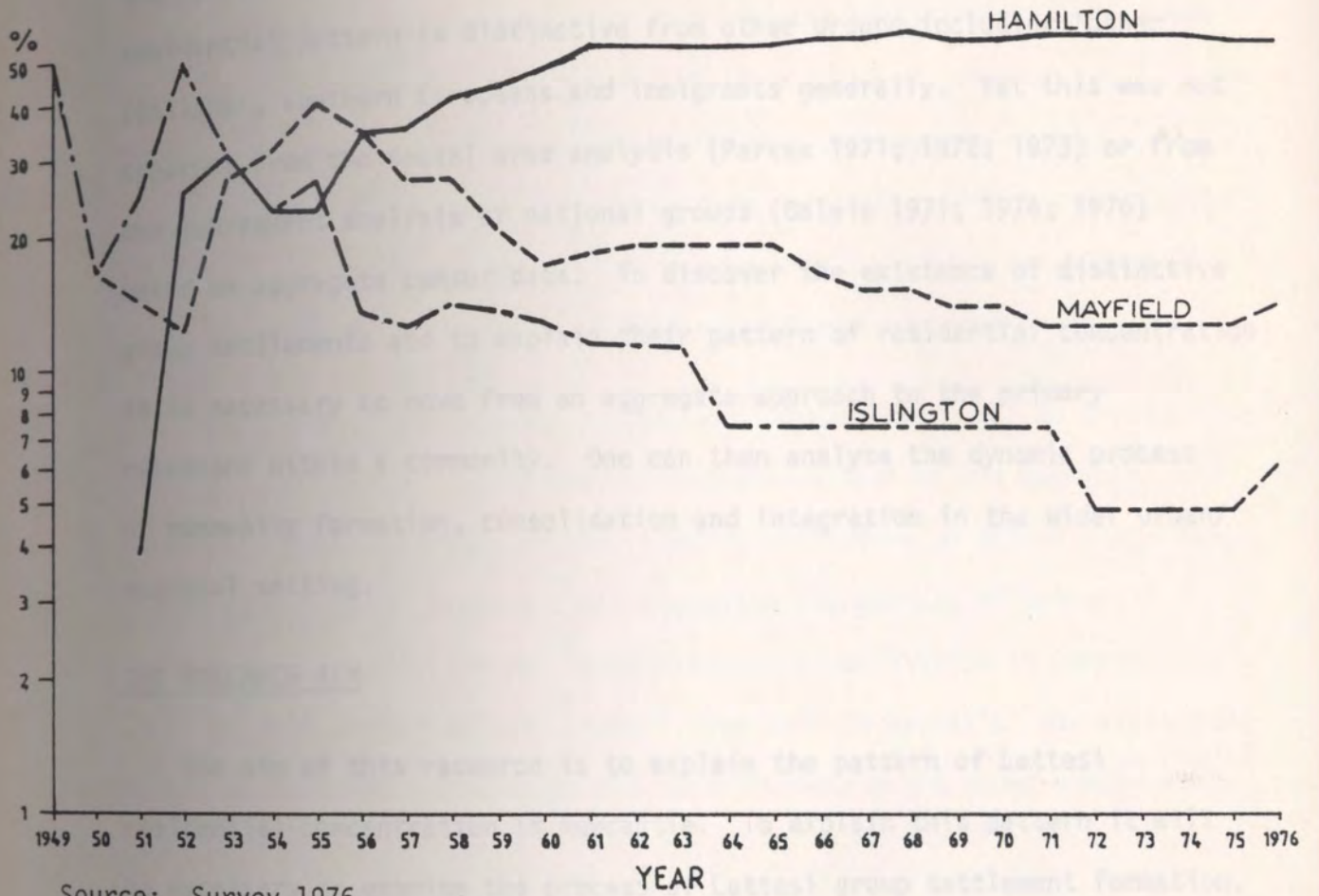
Figure 21: Suburbs of High Lettesi Concentration 1949-1976

Source: Survey 1976

the finer patterns of the complex urban social design. The Lettesi residential pattern is distinctive from other groups including 'other Italians', southern Europeans and immigrants generally. Yet this was not apparent from the social area analysis (Parkes 1971; 1972; 1973) or from the subsequent analysis of national groups (Galvin 1971; 1974; 1976) based on aggregate census data. To discover the existence of distinctive group settlements and to explain their pattern of residential concentration it is necessary to move from an aggregate approach to the primary relations within a community. One can then analyse the dynamic process of community formation, consolidation and integration in the wider urban/ societal setting.

THE RESEARCH AIM

The aim of this research is to explain the pattern of Lettesi residential concentration in Newcastle. To explain this pattern it will be necessary to examine the process of Lettesi group settlement formation, consolidation and integration in relation to Lettesi community structure. Before commencing this research it is essential, however, to clarify conceptual and methodological issues which continue to hinder theoretical progress. This is one of the main aims of Chapter 2.

In Chapter 2 I shall attempt to clarify the concept of 'integration'[1] for the purpose of this study, but with reference to the broader conceptual perspective of post-war literature on immigration and resettlement. Conceptual discussion will lead to the formulation of a research

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1. Integration is defined, for the purpose of this research as a process whereby links are created between the individual and the ethnic community and the wider society, in the process of adjustment.

and policy framework which seeks to differentiate between value premise, social structure and social process, within the context of recent trends in ethnic research. Besides presenting an outline of research methodology, Part B of Chapter 2 will argue the need for a convergence of the disciplines in their scales of approach to particular problems in ethnic research, for otherwise there will be no consistent basis for meaningful, interdisciplinary dialogue to lead to significant progress in theory.

This theme of convergence in scales of methodology will be argued further in Part A of the following chapters as part of the general discussion and evaluation of the relevant literature on ethnic communities. In Part B of these chapters I shall examine the process of community formation, consolidation and integration at a scale which is appropriate for understanding group 'structure'[1], for this is essential for explaining group existence both spatially and socially within the wider urban context.

In Chapter 5 this theme is developed further when I present an alternative model of integration which accommodates the role of inter- personal channels in providing access to the wider social system in a process of adjustment and integration. This role is a reason for community existence. The communications model of integration is useful, however, not only for examining the role of such communities in gaining access to resources, but also for examining the institutional response to immigrant needs in a societal context.[2] The model can be applied as a

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1. The term 'structure' is used here, in preference to the term 'social organisation', because of its application in relation to social networks. Social network structure will be defined by the roles providing access to institutions in the wider social system (Chapter 5).

2. The institutional response to the migrant presence was a theme of a book by Martin (1978).

framework for policy, an example of which will be presented in Appendix 5.

The link between policy and explanation of ethnic pattern must be found in the way that ethnic communities consolidated their presence within a policy vacuum where institutions in society have ignored their existence.[1] More effective integration will only occur as a two-way response between ethnic communities and the institutions which society creates to meet the needs of all of its people. This can only be achieved through more effective policy.

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1. Changes in policy and institutional response will be referred to in later chapters.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

PART A.   THE CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVE IN POST-WAR ETHNIC RESEARCH

Ethnic concepts have evolved within a context of changing attitudes towards immigrants in society and values have been built into concept definition. This chapter examines the relevant concepts, questions their assumptions and traces their evolution to clarify the present research position and provide an 'objective' framework for analysis. Emphasis will be placed on many earlier writings to reflect, not only changing attitudes and values, but also the conclusions of research at the time, to show how feedback has operated between the two, and between research, policy and society, generally.

The ethnic community, by providing a buffer between the individual immigrant and the host society, plays an important role in immigrant adjustment. Writers have generally acknowledged this but have failed to stress sufficiently the role of the community in the process of integration between immigrant and society. For many immigrants, especially southern Europeans, the role of the ethnic community is crucial, not only to their adjustment', but also to integration.

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1. *Adjustment* is used here in a general sense, synonymously with the terms *adaptation* and *coping*. It is the way the individual or ethnic group fits needs to environment and environment to needs. The value implied by a norm or standard against which to measure a specific 'state' of adjustment does not present a problem in the present context because adjustment is seen, not as a state, but, as a process.

Adjustment implies that their needs are being met, either from within their community, or from the wider society. Ethnic communities are not self-sufficient and for needs to be satisfied, links must be created between the community and the host society. This is a process of structural integration and for many immigrants it can only be achieved through the social networks of their ethnic groups.

Assimilation has stressed the complete disintegration of the ethnic community, socio-culturally and spatially. It would therefore appear to have limited relevance, especially in reference to first generation immigrants, for contrary to expectation and regardless of policy, ethnic communities have shown remarkable persistence, not only in Australia but in other societies, notably the United States. Nevertheless this concept has dominated post-war thinking and so the positive role of the ethnic community in the process of integration has been largely overlooked. There has been, however, a strong reaction against the concept in recent years and two main points seem to emerge from this reaction. The first is the stress on the principle of social justice as a basic value premise guiding research; the second is the recognition that the present social reality is one of a multicultural society.

This reaction is encouraging in relation to the fact that, in earlier research, value premises were not explicit and that theory was often divorced from reality. Thus after decades of research the assimilation concept had produced only a series of research orientations reflecting the attitudes of the various researchers and the changing attitudinal trend through time. Hence Price concluded in 1966, 1972 and again in 1977,

> There is no satisfactory general theory to assist our
> understanding of immigrant assimilation or the wider field
> of minority group relations (Price 1977, p.331).

Because value premises were not explicit they were not subjected to critical scrutiny; nor were researchers usually aware of them. Thus unconsciously they were built into concept definitions and allowed to distort the models of reality. This largely explains the conceptual confusion recognised by Horobin (1957, p.241), Johnston (1969, p.1) and others; and the problems of bias described by Glaser (1958, p.41) and Price (1966, p.A7). The following introduction to a conference paper is typical of the general approach to the problem:

> We have already heard several definitions of assimilation from earlier speakers this afternoon and now I want to introduce another one (Richardson 1960, p.33).

The valuations which have guided ethnic research follow an evolutionary trend in societal attitudes. Changing orientations have resulted from a process of continuing feedback between the attitudes of society, including those of the ethnic groups, the concepts and approaches used by researchers, the results of their research, and finally, government policy. Consistent changes are therefore observable in social attitudes, policy and in research. We see a gradual change in orientation from strict Anglo-conformism to the melting-pot approach, to integration, cultural pluralism, multiculturalism and polyethnicism. These concepts imply different forms of social structure and are expressions of changing perceptions of this structure. Underlying the concepts and the changing perceptions are values and assumptions which represent, through time, an increasing degree of tolerance, as well as an awareness, of the place and function of ethnic groups within society.

An outline of the trend in conceptual orientation in ethnic research will now be presented. In the course of this outline the valuations or assumptions implied by the concepts will be clarified and evaluated by reference to relevant research findings. I will show how

the premises of social justice and awareness of Australia as a multicultural society have emerged as part of the overall trend. This should clarify the present position and provide a realistic framework for research.

ASSIMILATION, THE VALUE PREMISES

The *assimilation* concept has many and varied definitions but a clear break in emphasis occurred in America in the move from Anglo-conformism to the melting-pot approach. Anglo-conformist assimilation implied that immigrants must 'cast away their old language, customs and attitudes, in favour of America's Anglo-Saxon core culture' (Price 1966, p.A3). The melting-pot hypothesis saw 'both immigrants and native-born enter the great New World Crucible and emerge melted, blended and reshaped as the shining new American men and women' (Price 1966, p.A3).

In Australia the trend in conceptual orientation has closely paralleled the American, but at a later stage in the development of society, within a more compressed period and with a great deal of conceptual overlap and confusion. To some Australian writers assimilation has implied conformity to a stable core Anglo-Saxon culture. Models of this process have been described as monistic. Others have stressed interactionist models, or an approach more analogous to the melting-pot idea.

The value premises now to be discussed apply more readily to 'monistic' Anglo-conformism for this was the form most prevalent in Australia, and the shift from this approach to that of the melting-pot represented, to some extent, a re-evaluation. There are six main assumptions or value premises implied to a greater or lesser extent by

the range of individual definitions of assimilation.

The first assumption to be examined is the existence of an essentially stable, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant society - of a national way of life to which an immigrant must conform. Some Australian writers, for example, Taft (1957; 1966), Berndt (1964) and Timms (1969), have used an Anglo-conformist approach. In his conclusion to a study of assimilation in Queensland, Timms expressed surprise at the unexpectedly high level of dissimilarity between Australian-born and the New Zealand-born. He said:

> It may well be that...the true core society for
> establishing a yardstick...is not the total Australian-
> born population, but only those members forming the
> establishment and deriving from Anglo-Saxon Protestant
> stock (Timms 1969, p.54).

Despite his rejection of 'monistic assimilation' and his stated preference for an interactionist approach, Taft (1957) presented an assimilation model which was clearly monistic in terms of its assumptions. One of his basic assumptions was that during assimilation the host society was stable (Taft 1957, p.143). Taft was not unaware of this problem but he argued that in the short term ethnic impact was limited. Nevertheless he later revised his model to take account of actual conditions (Taft 1966, pp.14-15).

This assumption of a stable core society consisting of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, has been challenged indirectly in the litera-ture. Even before the war there was a large proportion of Australians whom Timms would exclude from his true core society; and Berndt from his assessment of Australian Society (1964). There were, for example, the Irish Catholics, forming 20 per cent of the population. They were often bitterly opposed to English customs and institutions, fighting conscription in World War I, and establishing their own independent

schools (Price 1968, pp.3-4). Their contributions to Australian institutions, such as the Australian Labor Party, cannot be denied. A further 10 per cent of the pre-war population were of non-British origin, mainly of German and Italian descent and their impact was significant where their numbers were great as in the Barossa Valley and in the canefields of northern Queensland (Borrie 1954). In considering the impact of Asian immigration Mackie (1977, p.2) claimed also that Australia has always been more 'multi-racial' than was generally recognised. Now with mass immigration since World War II the above assumption could never be sustained for the non British-born (excluding the Irish) form 22 per cent of the total population and including their children born in Australia, the figure would approach, at least, 40 per cent (Burnley 1981). The sociocultural impact has been considerable (Encel 1971, p.37).

Price refers to the new 'way of life that is emerging under the impact of so many new persons and influences' (Price 1968, p.19). Bottomley claims further that 'however modified, the immigrants' traditions now form part of a heterogeneous Australian culture, both influencing and being influenced by the host society' (Bottomley 1974, p.285). Banchevska refers to the 'startling changes' undergone by the host population in Australia in 'the broader process of continual change towards the emergence of a new kind of social structure' (Banchevska 1966, pp.45-53). This new kind of multicultural structure was acknowledged in Zubrzycki and Martin's (1977) submission, 'Australia as a Multicultural Society', by the Galbally Report on Post-Arrival Services (1978) and by the N.S.W. Government's Report, 'Participation' (1978); it has been actively promoted, in recent years, by Mr. A Grassby through the Office of Community Relations. The assumption of a stable host society,

into which all ethnic groups will eventually assimilate, cannot be

upheld within the Australian social context. As Taft acknowledged,

> Rarely, if ever, does a majority group passively absorb
> a substantial minority, without being influenced to
> some extent, by it (Taft 1953, p.46).

The second assumption to be examined is that of host society

superiority and hierarchical evaluation of other ethnic groups. This

assumption is closely associated with the first which implied white

Anglo-Saxon Protestant superiority. Writers have agreed that such an

evaluation springs directly from prejudice which is usually associated

with overt acts of discrimination and that this creates obstacles to

further 'assimilation'. Borrie referred to the 'passions, prides and

prejudices' which lay behind policies designed to protect the national

character (Borrie 1959, p.90). Such policies have been directed at

specific ethnic groups which the government believed could not be

easily 'assimilated'. Asians and southern Europeans, particularly,

have suffered discrimination both in the U.S. and in Australia (Price

1966, p.A16; Encel 1971, p.37).

Price referred to a study by Laughlin which 'successfully'

persuaded the U.S. government that southern and eastern Europeans, and

Jews, were relatively more prone to deviant behaviour and their entry

should therefore be severely restricted. According to Price his

arguments were unsound and were bolstered by the assertion that all

criminal behaviour was inherited (Price 1966, p.A16). Australia

followed the U.S. lead with the Amending Immigration Act of 1925 which,

aimed primarily at southern Europeans, empowered the government to

exclude 'those deemed unlikely to be readily assimilable' (Price 1966,

p.A4). The hierarchical evaluation is further implied by the points

system'operating both in Canada and in Australia as a basis for

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1. This system establishes the criteria for immigrant selection. The
    criteria is adjusted from time to time in response to policy changes.

selecting potential immigrants.

Discrimination has occurred at government level through selective
immigration and the Assisted Passage Scheme (Price 1975, p.A3). Mr B.
Snedden, as Minister for Immigration, claimed that 'the government
provided financial and other encouragement to prospective immigrants
who might not otherwise be able to come here' (Snedden 1967, p.6).
This motive would appear to be humanitarian; yet the irony is that
southern Europeans could probably least afford the costs of emigration,
and yet they received the least financial assistance. Tsounis believes
that this probably reflected a measure of 'race preference' by framers
of the policy (Tsounis, 1963, p.16). Justification for assisting
northern Europeans was couched in terms of demand for skilled labour
but it was seldom acknowledged that Australia, in the past, desperately
required vast resources of unskilled labour - to do jobs that
Australians seemed unwilling to do. Southern Europeans have largely
filled this need.

Immigrants, especially southern Europeans, have been expected to
cast off all distinguishable traits, irrespective of their potential
value to the society. Diversity has been deplored and the greater the
cultural distance, the greater the degree of intolerance that has
prevailed. Tsounis has described discrimination against the Greeks and
how they have been relegated to an inferior social position in a
society sometimes hostile, intolerant and xenophobic. Tsounis also
questioned Australian values and he found them wanting in comparison
with those of Greeks - especially in relation to family and kinship
(Tsounis 1975, p.47). Questioning the demand for unqualified
assimilation, immigrants have asked:

    Why presume that the Australian pattern of human decency
    must be infinitely superior to any other pattern? (Kavass
    1962, p.57).

Kovacs and Cropley, in a discussion of stereotypes, stressed the unreliability of misinformed perceptions. They pointed out that Australians show an amazing ignorance of the culture, history and origins of their immigrants (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, p.73). It is ironic, for example, that stereotypes of Italians, being 'prone to use the knife' and 'probably agents of the Mafia' (Jupp 1966, p.119), had no support in the crime statistics. In a report by the N.S.W. Crime Statistics Bureau, Italians in fact were shown to have the least number of offences in the State, relative to the size of the population, and they were closely followed by Maltese and Greeks. New Zealanders had the highest crime rate (Vinson 1973, p.42). While Australians were often critical of the visible concentration of ethnic communities within their midst (Johnston 1968, p.153), they failed to realise that ethnic cohesion is preserved by those values which operate effectively as social controls over deviant behaviour.

Stereotypes which are misconceived, and prejudice expressed through discrimination, are damaging both to ethnic group relations and to the well-being of the individual immigrant. While alienating the immigrant from the host society, they force his retreat into the ethnic community where he may be assured of acceptance and respect, at the expense of his wider participation in society. If there is no community with which he can identify, then the problem of marginality will be greatly exacerbated, causing pscyhological stress and often mental breakdown. Johnston claimed that marginality occurs for those 'inclined to identify with the dominant group, but who encounter a relatively impermeable barrier' (Johnston 1965, p.49). Stonequist discussed its disorganising impact:

> ...the conviction of facing an unscalable wall, and
> personal failures, overwhelm the individual. Mental

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> ...the conviction of facing an unscalable wall, and
> personal failures, overwhelm the individual. Mental

conflict leads to discouragement and despair. In its
extreme form this eventuates in mental disorganisation
and in suicide (Stonequist 1937, p.202).

The assumption of host society superiority over ethnic groups who
are evaluated hierarchically has led to discriminatory attitudes and
practices, the impact of which has been detrimental to the immigrant
and, ironically, to the process of immigrant 'assimilation'.

The third assumption is that immigrants are an economic and
security threat and should therefore be assimilated as rapidly as
possible. The standard reaction to a perceived threat is overt
discrimination which, ironically again, presents further obstacles to
'assimilation'. There are many recorded instances, particularly during
recessions, when Australians reacted strongly to a perceived *economic
threat* (Price 1968, p.7). Stanner refers to the riots of the 1850s when
Chinese immigrants posed a threat to wages and conditions because
'...hardworking, efficient and content with small returns, they accepted
privations that Europeans would not tolerate' (Stanner 1971, p.11).
Encel described how the British Preference League in Queensland, during
the 1930s, enforced a 25 per cent quota on non-British canecutters. In
the 1940s the Returned Servicemen's League wanted the Queensland
government to disenfranchise immigrant farmers and to assign their
land to returning ex-servicemen (Encel 1971, p.37). In post-war years,
during periods of recession, some employers imposed an 'English-
speaking' requirement which, it seems, was not relevant during times of
labour scarcity. The refusal to acknowledge overseas qualifications
has also been widespread during post-war years (Snedden 1969, p.10) and
has frequently caused severe 'status dislocation' which has led to
depression and often to mental breakdown (Krupinski 1967, p.275; Kovacs
and Cropley 1975, p.31). Occupational discrimination is hardly

conducive to a process of ethnic 'assimilation'.

In relation to the perceived economic threat, there is a seeming contradiction in that mass immigration was initiated mainly for economic reasons. The paradox is that while Australian society generally has gained immeasurably from mass immigration, competition still eixsts at an individual level. Yet competition is provided, not only from immigrants, but from other members of Australian society. The difference is that the immigrant is visible and visibility defines the boundary of an 'out' group (Stanner 1971, p.9) which then provides a scapegoat for those who fail to gain positions in a field which is competitive.

The occupational status of different ethnic groups has been examined closely by a number of writers. Hutchinson found that the upward mobility rate for immigrants into Brazil was higher than that of the host group; but he stressed that they were occupying new positions created as a result of economic growth, largely due to immigration (Hutchinson 1958, p.120). In Boston, Thernstrom observed a dramatic difference in opportunities which were open to first and second generation immigrants compared to Americans of native stock. Differences were largely independent of class origins. Thernstrom concluded:

> Was there something in the characteristic lifestyles
> and values of some groups that impeded their adaptation
> ...[or] Was it rather that the receiving society treated
> men differently according to their ethnicity, welcoming
> some and placing obstacles in the way of others?
> (Thernstrom 1970, pp.158-9).

The situation in Australia is more difficult to assess because of the recency of mass immigration of people of non-British origin. Zubrzycki showed, in 1969, that first generation immigrants were not

distributed evenly throughout the occupational structure - the British group, alone, was highly represented within the professional category; German and Dutch immigrants held intermediate positions; Ukraine/U.S.S.R. and Polish immigrants were little better off than southern Europeans who generally occupied the lowest positions. Many other scholars have supported the conclusion that ethnicity is related to socioeconomic status (Lieberson 1961; Jones 1969; Timms 1969; Zubrzycki 1969; Johnston 1973; Burnley 1974, 1975, 1980; Neutze 1978; Collins 1981). This aspect of the coincidence of class and ethnicity will be discussed, at greater length, in Chapter 4. Some have referred to it as 'structural pluralism' (Gordon 1975, p.85; Martin 1978, p.56).

Such results do not suggest that immigrants have presented an economic threat at the societal level, except, perhaps from the consumer view where pressure on services like housing and education led to the scaling down of immigration throughout the seventies. In employment, however, discrimination has aggravated the already disadvantaged situation of the immigrant and has undoubtedly retarded 'assimilation'. The Social Welfare Commission has argued, in fact, for positive discrimination in favour of the disadvantaged immigrant (Boss 1977, p.44).

The need for a policy of assimilation to counter a perceived *political threat* has also been implied in a number of writings. While Stoller recognised the positive aspects of national associations, he nevertheless added a word of warning 'about the possibility of retardation of integration if there is overemphasis on home politics ...' and suggested:

> Although there is an ever-present danger there has been
> no significant social isolationism...and no really
> troublesome political movements (Stoller 1966, p.5).

Fear has also been expressed over the possible abuse of the foreign language press and ethnic radio. It is feared that immigrants may transfer divisions from the country of origin to the new environment, or publish subversive, hostile propaganda. After examining these contentions in regard to the ethnic press, Zubrzycki supported the resolution expressed at the Havana Conference, 1956. The resolution acknowledged the positive potential which far outweighed evidence of political threat. The success of ethnic radio in providing information and access to the wider social system in Australia lends further reassurance that fears may be ill-founded. If anything, ethnic radio would facilitate integration (Zubrzycki 1958, p.82).

If there is any basis for assuming that immigrants are potentially a divisive force then it lies in the fact of 'structural pluralism'. Engel attributes the urban crisis in ethno-racial relations in America to the 'power ascendancy of the dominant group, over minority group coalitions' (Engel 1968, p.92). A similar crisis could emerge in Australia where immigrant unemployment is disproportionately high and the majority affected are southern Europeans (Collins 1975, p.117; Ethnic Affairs Commission of N.S.W. Report to the Premier 1978, p.160). It is the southern European professional elite who, in recent years, have been loudly demanding 'ethnic rights, power and participation' (Storer 1973).

The fourth assumption is that immigrants can change their way of life completely, and at will. It is absurd to believe that immigrants to this country were motivated by the goal of the government which invited them - especially the goal of assimilation. They emigrated for a variety of reasons, but mainly because the perceived opportunities were greater here than they were in the homeland. Thus while the

government may have expected them all to assimilate, their energies were turned towards the goal of survival which often required the support of an ethnic group. Buckland alleges that before emigration no reference was made by officials in Greece to the fact that immigrants were expected to 'assimilate'. All they were given were promises of Eldorado (Buckland 1973, p.3). To the extent that this was the general procedure it would have amounted to an irreconcilable inconsistency between the goals of the immigrant and the Australian government.

If a government were seriously to apply assimilation policy it would have to legislate for specific controls. Taft lists examples of measures compatible with an attitude of 'monistic' assimilation. They include compulsory naturalisation, effective opposition to the establishment of ethnic schools, to the use of non-English languages in public places and to special non-English radio broadcasts (Taft 1963, p.288). There is a host of other controls which would have to be made effective to achieve a goal of ethnic invisibility. Bogardus has stated that some degree of coercion, 'as a spur to awaken lethargy may be desirable' (Bogardus 1958, p.209). It is debatable however whether such controls could be exercised in a society that claims to be democratic. Zubrzycki comments:

> What is being Australian? Most importantly it is our
> freedom - freedom to fulfill ourselves (Zubrzycki 1977, p.137).

Coercion may not have been acceptable in Australia, but immigrants, nevertheless, were expected to surrender, unconditionally, their ethnic identity. Naturalisation was stressed as the principal indicator of identification with the host community so that in the words of a Good Neighbour Council spokesman,

> Naturalisation was a duty and a moral obligation (Van
> Keulen 1959, p.29).

Such words reflected the government attitude that it 'expects all immigrants to intend to become Australians' (Heydon 1965, p.10).

This identification concept was a central part of most of the models of assimilation. Gordon saw it as a stage, or type of assimilation (Gordon 1964); Taft called it a stage in his earlier model (Taft 1957) but referred to it later as a facet of assimilation (Taft 1966); Glaser devised a continuum of identification, ranging from segregating to assimilating individuals (Glaser 1958); Richardson presented a feedback model wherein satisfaction, identification and acculturation were all interacting and necessary dimensions (Richardson 1961); Johnston emphasised the subjective element which consisted of identification with the members of the society (Johnston 1963, p.296); and Craig concluded that despite the multiplicity of definitions of assimilation, there were always three aspects: social, cultural and identificational. She said:

> A necessary concomitant to full assimilation is that
> immigrants cease to think of themselves as...having a
> collective status qua immigrants (Craig 1954, p.506).

In his work with British immigrants in Western Australia, Richardson observed that 'what seems to be added to satisfaction to achieve identification is the feeling of being liked and accepted by Australians' a factor which often lies beyond the immigrants' control (Richardson 1974, p.106). Scales have been devised to measure the social distance of different ethnic minorities. The Bogardus Scale is probably the best known (Bogardus 1928). Others have been devised for refugees by Keys-Young (1980), by Storer (1981) for Newcastle and by Taft for students of the University of Western Australia. They were asked to 'indicate in rank order, the degree to which you feel favourable towards associating in general with the groups mentioned'.

Excluding the Australian-born, English immigrants were ranked first
(Taft 1959, p.82-3).

Thus identification with the host society, and therefore the
process of subjective assimilation (Johnston 1963), would appear to
have come more easily to British settlers; but there were other groups,
like the war refugees, and the southern Europeans, who found it most
difficult. Indeed this was acknowledged by the Australian Government
in its formulation of the points sytem. For the refugees it is related
to the fact that they were not usually voluntary immigrants. Jaunzems
found that the Latvians he interviewed had integrated into the
Australian community without loss of their separate identity. He said:

> The majority are naturalised, have good English, are
> materially satisfied and have at least some Australian
> friends, and have a generally favourable attitude to
> Australians. Despite this they regard themselves as
> Latvians (Jaunzems 1971, p.67).

Taft observed a similar condition for Latvians and Lithuanians
(Taft 1965, p.67). Johnston's work with Polish refugees led her to
stress the significance of internal assimilation which, she said may
not accompany external assimilation (Johnston 1963, p.296). Cnossen
perceived that for Hungarian refugees,

> The deeper psychological motivation, the dreams and
> aspirations, their interests, experienced deep down
> ...were still back home. This was true even of those
> who were functioning well in the new environment.
> (Cnossen 1964, p.140).

Southern Europeans found identification a problem because of the
cultural and social distance involved. Buckland (1973) has presented four
case studies of Greek people who appeared to be well assimilated -
according to a number of commonly selected indices (Lieberson 1963;
Timms 1969). They had been in Australia for a relatively long period,

they were well educated, their occupations involved a high degree of Australian contact and they had moved out into socially prestigious suburbs. But she stressed that they still felt 'thoroughly Greek' and that their main orientation was towards the Greek community (Buckland 1973, p.5). Tsounis argued that 'social mobility and the drive for status, privilege and power' had taken place within the Greek community for opportunities were denied them by the host society (Tsounis 1975, pp.48-9). Hochbaum agreed that whatever the immigrants' aspirations, the social structure of the host society would determine whether or not they would be realised (Hochbaum 1967).

Apart from the special problems of refugee settlers and the problem of cultural and social distance, there is a need which touches the immigrant more deeply. As Brown said:

> A man can abandon everything - home, country, land - but he cannot abandon himself, that by which he lives and by virtue of which he is what he is (Brown 1970, p.219).

This was echoed by Pino Bosi who said:

> To live without a past is like living in a state of amnesia and that is madness (Pino Bosi 1976).

The tensions, conflicts and stress of re-settlement exist, as Bagu said, where an immigrant tries to transfer his feelings of belonging from his own group to another group that is culturally alien.

> He can never lose that initial groundwork on which he began to develop his personality (Bagu 1964, p.45).

He can never achieve 'unconditional surrender' (Kavass 1962, p.64). Kovacs and Cropley expressed no surprise that immigrants resisted 'the abject surrender and abandonment of values and beliefs held dear' (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, p.11). Fitzpatrick warned finally, of the threat of mental breakdown,

> if people are torn too rapidly away from the traditional framework of their lives, and thrown too quickly as

strangers into a cultural environment which is unfamiliar (Fitzpatrick 1966, p.8).

Others who studied immigrants and mental health generally agreed on the higher incidence of breakdown for immigrants compared to the rest of the population. Listwan claimed that paranoid states were twice as common for immigrants generally (Listwan 1959, p.172); he and Stoller agreed that southern European women were particularly susceptible to depression and schizophrenia (Listwan 1959, p.171; Stoller 1968, p.167); Stoller and Krupinski both pointed out that eastern Europeans have a higher tendency to suffer all types of psychiatric disorders, especially when compared to western Europeans (Krupinski and Stoller 1965; Stoller 1968, p.167).

Immigrants cannot assimilate at will; and few could assimilate, even in a lifetime. For many, especially southern Europeans, and the non-voluntary, refugee immigrants, assimilation imposes a formidable burden, impeding their ability to adjust to resettlement.

The fifth assumption is that the concept of *assimilation* is relevant to planning policies directed towards first and second generation immigrants. Policies need to be realistic. Yet assimilation policy was unrealistic, both from the government's and from the immigrant's points of view. Such a policy could never be fully implemented for although the government could screen potential immigrants, it could not apply coercion once they had arrived and neither could the immigrant greatly change who he was. Assimilation then is irrelevant to the timescale of Australia's first and second generation immigrants - it is irrelevant to their needs and beyond their capabilities.

Empirical studies in a number of societies have shown that a considerable timescale is necessary to achieve an advanced state of assimilation. The findings of Glazer and Moynihan (1963) undermined the earlier melting-pot theories of assimilation especially that describing a 'one generation' process (Price 1966, p.A22). Glazer and Moynihan supported instead, the concept of a 'triple melting-pot' based on the divisions of Jewish, Protestant and Catholic although they hesitated to suggest a timescale for the process (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). Price however, suggested that these categories may mask the existence of smaller communities; and he indicated as well, that the situation in Australia may yield a different pattern of religious groupings to include, for example, the Orthodox religions (Price 1966, p.A27). In Edmonton, Canada, Borhek described the social reality as an ethnic mosaic where social boundaries are clearly demarcated between Jew and Gentile, German and Italian, U.K. and Dutch, and French and English. His study was of fourth generation Ukrainians and he found their community still very distinctive (Borhek 1970). In another study in British Columbia, Villeneuve found that residential propinquity within surname groups became greater in time than within those groups having different surnames. He saw the preservation of ethnic identity as one of the functions of increased propinquity (Villeneuve 1972).

A study of ethnic minorities in Britain was presented in the book *The Un-melting Pot* by Brown (1970). The immigrants concerned, including fifty different nationalities and a number of different racial groups, settled in Bedford after World War II. They form 20 per cent of the town's population. Brown described the tensions that existed between the attitudes and expectation of the host community and the aims and aspirations of the immigrants themselves. He said

that the immigrants shared one thing in common - their attitude of

'reservation or antipathy towards the ways and values of contemporary

British society, and, more fundamentally, their wish to preserve their

own identity'. They considered the idea of becoming part of a new

whole both irrelevant and degrading. They just wanted to be themselves

(Brown 1970, p.220). This kind of situation has already been

described for the newer communities, like the Greeks, in Australia.

Long term studies are, to some extent, premature, but one by Medding of

the Jewish community in Melbourne seemed to support an earlier model

by Glazer (1957). Medding said that forty years ago 'it was commonly

assumed that the Melbourne Jewish community would eventually lose its

identity' (Medding 1971, p.89). But instead the community had further

consolidated, new institutions had been established and host group

intermarriage was on the decline. In Glazer's model the fifth and

most recent stage was one of Jewish community consolidation. As this,

however, had partially been achieved through the influx of new Jewish

settlers since the War, it was difficult to know to what extent it

supported the model.

There were no other long term studies in Australia to test the

trends which were apparent in America, but some researchers,

nevertheless, expressed their views. Borrie concluded that despite the

melting-pot theory, there was a growing awareness of the persistence of

cultural traits (Borrie 1959, p.92); Burnley observed a number of

secondary concentrations, one of which was studied by Lee, in Melbourne

(1966, 1970), and he said that despite residential mobility, 'distinct

ethnic concentrations are likely to be in evidence for some time to

come' (Burnley 1976, p.213); Banchevska estimated that total assimi-

lation could not occur, at best, before the third or fourth generation

(Banchevska 1966, p.47); and Berndt suggested that the process may take as long as five generations (Berndt 1964, p.28).

The 'ideal' or end state of the assimilation process may occur in some kind of dynamic form eventually, at the societal scale, but the concept is too removed from present social realities to be of use to policy-makers now. Policies which are concerned for the real needs of immigrants must inevitably imply anti-assimilationist goals, a point Zubrzycki stressed in 1957 when he urged the encouragement of ethnic associations and the teaching of ethnic languages to immigrant children, for he saw the need 'to lessen the degree of uprooting by establishing substitutes for the Mother Country' (Zubrzycki 1957, p.77). His words underlined the fact that assimilation policy was just not relevant to ethnic needs.

The sixth assumption has been that the well-being of the nation depended on sound economic planning. Social considerations were secondary.

> We need it [immigration] for reasons of defence, and for
> the fullest expansion of our economy (Armstrong 1969, p.3).

Australia's economic and political interests have assumed prime importance in immigrant policies. They were the driving force behind the decision, made by Mr. A. Calwell' in 1945, to initiate large scale immigration to Australia (Price 1968, p.8; Buckland 1973, p.1). With the scheme underway the selection criteria reflected the importance placed on economic and political factors. Priority was initially given to those whose skills met the current demands of industry, to single men and childless couples and to those who were prepared to work anywhere they were required - on condition that they were also politically acceptable (Borrie 1959, p.60; Armstrong 1969, p.4). These selection

1. Mr. A. Calwell was then the Labor Minister for Immigration.

criteria were later relaxed but the same considerations remained

predominant. As Lynch said,

> The simple fact is that Australia's immigration programme
> is an integral and essential element in our national
> policies of economic growth (Lynch 1970, p.6).

Australia's plans were for economic growth and immigrants

provided fodder for that growth; thus immigration was necessary and

'assimilation' made it acceptable (Encel 1971, p.37). Social considera-

tions were only secondary; and because, to some extent, they were also

incompatible with assimilation ideology they became expendable. But in

time the pressures became too great and immigrants and others became

increasingly vocal. Then the government had to change assimilation

policy to one consistent with social realities and ethnic demands for

'social justice'.

The absence of an effective social policy to help new settlers to

adjust to Australian life was a matter for criticism by a number of

writers. It was stressed that large scale immigration to Australia was

'a high order of human drama' (Adler and Taft 1966, p.75) and not merely

a giant economic exercise. Zubrycki was one who condemned the lack of

social planning:

> For those who argue that immigrants found their levels in
> the past without the host community bothering about social
> planning, we can only point to the high degree of
> maladjustment...Present day values will no longer tolerate
> the treatment of human beings as cattle (Zubrzycki 1966,
> pp.60-1).

Such statements arose from sound empirical study of Australia's

immigrants as human beings, not merely as statistics in a formula

designed to achieve the goal of economic growth. Zubrzycki studied

immigrant participation in an Australian community in the Latrobe

Valley, and found that it depended on an immigrant's adjustment.

Adjustment was related to the sense of belonging - of just being

someone within the home, neighbourhood, congregations and ethnic

associations.

> The immigrants who do become members of such groups...
> where they have responsibility and recognised status -
> will be ready to venture outside the group and
> participate in the life of the community at large
> (Zubrzycki 1964, p.289).

Such findings cannot be reconciled with assimilation goals of

undermining and destroying the ethnic community; on the contrary they

stress its importance to social policy designed to facilitate

immigrant adjustment.

In summary, I have argued here that Australian society is

characterised by diversity with a diminishing Anglo-Saxon Protestant

majority; that there is no stable core society but a complex, dynamic

social entity. Implied assumptions of host group superiority and

perceived national stereotypes are related to prejudice which

frequently underlies discriminatory behaviour often rationalised in

economic or political terms. Ethnic groups may eventually become

assimilated, but the indications are that this will not occur within the

time span of first and second generation immigrants, and indeed it may

never occur at all. The concept has been defined in so many ways, each

reflecting the valuations of the user concerned and has implied

assumptions which reality defies, so that even for the long term its

validity must be questioned.

ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS

Some still use the assimilation concept but its validity has been

questioned by policy-makers and researchers who have turned to a number

of alternative concepts. These too, however, remain in disarray even

though since the 1970s value premises are more explicit and the
social situation is being subjected to greater scrutiny. An attempt
will now be made to clarify these concepts by distinguishing more
clearly between value premises, the social framework and social process,
then to present a framework for further research and policy.

The Value Premises

For a number of years equality of opportunity or *social justice*,
as a basic value premise, has provided the foundation for a number of
writers even though it ran counter to the assimilation ideal. Operating
from this premise researchers have focused on areas of study more
relevant to ethnic needs and this has brought them closer to the
realities of social change. Their lead has been followed increasingly
since the seventies not only by researchers but by policy-makers too,
and has stimulated further change in social attitudes generally. As
long ago as 1937 Stonequist (p.207) spoke of 'equality of public rights'
as a fundamental principle of immigrant adjustment. The principle was
upheld in a U.N. statement of the 'Roles and Rights of Immigrants' in
1953, a statement of goal rather than a practical plan, but a goal that
was pursued by writers like Zubrzycki who refused to accept 'assimila-
tion at any cost' (1957, p.77), Borrie who urged that full social
services be granted to immigrants on 'grounds of justice' (1959, p.106),
and Stoller who stressed the need for surveys of the different patterns
of immigrant adjustment (1966, p.10). These and many others were
obviously concerned for immigrant needs and the principles of social
justice.

Zubrzycki's concern for the needs of immigrants can be traced to
the fifties when assimilation propaganda generally dominated research
in the area. He was greatly disillusioned by his own major study in

the Latrobe Valley in 1959. He said:

> The frustration was heightened by a feeling of bitter
> disappointment. I asked myself what exactly in social
> terms is the meaning of the purely quantitative
> relationships (Zubrzycki 1961, p.51).

Zubrzycki realised at an early stage that the demands of

assimilation were not compatible with adjustment. In 1977 he joined

with Jean Martin in stating his premises clearly and convincingly in

the guidelines of a submission from the Australian Ethnic Affairs

Council. The guidelines are threefold - *social cohesion, equality* and

cultural identity (Zubrzycki and Martin 1977, p.5).

The authors stress that *social cohesion* should imply neither

homogeneity nor the absence of conflict, for they agreed with Cahill

(1977) that conflict can be creative and is an integral part of any

democratic society. Instead the concept should imply the acceptance by

society of institutional means for resolving such conflict and for

allocating resources for the well-being of all. By *equality* they mean

'equal access to social resources' and by *cultural identity* that 'sense

of belonging and attachment to a particular way of living'. On the

basis of these guidelines the writers have proceeded to make recommen-

dations for government policy. Cultural identity is similar in concept

to Cahill's *cultural justice* (1977) and Engel's *cultural democracy*

(1968). The latter term stresses the freedom of the individual to

choose to retain or discard his cultural differences in terms of what

is most appropriate to his needs (Engel 1968, p.92). Both terms could

be criticised for implying little more than passive tolerance of ethnic

communities although this was not intended by either writer, both of

whom stress the importance of power and resources being accessible to

the ethnic communities. Nevertheless the word cultural does ignore

more general needs and fails to stress the social aspects of belonging

which are important in maintaining ethnic group identity. *Social justice* may provide the more encompassing term.

The interaction between policy, research and social attitudes intensified during the seventies as migrant needs emerged as major social and political issues and as government became more involved in ethnic research. From such interaction there is now a growing consensus that *social justice* should provide the guiding principle and that ethnic research should be relevant to ethnic needs.

The Social Framework

Interaction between policy, research and social attitudes does not occur in a societal vacuum but is the product of a specific kind of social context and the way this is perceived by the parties concerned. Martin looks at the reality constructs defining the position of migrants in society and the way these were formulated by dominant interests. The government, for example, found it useful to present, in relation to its policy of immigrant assimilation, the idea of Australia as a homogeneous society and it was only in the face of mounting social pressures that the migrant situation was later redefined. Martin points to institutional structures like the Ethnic Communities Councils which have emerged during the seventies and have helped to redefine the social situation (Martin 1978). Researchers, too, have played a significant role in the process.

Researchers, both within and outside Australia, are increasingly aware that immigration has led - not to assimilation but to *cultural pluralism*. Examples include Glazer and Moynihan in the United States (1963; 1976), McEwan in Rhodesia (1964), Borhek in Canada (1970), Brown in England (1970) and researchers like Tsounis (1971), Buckland (1973)

and Cronin (1970) in Australia. However, they often disagree about the form that pluralism takes. Some stress the way that multiple cultures fulfil a role that is vital to the immigrant during the initial stages of resettlement in Australia. Fitzpatrick says that immigrants need the traditional social group in which they are at home, in which they find satisfaction and security, in order to move with confidence towards interaction with the larger society - 'One integrates from a position of strength' (Fitzpatrick 1966, p.8). Zubrzycki and others present much the same argument (Zubrzycki 1957, p.77). To them the existence of multiple cultures is a necessary stage in the resettlement process, leading on to integration and satisfactory adjustment.

Others see ethnic communities persisting beyond the stage of original settlement. Tsounis says that 'in structuring...their institutions Greeks were not only fulfilling needs that arose from their transplantation into a new society but they were also acting consciously and deliberately, the purpose being to create institutions adequate to ensure their survival' (Tsounis 1975, p.48). The Jewish community, with a similar sense of purpose, has managed to establish vigorous institutions to support its distinctive socio-religious structure. Medding sees the framework of cultural pluralism as being best suited to the demands of Jewish society (Medding 1971, p.98).

Some question to what extent, in the longer term in America, recognisable ethnic groups do represent *cultural* pluralism. While Thomas acknowledges the role of the communities in cushioning the impact of the initial culture shock, he looks at changes which have occurred in the longer term for a number of Catholic communities in America. He says that the third or fourth generation 'ethnics' appear to be just like other Americans in similar socio-economic strata. They

have retained minority status through group solidarity which has been maintained through organisation and intermarriage; but 'there is no *cultural* pluralism for these groups have retained only a few distinctive cultural traits' (Thomas 1954, p.321). More recent criticism of the concept in Australia has been levelled on account of this too narrow definition - at the limited meaning implied by the word *cultural*. Bullivant uses the word *polyethnic* because ethnic, besides stressing the *cultural* dimension, focuses, as well, on the *social* aspects of belonging which alone may be sufficient to maintain group identity (Bullivant 1977). Cahill reiterates Bullivant's argument when presenting his dialectical polyethnic model of interaction (Cahill 1977).

Others claim that pluralism has a basis that is *structural* rather than cultural, in that ethnicity can be identified with social class. The existence of ethnic stratification in Australia (Zubrzycki 1969) and of its unexpected persistence within American society (Thernstrom, 1970) has led to the use of the term *structural pluralism*, a term which has evoked much heated response. Bottomley refers to it as *repressive tolerance* and alludes to the myth of social mobility which 'too often obscures the structural realities' (1977, p.311); Thomas refers to the dilemma of ethnic leaders in their knowledge of the fact that ethnic solidarity may be bought at the price of social mobility (1954, p.320); and Cahill sees the danger that cultural pluralism may become the 'theoretical rationale for an apartheid-type separatist development policy' (1977, p.4).

Another problem lies in trying to decide whether the concept is being used to describe social structure, a political policy or merely a valuation. Kovacs and Cropley choose to avoid the term *cultural pluralism* because of its *structural* connotation and instead they speak

of *multiculturalism*, a term also adopted by Zubrzycki and Martin (1977).
But when they define what they mean by multiculturalism, Kovacs and
Cropley slip into the old pattern of building in their own value bias
for they stress that it refers to the internal forces of cohesion which
bind the members of a community together, as distinct from externally
imposed conditions (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, p.124), when in fact
ethnic communities are exposed to forces from both internal and
external sources. The implied value premise is that of 'cultural
identity', one of the guidelines set down by Martin and Zubrzycki (1977);
but as the expression of a value it should not be confused with a
description of the existing social structure.

   Others provide alternative concepts in the awareness of this
distinction between value, policy and social structure. After discussing
the conflict and consensual pluralist perspectives, Martin suggests the
term *robust pluralism* - both as an explanation for what exists in
Australia and as a 'viable and humane model for the future' (Martin
1975, p.25). Cahill, in his *dialectic polyethnic model* is also aware of
the social situation but he sees the possibility through social
planning, of directing social processes within a framework of 'cultural
justice' (Cahill, 1977).

Social Process

   Social structure is a static concept describing the state of the
social system at one particular point in time but it provides a useful
framework for analysing those processes which can best explain what
happens to immigrants in relation to the wider Australian society. The
Havana Conference of 1956 supported the concept of *integration* - 'to
differentiate between the old definitions of *assimilation* and the newer

concept of conformity within a framework of cultural pluralism' (Borrie
1959, p.94). Although most of the participants of the conference
agreed that 'integration' presented a more relevant focus there has
been little agreement on definitions and application.

From the research point of view there are a number of problems
associated with the concept of integration. First there is the vague-
ness of many definitions. To Mateo it implies 'unity in diversity -
a reconciliation of the factors of origin with the factors of
destination' (Mateo 1965, p.32); Benyei sees it as 'progress towards a
feeling of belonging to one nation or community' (Benyei 1960, p.69);
and to Price and Zubrzycki it is 'a process whereby two or more ethnic
groups adapt themselves so well that they accept and value each other's
contribution to their common political and social life' (Price and
Zubrzycki 1962, p.59). It is not clear from any of the above
definitions how one would study the process empirically. Research has
reflected the lack of clear definition. Some scholars see integration
as an alternative to assimilation, while others see it merely as a
facet of that process (Taft 1966, pp.11-12). To the former it assumes
a very general meaning, encompassing different kinds of sociological
change including, for example, acculturation; to the latter it is one
of five facets of assimilation, acculturation being one of the others.
Some writers relate it very closely to assimilation by referring to
'primary' and then 'secondary' integration to describe what they call
the principal factors of assimilation. Within this context primary
integration is the closest to what is usually intended by the term
assimilation (Taft 1966, p.10). As a result of this confusion it is
difficult to know what the focus should be in a study of integration.
The problem of definition is further confused by the intrusion, once

again, of value assumptions concerning the extent to which it is acceptable that immigrants should retain some elements of their culture. Lawless remains noncommittal when he says that the concept 'should benefit the whole by taking contributions from the parts, always stressing diversity' (1964, p.203). To Banchevska the process of integration leads to a pluralistic structure with the immigrant group retaining its separate identity 'to the point where it does not conflict with the conditions, values or behaviour of the hosts' (1966, p.47). She fails to acknowledge that conflict of this kind is often the result of ethnic prejudice. Another problem involves the widely varying emphases inherent in different definitions of integration and again this reflects different value perspectives. Fairchild (1959) defines it as 'the complete assimilation of different cultural elements so as to produce a homogeneous culture of mutually adapted traits'. His definition suggests the melting-pot and interactionist approaches to assimilation. Deakin and Cohen define it quite differently as 'equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (1975, p.309). Besides presenting a different emphasis this latter definition relates to values and social structure but fails to define the nature of the process.

Thus again there is this problem of ambiguity, of deciding whether the term is used to describe an attitude, a political policy, social structure or process; and nowhere, perhaps, has the term been used with greater inconsistency than within the political context. In 1969 the Australian Government officially changed its policy from one of *assimilation* to *integration*. The reason given was the need to relieve the pressures on the immigrant to conform to community patterns (Snedden 1969, p.9). Such a policy implied the acceptance of ethnic pluralism yet in 1971 Mr. P. Lynch[1] said emphatically:

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1. Mr. P. Lynch was then the Minister for Immigration.

> All Australians want Australia to be essentially cohesive
> ...without self-perpetuating enclaves and undigested
> minorities (Lynch 1971, p.16).

Buckland remarked that the new Minister had not grasped the difference between the concepts of integration and assimilation. The policy had not changed - only terminology (Buckland 1973, p.2). There was, however, a significant change of policy in 1972 when the new Labor government appointed Mr. Grassby as Minister for Immigration. To Grassby diversity was the 'hallmark of our society' despite the fact that 'many influential circles' failed to recognise its importance, or even its existence (Grassby 1973, p.3). He pointed to the existence or urban concentrations of multiple ethnic groups, and to their durability and he stressed their significance in the process of adjustment (p.11).

The shift in emphasis from assimilation to integration then to immigrant adjustment is a change which reflects the changing values of society generally and can be traced, for example, through the work of the social psychologists. Taft's early work consisted of building a model of interactionist assimilation and of testing and revising it (Taft 1954; 1957; 1966). Richardson developed a feedback model which measured the components of assimilation - satisfaction, identification and acculturation. He had already studied factors relating to satisfaction (1957) and so he realised that 'the starting point in this progression depends upon the immigrant reaching a specifiable level of satisfaction with life in Australia' (Richardson 1961, p.29). Satisfaction was found to be related to such areas as work, leisure and standard of living. Taft expanded on these areas in 1966 when he summarised the work of the social psychologists; but the prime focus remained assimilation.

By 1971, however, their focus was slowly changing with an article

by Doczy on immigrant adjustment. He considered satisfaction as a measure of adjustment which he saw as the 'foundation on which potential assimilation rests' (Doczy 1971, p.51). A paper by Taft in 1973 again used satisfaction as an index of adjustment but Taft's prime focus was no longer assimilation. By 1977 he had finally turned away from theory to problem-oriented research, and more specifically, to immigrant adjustment, acknowledging the necessity to work from observation of the human problems of immigrants in society. Like Cronin (1970) he realised that theory must be built on fact. Cronin lends support to the statement by Price that 'there is no satisfactory general theory of immigrant assimilation or integration' (Price 1972, p.180; 1977, p.331). She says that researchers have been asking the wrong questions such as 'How do the immigrants assimilate? Instead we must ask - What changes? Who changes? How do they change? When do they change?...simple clear questions, unencumbered by terminology, jargon or value judgements' (Cronin 1970, p.270). She says that one can then go on to higher levels of abstraction.

Because research since the 1970s has tended to address both the social realities and ethnic problems, it has, therefore, required a different level of approach. Less work is being directed to the aggregate scale and more to the level of primary social networks. This was not a new approach, for as early as 1961, Zubrzycki had stated,

> ...in examining the process of adjustment we rarely descend
> to the...true unit of ethnic relations - the membership
> of primary groups. Clear insight into the functioning of
> primary groups is crucial for understanding integration
> into larger social structures (p.59).

Other researchers, including Mapstone (1966) and Philipps (1970), were also concerned with primary groups. Nevertheless their focus was obscured by the dominance of statistical methodology in the social sciences, till this dominance gave way, in the early 1970s, in the

geographical sphere, to humanistic/behavioural trends.

This emphasis, in sociological research, was reflected in a book that was edited by Price (1975) in which networks were examined by a number of writers - Mackie in a study of culture change, Bottomley to identify a migrant's 'social location', Cox in a study of the problems of Greek boys, and Martin who considered the social network as a resource providing access to welfare services (Price 1975). Such studies provide an increasing understanding of the structure and function of ethnic communities and of their role in the process of immigrant adjustment, as well as in the process of integration.

A RESEARCH AND POLICY FRAMEWORK

Social Justice, The Basic Value Premise

Australia is, in theory, a democratic society. This implies that through its social institutions access is provided, on the basis of equality, to resources needed for the well-being of the people. Equality of opportunity for access to resources can only be guaranteed by policies designed to serve the needs of specific target groups. Where society neglects the special needs of people, a condition of social disadvantage will exist which is contrary to the premise of social justice upon which Australian society rests.

Australia, Multicultural Society

The multicultural character of Australian society is now generally recognised as a social fact which need not imply any kind of valuation. What it does imply, given a premise of social justice, is that immigrants do present a special category of need. Because of the language and

cultural barriers, conventional channels are not accessible and alternative measures have to be provided to ensure adequate access to needed resources. If immigrants in society are socially disadvantaged a condition of 'structural pluralism' will exist which, again, is contrary to a premise of social justice.

The Process of Integration

Integration occurs as links are created between the individual immigrant, his ethnic group, and the wider society, in the process of adjustment. To achieve a satisfactory level of adjustment immigrants have attempted to satisfy their needs through creating a 'social world' designed for their survival. By consolidating the social networks of the group and initiating links with the wider social system they have managed to attain limited access to resources. This is a process of social integration.

In summary, in research on ethnic assimilation, value premises have not been explicit and unconsciously they have biased concept definition. This partially accounts for the conceptual confusion and the apparent distortion of the ethnic situation. This chapter has outlined the dominant trends in conceptual orientation in ethnic research and in the course of the discussion the valuations or assumptions implied by the concepts have been clarified and evaluated by reference to relevant research findings.

In trying to clarify the present research position and to provide a more realistic framework for analysis, a distinction has been made between value premise, social structure and social process. First, it would seem from the trend in ethnic research that social justice, as a basic value premise, is acceptable in the present Australian context;

secondly, it is accepted by researchers and others that Australia is a
polyethnic society where immigrants constitute a special category of
need; thirdly, it follows that immigrant adjustment is a logical focus
in ethnic research. Only through a detailed understanding of adjustment
from the immigrants' point of view can one begin to understand how the
integration process occurs.

PART B.   METHODOLOGY

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH: THE PROBLEM OF SCALE

A theme which has guided the methodology of this research, and which recurs in each of the following chapters, is the need for the disciplines involved in ethnic study, to employ consistent scales of approach in their dialogue on problems within the field of ethnic research. The dilemma which exists in the field of methodology is related to that of conceptual development for while convergence has occurred in terms of ethnic content the disciplines have operated semi-independently, employing not only contradictory concepts but different methodologies and scales of approach. It is argued in Part A of the following chapters that convergence in methodology should provide for a scale which can assist our understanding of community formation, consolidation and integration, and that the most appropriate level of analysis is one having a focus on community networks; for without an understanding of ethnic communities, their social organisation, function and social context, there is no adequate basis for formulating assumptions which are valid and reliable at a macro level.

The philosophical theme of convergence of the disciplines in terms of research content, methodology and purpose is current within the social sciences, generally. In an outline of trends Logan (1978) refers to this 'veritable crisis' which could lead to the collapse of the barriers between the existing disciplines' (p.3). He refers to research where academics, by confronting 'what ought to be' in society to-day, are adopting explicitly normative paradigms to replace the behaviouralist-positivist approach with its exaggerated pretension of scientific objectivity. He quotes Smith (1976) who argues that traditional analysis often 'fails to capture the real structures and processes' and

'misses out on the realities of life' (p.83).

Logan (1978) expands on a parallel trend of ideological divergence
to three main positions - to the Marxist approaches stressing fundamental
change; the liberal or social-democratic approach where society is seen
as 'a controllable system in which the immediate problems can be
ameliorated mainly through government intervention using distributive
planning mechanisms and improving access to decision-making'; and the
humanist tradition which 'advocates the study of the individual's
experience, his perception and actions' which are seen to be 'the proper
study of mankind' (pp.56-57). Ley and Samuels (1978) accentuate this
primary characteristic of anthropocentrism in the humanist position.
In their account of modern humanism in Geography, which they see as a
reaction against 'scientific rationality', they say,

> To put man back to-gether again with all the pieces in place,
> including a heart and even a soul, with feelings as well
> as thoughts, and with some semblance of secular and perhaps
> transcendental meaning became, as it were, the centripetal
> goal of the twentieth century humanist renaissance (p.3).

The trend towards modern humanism in Geography, though reminiscent of
writers like Vidal de la Blache and recognised more recently in the work
of Yi-Fu Tuan, emerged more clearly in behavioural Geography, which,
unlike its mechanistic counterpart in Psychology, showed an interest
in attitudes, values and perceptions as significant inputs to the human
decisions which affect the relationship of environment and man (Golledge,
Brown, Williamson 1972).

But while blurring of boundaries between the disciplines has
occurred, the ideological categories which Logan identifies are not as
distinctive as he would suggest. Ley and Samuels (1978), for example,
see the humanist tradition as far more embracing than Logan's reference
to 'those working around the edges of the area loosely defined as Social

Geography' (p.57). To Ley and Samuels it is not an alternative to Marxism', but a campaign waged partly by 'Marxian humanism'[2] (p.8). Nor do they see it as strictly anti-positivist but as presenting a pragmatic approach to quantification, selecting techniques for understanding rather than prediction. Finally, though acknowledging its human focus, they do not see it as excluding an interest in social structure, ideal types or social aggregates etc. (p.13).

My position is such that it crosses disciplines and ideologies and employs a range of different methodologies. While accepting a conflict view of society, it stresses, for example, the paradox of consensus; while its focus is the individual and his social network this is partially for the purpose of defining 'social group' and its changing relation to the wider social system; and while using methods having a 'subjective' emphasis to gauge human feelings, attitudes and perceptions, there is recourse, as well, to 'objective' method using aggregate statistics where it is appropriate. The approach may be seen as broadly 'humanistic' in that it fits the epistemology for humanistic Geography as presented by Ley and Samuels (1978) and other geographers, but I consider such a label as largely irrelevant. My problem has been to find the most appropriate methodology for achieving an understanding of the Lettesi community as a distinctive social and geographical entity.

During the investigation of ethnic research a number of issues have clearly become apparent. First, that a general convergence is occurring towards the value position of 'social justice' wherein the

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1. Logan suggests this (1978, p.57).

2. This statement can be seen as being dependent on their particular interpretation of Marxism.

rights of minorities to equality of opportunity for access to resources is of primary concern. Secondly, it is apparent that much of the inconsistency, confusion and overlap in regard to ethnic concepts has arisen because values have not been explicit and because of boundary constraints defining the various social disciplines. Indeed, the search for 'a theoretical foundation' for research on assimilation and integration was finally abandoned because of these problems. Instead, the discussion of conceptual developments attempts to unravel the theoretical concepts, to define more clearly the ideological positions and to explore the disciplines for a sounder, common basis for approaching the problem of ethnic concentration. I see this need for a clearer definition as a problem, not only for geographers, but also for those in a range of social disciplines who would benefit from closer dialogue with one another. My attempt to draw together contributions from the disciplines has led to a convergence where, as Logan suggests, the traditional boundaries are losing their relevance, but where concepts and ideologies have gained clarity and relevance.

Convergence of the disciplines in ethnic research towards an approach which may be seen as broadly humanistic, with its value basis, the premise of social justice, has already been apparent in earlier discussion (Part A). From a preoccupation with immigrant assimilation and an emphasis on statistical, aggregate analysis, interest has shifted towards humane concerns for the individual immigrant and his problems of adjustment and the need for social relevance in planning and research. This awareness was apparent in some of the earlier literature. Stoller (1960), referring to large scale immigration programmes, saw them as essentially 'a human matter' which should be approached in human terms (p.61). Zubrzycki (1957), in a paper on culture conflict, had demonstrated

the effects of social and cultural up-rooting, acknowledging that his statements may have sounded 'anti-assimilationist' (p.77). Burnley (1975), more recently, claimed that policy should be based on informed knowledge of social conditions which should be monitored by intensive surveys (p.37). And Lawrence (1968a) stressed the need to develop social indicators, not as measures of immigrant change, but to chart social change and its response to human need, an approach followed by Smith (1976) in the field of Welfare Geography. Pryor (1975) urged the use of micro behavioural data to provide a view of immigrants as subjects of 'flesh and blood', instead of regarding them as 'statistical objects' (p.23). And he extended this focus to the wider context of the relation between immigrant and host society. This radical shift in the focus of concern has necessitated a change in the scale of methodology so that individual immigrants and their interpersonal networks now tend to provide the primary data of analysis, a trend which is evident in much of the recent work to which reference is made in the following chapters.

Part A of each chapter provides detailed reference to the relevant literature from disciplines contributing to an understanding of ethnic group formation, consolidation and integration, respectively. Arguments for the need for a convergence in methodology to the scale most appropriate to community understanding are presented as part of the general discussion and are then followed through in Part B of the chapters where empirical analysis of the Lettesi is presented. There is no need to reproduce those arguments here. Instead I shall outline the sources of data and methods of analysis applied in the research.

RESEARCH DATA AND ANALYSES

Data were obtained from a variety of sources, the aim being to provide a meaningful bridge between the macro and the micro, the aggregate and the individual, the 'objective' and 'subjective' - to perceive the community, insofar as it were possible, from the perspective of both insider and observer. Sources of data included the following:

Italian Census 1971

Lettopalena Demographic and Migration Statistics 1958-1977

Australian Census 1961, 1966, 1971

Survey 1970, including 6 Lettesi households

Survey 1976, 86 Lettesi households

Interviews with Informants, Lettopalena and Newcastle

Participant Observation, Lettopalena and Newcastle

Real Estate Agent Survey 1974, 6 agents in Hamilton.

The analysis of data has been mainly interpretative being presented descriptively in the form of narrative comprised of both 'subjective' and 'objective' information. Narrative is supplemented by photographs, tables, cartographic methods[2], including maps and graphs, and where it is appropriate, by statistical analyses. I have attempted to balance the 'objective' and 'subjective' by illustrating my analyses by personal accounts and by statements recording attitudes and feelings, in the words of the Lettesi. These statements have been

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1. Reference to 'objective' and subjective' is not made within the context of the discourse on 'objectivity' in the philosophy of science. The terms are used for convenience, in a relative sense, mainly to draw the distinction between the use of data collated and analysed by the researcher, on the one hand, and the personal views and expressions of the respondents, and observations and impressions of the researcher, on the other.

2. It is unfortunate that in the field of ethnic study, with its focus on spatial indices and patterns, that cartographic methods have seldom been applied in disciplines other than Geography.

selected because they represent the situation as expressed by the community, generally.

The Field Survey

The primary source of data was the questionnaire survey. An earlier research project, in 1970, had involved a less intensive questionnaire survey of northern and southern Europeans in Newcastle which included among a sample of 45 Italian households, seven families from Lettopalena, a discovery which awakened my curiosity and interest. I ascertained that the community, including the children, numbered approximately 500 people. The problem was raised as to how so many people from such a small village[1] had resettled in Newcastle. At first I thought that their claim may have been exaggerated though their numbers in the sample clearly reinforced it. In response to my apparent interest a meeting was arranged where I recorded an account of experiences in the village, how the village was destroyed, and how they had emigrated, helping one another through the difficult times. This led to my selecting the Lettesi community as a focus for research in 1976.

The target population for the 1976 Survey comprised the 88 male heads of households of Lettesi origin born outside Australia[2]. Lettesi origin was loosely defined because, following the dislocation caused by the war, there were some who were born outside the village during the period of evacuation to centres such as Bari. There were 86 respondents and one refusal - by the wife of a Lettesi, who was not from the village. Another Lettesi wished to participate but was unavailable at the time of the survey. The rationale for choosing 'male heads of households'

1. Respondents estimated that the village population was approximately 500. The Italian Census, 1971, recorded 145 families.

2. 'Lettesi community', for the purpose of this thesis, will refer to respondents and their families.

Committee' and helped me to explain the purpose of the survey. In
addition I presented a letter of introduction from the Dept. of
Geography, University of Newcastle[2] (Appendix 1a).

The President of the Committee spoke excellent English, was a
sociable person and easy to talk with. In the following weeks, during
the course of three appointments, he told me of the community, their
emigration background and the problems they encountered with
resettlement in Australia. He was able to provide, as was subsequently
demonstrated (Chapter 5), a well-informed basis and coherent framework
for the construction of the questionnaire which I administered to him,
as a trial case, before completing the final draft. The feedback he
provided was most constructive, and his trust and acceptance an
invaluable means of gaining further community support. Before I began
to administer the questionnaire he invited me to an evening with members
of the Committee who were equally encouraging and accepting of the
project which I described to them as fully and as openly as I could.
During the course of the survey, which lasted about a year, I
systematically followed their kinship networks which virtually
encompassed the whole of the community. This helped me to grasp more
fully, their complexity. Appointments were arranged at the
respondents' convenience. During that year my attendance at social
functions and my imminent plans of staying in the village, not only
increased their awareness of my presence, but also their acceptance and
understanding of the survey.

The nature of the content did not present a problem in respect

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1. The President was Tony Della Grotta (1976). I had met Tony's father
   and his sister, Filomena, during the course of the survey in 1970.

2. This was later undersigned by the President of the Committee and by
   the Italian Consular Agent, Mr. Emilio Penzo to present to the
   community.

to confidentiality in the eyes of the community, and though I stressed at my initial meeting with the Committee, and at subsequent appointments with individual Lettesi, that 'personal' information would remain confidential they were adamant that personal identity should be retained. They asserted their pride in being known as a Lettesi and claimed they had no cause for feeling ashamed. They did not want to be reduced to a number or fictitious name. I therefore decided to use my discretion, identifying individuals both by christian names and coded numbers where the effect could be to heighten the personal basis of community, without having to compromise an individual's integrity. This practice has been avoided where information is 'personal'. For some of the key figures such as Presidents of the community and the early pioneers full names are used to give an accurate recording of community history.

The questionnaire was structured into eight sections, leading logically from information on immigrant background, family and community, communications and basic needs. While for some of these sections the content is self-explanatory, mainly referring to information on immigrant status, for others the rationale for selecting items is more specific to the research problem and requires more detailed justification. These items are dealt with more fully in Chapter 5. The schedule is presented in Appendix 2.

While the approach was informal and the discussion open-ended, the content was structured and the majority of the questions were designed to generate factual data. Open-ended questions were generally a means of allowing respondents to create a context where they could focus on personal life experience, rather than on specific, isolated questions.

The purpose was to deepen my insight and understanding but, as well, to provide a systematic context to guide a more accurate recollection of events and the attitudes and feelings these had generated then. These were recorded on the back of the questionnaires. This approach, by facilitating a higher degree of interest and spontaneity on the part of the respondents, was designed to increase the reliability of responses. Paradoxically, while increasing the length of the sessions, it helped to alleviate the problem of fatigue. As a result, although sessions lasted three to five hours, they were conducted in an atmosphere of friendly informality.

Most of the pertinent factual data related to other community members, the patterns emerging from the final analysis representing collective 'objective' responses, so problems of reliability and validity were minimal. In addition, few of the questions were of a delicate or 'personal' nature, likely to elicit biased responses. One question on income was, in fact, seldom asked for information on occupation was generally adequate as an indicator of socio-economic status.

When I did ask this question I prefaced it by saying that if they felt that it was 'personal' they need not respond. But although some may have understated their resources their attitude was basically not one of mistrust. It contrasted markedly to that of some other groups, in particular eastern European refugees for whom questions, generally, often do raise suspicion (Zubrzycki 1964, p.270). Lettesi, on the other hand, were open and frank and would declare opinions on a wide range of matters, for example, of a political and religious nature. One respondent who did express openly some suspicion was characteristically frank in his replies to the questionnaire. Only on one occasion

was it apparent to me that a subject's responses were biased by his attempt to create a particularly favourable impression.

The structure, content and conduct of the survey were designed to provide an integrated understanding of the form and function of the Lettesi community within the context of the wider society. Other sources of data, less central to the problem, were, nevertheless, most useful for providing a background, or more specific information on relevant aspects. These will now be referred to more briefly.

Data Collection, Lettopalena

Research in the village was concentrated mainly on the recording of census (1971) and other official records' showing population trends, migration patterns and statistics relating to social and physical conditions. Maps of the village showing site and situation and patterns of land tenure were also acquired. These maps further indicated the ruins of the old town, the stable ruins and the new town. These factual data are presented in Chapter 3 against the more subjective background of personal observations, within the theoretical context of chain migration for which detailed information was obtained from the survey.

The formal contact for gaining access to village records was the Lord Mayor[2] for whom I held letters of introduction from the President of the Lettesi community in Newcastle and from the Italian Consular Agent, Mr. Emilio Penzo (Appendix 1b,c). However, the most useful contact was the nephew of a respondent who was a clerk in the Comune di Lettopalena.

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1. Census records were generally accurate considering the high degree of labour mobility. Village statistics since 1959 have been reasonably reliable. However, the early pre-war migration statistics are erratic and unreliable, except for indicating trends. They were, however, adequate for my research purposes.

2. The Lord Mayor was Gasperini Orsini.

CHAPTER 3

GROUP SETTLEMENT FORMATION: THE LETTESI COMMUNITY

*Look around you. Look at the mountains. See, we are
closed in. What you get unless you open the door?
If you don't open the door the walls surround you -
you will remain inside forever, without future.*

This chapter describes the migration of people from Lettopalena,

Abruzzi, Italy, and how the process of *chain migration* has led to the

formation of a *village* community in Newcastle. The emergence of this

community has been part of a wider pattern of continuing migration and

community formation which began before the turn of the twentieth century

and abated as recently as the 1960s. It is a process which has created

three widely dispersed, yet highly localised, ethnic communities - in

Turtle Creek, Pittsburg, Pennsylvannia, U.S.; in Caseros near Buenos

Aires, Argentina; and in Newcastle, N.S.W., Australia. All three

communities identify with one another and the parent village of Lettopalena.

PART A: THE CHAIN MIGRATION PROCESS AND GROUP SETTLEMENT FORMATION

This account of the formation of a Lettesi community in Newcastle is

presented within the framework of Price's (1963a) sequential model of

chain migration and settlement types. Reference is made to other

relevant research to provide comparisons of chain migration and

associated patterns of resettlement and adjustment. The account of chain

migration from Lettopalena to Australia involves an outline of the

village site and situation, the latent and immediate causes of emigration,

both primary and secondary chain migration, and changes in the village

as they relate to emigration. Community formation, involving the early

problem of language was accommodated to facilitate access to housing clientele.

Participant Observation/Informants

I have already referred to the opportunities I had both in Newcastle and the village for participant observation[1] and for lengthy discussions with significant informants. These experiences were a source of both impressionistic and factual data which provided a coherent, meaningful framework for the more specific items contained in the questionnaire. As they did not, however, provide the principal source of data, I shall not debate relevant issues of method which are fully discussed in the appropriate texts (Goode and Hatt 1952, p.330; Hughes 1976, p.119-139)[1].

In summary, it can be seen that the sources of data and methods of analysis chosen for this research tend to reinforce the theme, recurrent throughout the thesis, of the need to adopt a 'community' scale where the unit of analysis is the individual household. They reinforce as well the need to create a meaningful bridge between aggregate and individuals and the 'objective' and 'subjective' in ethnic research so that further analysis at the aggregate scale will rest on assumptions that evolve from understandings of ethnic communities, their structure and function.

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1. Hughes refers to four participant observer roles. The role of participant-as-observer applies in this case. This implies that 'both researcher and informants are aware that theirs is a field-work relationship. A typical example (is where)...the observer develops contacts and relatively enduring relationships with certain individuals in the community. This particular role often involves a number of data-collecting techniques ranging from informal contacts to relatively formalized interviewing'(Hughes 1976, p.120).

Our[1] stay was arranged through the President[2] of the Lettesi, by his family in the village, the d'Accionis, whose warmth and hospitality and constant support won our general acceptance by the village people. An additional factor ensuring our acceptance was my earlier involvement with families in Newcastle for by then the survey of the community had been completed. During the first few days when we appeared there as strangers I would approach the people, explaining who I was and enquire about members of their family in Australia. Usually I could provide some knowledge of these people. After the first few days the curious stares were replaced by friendly greetings and by numerous invitations to share the traditional cup of coffee. The stay in the village provided the opportunity to acquire factual data on migration patterns and how these have related to changes in the village. But equally valuable were the additional insights and human understandings I acquired of the people. This had the affect, not of undermining 'objectivity', but of adding a meaningful dimension, in human terms, to the 'raw' statistics of the official records.

National Census Data and Analyses

The Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics provided an additional source of data which was used with aggregate Lettesi data, to derive spatial measures of dissimilarity, concentration, segregation, redistribution, representation and mean centres of populations. The purpose was to provide a comparative framework for examining patterns of spatial distribution and residential trends over the intercensal periods, for the Lettesi and other southern European groups. Census data on birthplace groups were limited to that for 1961, 1966, and 1971,

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1. I was accompanied to the village by my three children and my niece, all of whom assisted in recording official data.

2. At the time the President was Tony D'Accioni.

but were sufficient to establish the general trends. For the Lettesi, however, the period was extended from the time of their initial settlement till 1976, for the purpose was to explain their residential consolidation and to examine the social implications of dispersion.

A comparison of the measures identified the Lettesi as a distinctive sociospatial entity within the ethnic urban dimension. The measures, however, have been applied more critically to examine the discrepancy between assumption and 'reliability' where social inferences have been drawn from spatial patterns. Thus the aggregate approach, using spatial and social indices is juxtaposed with community data where the unit of analysis is the individual person. In Chapter 4 where I examine whether residential dispersion is reliable as an indicator of integration, the 'aggregate' approach is tested against data for each residentially 'dispersed' person; in Chapter 5 the assumptions of the aggregate approach are examined by data for the community as a whole. It is argued in both cases that the social and spatial indices are not valid measures of assimilation or integration for first generation immigrants in Australia.

The measures of spatial dissimilarity, concentration, segregation and redistribution are reproduced in tables, while representation ratios and population mean centres are presented cartographically for greater spatial clarity. Formulas for deriving the spatial measures, and definitions may be found in the Appendix (3). Critical discussion of methodological issues and problems which relate more specifically to social indices are presented as part of the argument in Chapter 5 for a model of integration where the focus is the person; for it is only through understanding integration at a human scale that more appropriate aggregate indices may be derived.

Social Network Analyses

Social network analysis has been used where appropriate, but as the purpose of my research has varied from other workers, including Mitchell (1969), Martin (1970), Bott (1971), Barnes (1972) and Bottomley (1979), I have not systematically applied the same techniques. The most useful measure for my particular purpose was a connectivity matrix for the whole of the community which was based upon kinship to the degree of first cousin. The measure expressed the percentage of households interconnected in terms of this 'kinship' definition. Three relays were generated from the original matrix to illustrate the impact on information flows, of community interaction, based upon kinship. The formula for computing relays is in the Appendix (3). Another relay measure, using simple percentages was applied to data from a social network graph to show how a series of migration chains could be generated by a single sponsor source. The remaining data on social networks and interpersonal channels are presented descriptively using graphs, tables and the appropriate terminology, with emphasis being given to the roles of individuals. These data have been closely integrated with material describing the formal committee positions and the sociometric rankings of individual members, based upon collective community nominations.

Estate Agent Survey

A further source of data was a survey of the records of six estate agents, located in Hamilton. The survey was carried out in 1974 when I was interested in the problem of intra-urban mobility of Italians, generally, and specifically in the *gatekeeper* role of the estate agent. Limited use has been made of these data because of the problem of comparability arising from the fact that few of the agents were in business at the time of high Italian residential mobility. Nevertheless, it was clear that their role was significant especially where the

problem of language was accommodated to facilitate access to housing
clientele.

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CHAPTER 3

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This chapter describes the migration of people from Lettopalena,
Abruzzi, Italy, and how the process of *chain migration* has led to the
formation of a *village* community in Newcastle. The emergence of this
community has been part of a wider pattern of continuing migration and
community formation which began before the turn of the twentieth century
and abated as recently as the 1960s. It is a process which has created
three widely dispersed, yet highly localised, ethnic communities - in
Turtle Creek, Pittsburg, Pennsylvannia, U.S.; in Caseros near Buenos
Aires, Argentina; and in Newcastle, N.S.W., Australia. All three
communities identify with one another and the parent village of Lettopalena.

PART A: THE CHAIN MIGRATION PROCESS AND GROUP SETTLEMENT FORMATION

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relevant research to provide comparisons of chain migration and
associated patterns of resettlement and adjustment. The account of chain
migration from Lettopalena to Australia involves an outline of the
village site and situation, the latent and immediate causes of emigration,
both primary and secondary chain migration, and changes in the village
as they relate to emigration. Community formation, involving the early

phase of resettlement, is seen as the initial stage of Lettesi

integration with the institutions of the wider social system. In this

process the role of the community has been crucial.

CHAIN MIGRATION

The migration of people from Lettopalena to Australia follows the

chain migration pattern common to southern European immigrants and

described by many writers, notably Price (1963[a]). This phenomenon of

chain migration was widely recognised during the early period of

migration to Australia though, at the time, the concept was loosely

formulated. Sherington (1980), in his book *Australia's Immigrants*

presents reproductions of two of Baxter's paintings 'News from Home'

(1854) and 'News from Australia' (1854), as well as excerpts from letters

urging friends and relatives to emigrate (pp.63-4). Sherington refers to

the 'crimson thread of kinship' preserved by the steady stream of

immigrants from Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century

which was facilitated by the programme of assisted passage. This

programme provided for resident Australians to nominate friends and

relatives as immigrants and to contribute towards the cost of their

passage (pp.71-2). During the nineteenth century it was the Irish

immigrants who made greatest use of the nomination system their main

source areas being the south-west counties. They were then the most

distinctive sub-cultural group (p.79).

The phenomenon was also widely recognised in America where the term

chain migration gained increased useage with the movements of people,

especially southern and eastern Europeans, during the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries (Fairchild 1911; Foerster 1919; Thomas and

Znaniecki 1927). Again, the letter to the homeland gains special

attention as in a statement by the Commissioner General for Immigration (1907):

> ...These letters constitute the most extensive method of advertising that can be imagined; almost innumerable *endless chains* are thus daily being forged, link by link (Fairchild 1911, p.88; Price 1963$_A^\alpha$ p.108).

Fairchild recounts in 1911 how 'practically every Greek who leaves for America has in his pocket a letter from some fellow countryman in America' (p.89). This was Costa's letter:

> *Chicago, Ills., Dec.28, 1908*
>
> *Dear Costa:*
> *The time we have been so long expecting has at last arrived. Our business has reached the point where we need another helper, and we want you to come over and help us. I enclose a complete ticket from Tripolis to Chicago, all paid for. All you have to do is to show it to the men as you go along. Have dear mother give you a written paper showing that you have her permission to come, as you are not yet sixteen. We will pay you the same wages as we would pay any other clerk. Take the greatest care of yourself, dear Costa, and come quickly. Kiss my beloved mother and sisters for me. I kiss you on the two eyes.*
> *Your affectionate brother.*
>
> (Fairchild 1911, p.93).

Fairchild refers to these letters from America as the greatest agency in perpetrating and extending the process of emigration. He says that

> If a peasant is asked 'Have many gone from your village to America?' the typical answer is: 'Oh yes, they have all gone. All the boys are in America' (p.87).

This was true for many Italian villagers, as well.

The significance of chain migration to the U.S. at that time is indicated by Price who claims that 94% of those immigrating to the U.S. between 1908-10 stated that they were entering to join relatives or friends (Price 1963$_A^\alpha$ p.109). The general impact of Italian emigration has been assessed by Douglass who claims that during the peak period 1906-1910, an average of 651288 person emigrated annually (Douglass 1980a, p.9). One interesting example of Italian chain migration was that which began in 1882 from Roseto Valfortore to Roseto,

Pennsylvania (Bianco 1974). The first group of eleven Rosetans all came to work in the slate quarries near Bangor where they lived in shanties and derelict barns. Increasingly large waves of immigrants arrived and following the lead of Nicola Rosato, built their homes on a hill near the quarry. The Rosetans called their settlement New Italy; others called it Italy Town (p.31). Bianco claims that Roseto is probably the most homogeneous ethnic enclave in the U.S. The entire community still remains Italian with 95% of today's residents having their origins in Roseto Valfortore (p.21).

The concept of *chain migration* was first described by Lochore (1951) but as Price points out his definition was too narrow to accommodate the many variations of the process and the different meanings implied throughout the literature (Price 1963^a, p.112; 1964, p.158). Lochore's definition of chain migration was illustrated by a case not dissimilar from that of Roseto though the details of the process are more explicit. It describes the emigration of a fisherman from Stromboli who, after settling in New Zealand in 1890, returned home for a visit and persuaded relatives to join him. They in turn persuaded others from Stromboli to emigrate. From these links that were established between origin and destination a migration chain was formed following an established path along which Strombolesi continued to migrate. Lochore's example, like that of Bianco, illustrates but one type of chain migration. Price saw the need to provide a wider framework to include all the variations and outcomes of the process.

By expanding the definition of the chain migration concept and presenting a model of related settlement types, Price has developed a most useful tool to facilitate the analysis of chain migration, of the complex process of community formation and for understanding the process

of social integration. Price has identified five stages of chain

migration which he expounds in detail in a number of sources (Price

1963ᴬ, pp.112-4; 1964, pp.157-9; 1969, pp.210-212). A brief summary is

given here.

> *The first stage begins when some wanderer from the old world*
> *establishes a foothold in the new land. Feeling strange and*
> *alone he either visits the homeland or writes urging friends*
> *or family to join him; others from the village or district*
> *may follow. Soon, those who become more satisfied and*
> *secure sponsor their wives, children and fiances and before*
> *very long a community is established. At this stage the*
> *older people feel sufficiently secure to follow their sons*
> *and daughters and their families; and others will allow*
> *their children to emigrate. Then, as the village becomes*
> *increasingly depopulated, those who remain may also want*
> *to leave. When the reasons for emigrating have been*
> *compounded the strength of such a chain may have the effect*
> *of creating a community more significant in size than that*
> *remaining in the parent village (Price 1963ᴬ, p.112).*

GROUP SETTLEMENT TYPES

Price further attempts to clarify the variety of forms of *chain migration*

and related *group settlements*. He distinguishes six types.

1. *Major village to village concentrations.*

2. *Minor villages to small village concentrations.*

3. *Major or minor village to several district, regional or*
   folk concentrations.

4. *Unproductive villages in major or minor district of*
   origin to several district, regional or folk
   concentrations.

5. *Scattered family to family groups.*

6. *Major, minor, and unproductive villages in important*
   districts of origin to dispersed settlement.

(Price 1963ᴬ, p.112).

Although the above processes are largely self-explanatory it is

important at this point to closely examine the concept of *group*

settlement, to look at the processes giving rise to this phenomenon,

and at the different forms group settlements take. Understanding these

forms is crucial to a study of the role of such a settlement in the

process of integration.

In a paper preceeding his major work on chain migration and
entitled 'Immigration and Group Settlement', Price explains the impor-
tance of understanding the meaning implied by the term *group settlement*
(1959, pp.267-87). He draws a clear distinction between *immigrant
association* which is often time limited and specific in function, and the
term *group settlement*, which implies the existence of numerous informal
and primary group relations, and touches on many facets of members' lives.
Group settlements can often satisfy a wide range of needs - social,
cultural and sometimes economic, so that contact can be limited within
the group. Such 'communities' are usually concentrated residentially.
This is the case with the Lettesi community.

Price refers to three main processes by which group settlements come
into being. He speaks of *organised* group settlements, *chain* settlements
and *gravitation* group settlements. Borrie provides a detailed example
of organised group settlements of Lutherans in South Australia. There
the South Australia Co., in 1836, introduced a congregation of 180
people, which by 1851 had swelled to 7,000. They formed additional
group settlements which by 1933 still retained a population that was 50%
German and which remained distinctively German in culture (Borrie 1954,
pp.160-2). The growth of one of the most distinctive 'chain' group
settlements, Melbourne's 'Little Italy', has been described at length by
Lancaster Jones (1962, 1964). Little Italy, in Carlton, was settled in
the 1880s by the colourful Viggianese from Basilicata, southern Italy, an
itinerant band of street musicians. By 1893, through chain migration,
they had formed a close knit and sizeable community. However the growth
of the concentration with immigrants from northern Italy saw the
significance of the Viggianese group settlement decline. Many similar

chain settlements have been prominent in Australia (Borrie 1954; Price 1963᷍; Burnley 1975).

'Gravitation' group settlements are formed by migrants drawn together in Australia by common cultural bonds. Both the Lutheran settlements in South Australia and Carlton's 'Little Italy' have developed through time, elements of this kind of community accretion. Borrie states that few examples exist of enclaves or closed settlements (1954, p.129); Jupp claims that the 'ghetto' analogy breaks down for areas of migrant dominance are rarely overshadowed by one particular settlement 'group' (1955, p.72). Burnley, too, refers to the emergence of 'clustered settlements which are, in reality, multiple nuclei' (1975, p.A.143). Most ethnic concentrations would increasingly attract additional members through 'gravitation' group settlement.

It is clear from this discussion that group settlements may, or may not be the product of chain migration. Chain migration may, nevertheless, be involved in the emergence of both 'organised' and 'gravitation' group settlement, the latter often involving 'secondary' chain migration, i.e. chain migration internal to the country of settlement. Group settlement processes are dynamic, seldom clear-cut and rarely exhibit a single form, as Borrie (1954) points out in his study of Italians. Italian settlement in Queensland began with 'organised' migration when in 1891 the Queensland government, acting on advice from an agent in southern Europe, provided 335 assisted passages for agricultural labourers to work in the canefields to replace the Kanakas. Many of these settlers acquired their own farms, providing a nucleus encouraging further Italian migrants, both through chain migration and gravitation settlement (Lyng 1935, p.100; Borrie 1954, p.50; Price 1963᷍, p.154).

An important point, strongly emphasised by Price is that an ethnic

concentration may not necessarily imply the existence of group settle-

ment, though for first generation migrants this association is more

likely. He further points out that an ethnic concentration may mask

the existence of individual group settlements each influenced uniquely by

its 'locality' of origin. This locality may be a *village* such as

Lettopalena; a *district*, as in the case of Macedonians in Newcastle who

came mainly from villages in the Bitola Valley; it may be a *region*, such

as Abruzzi, the homeland of the majority of Italians in Hamilton; and

finally, it may be the *folk* locality or nation as in the case of the

Serbian and Polish communities in Newcastle (Galvin 1974).

Tsounis (1963) and Bottomley (1979) have observed these phenomena

with 'Brotherhood' sub-groups within the Greek 'folk' communities both in

Melbourne and in Sydney, respectively. Tsounis defines the Brotherhood

as being 'composed of persons who were born or who claim descent from a

particular region, province, island or town in Greece, or places outside

Greece where large numbers of Greeks lived' (1963, p.72). Bottomley

states that these Brotherhoods exist, not only in Australia, but anywhere

in the world where Greek emigres are found. She adds that region of

origin has special significance for Greeks, that members are regarded

almost as kin and that regional in-marriage occurs to a considerable

degree (1979, p.58). She does not, however, see the regional sub-groups

as being necessarily coterminus with geographical area (1973, p.156)

and adds that Greek people maintain (kin) ties across considerable

distances (1973, p.254).

Price has placed great emphasis on locality differences:

   Any opinion which ignores the tremendous differences in
   customs and outlook which may exist between the various
   districts in the one European country - and consequently

forced to consolidate socially and to create their own access via
their social network systems, a fundamental basis for their *raison
d'etre*.

Although attitudes have been changing, assimilation policy did
reflect society's attitudes generally, as measured by a series of
specially devised scales (Richardson and Taft, 1968; Johnston 1968;
Storer 1981). These attitudes have been expressed in discriminatory
behaviour at the individual and community levels. Despite Martin's
words (1972a, p.133) and Bottomley's confirmation (1979, p.159) that
'the effective stimulus among European minorities was not finally a
defensive reaction against anything' but a concern to preserve
traditions and identity, the expression of prejudice and discrimination
have in themselves reinforced group identity by defining more clearly
the boundaries of 'we' and 'they'; and they have forced many immigrants
especially southern Europeans, to retreat into the safety and security
of community, or, in the absence of close community, to return to the
homeland.

Thompson refers to more than half of her respondents, all returnees
to Italy, as having experienced discrimination and she vividly presents
details of individual accounts (Thompson 1980, pp.160-88). Many more
accounts may be found in the literature, for example in Hempel (1959),
Jupp (1966), Stanner (1971), Tsounis (1971), Price (1963a), Borrie (1954)
and Kovacs and Cropley (1975). Other writers have devised a variety of
theories to explain both prejudice and discrimination, none of which are
entirely adequate (Banton 1959; Allport 1954; Stanner 1971), and Price
has stressed the need for a general synthesis (Price 1969, p.189). A
more complete understanding of the phenomena would be necessary to
provide an adequate basis for research into its variety of expressions
and its impact on social structure.

The emergence and growth of ethnic group settlements have been subject to the constraints of immigration policy though results have not always been as intended. The evolution of Australian immigration policy has been more than adequately surveyed elsewhere and the details will not be repeated here (Borrie 1954, pp.3-11; Price 1963ᵃ, pp.85-100; Price 1971, pp.A1-A23; Price 1975, pp.A1-A13). Nevertheless, there is one aspect of special interest. MacDonald and MacDonald (1970), as well as presenting a detailed summary of the relation between administrative conditions and volume of immigration, specifically with reference to Italy and Australia, have elaborated at length on an interesting paradox, of significance to chain migration to Australia. Their paper refers to the discrepancy that exists between the manifest formal functions of bureaucracy and the latent functions of informal networks. They point to an anomoly whereby policy which was directed towards negative discrimination of southern Europeans, and especially to those of peasant, village origin, was overturned by the machinery of chain migration so that instead it functioned predominantly in their interests (MacDonald and MacDonald 1970, pp.249-275).

Southern European immigration to Australia only assumed significant proportions following the heavy restrictions imposed by the U.S. Attitudes, nevertheless, followed those of the U.S., the authors identifying six main themes relating to a progressively anti-Italian policy, a policy which was generalized to southern Europeans - the inferiority of Italians, the greater inferiority of southern Italians, the fear of southern European concentrations, the fear of destitution among newly-arrived non-British immigrants, the virtue of re-uniting families and the desirability of encouraging permanent immigration (MacDonald and MacDonald 1970, p.253). Policy restrictions from 1923 were aimed, principally, at southern Europeans as did later (1951) policies of assisted

migration which placed the 'peasant' category off the official lists
for selection (p.255). In the belief that the total volume of
immigration of southern Europeans would be greatly reduced, a require-
ment was imposed that all prospective immigrants have personal nomination
and maintenance guarantees, or a landing sum for support on arrival.
This had the effect of limiting immigration to relatives and friends of
settlers in Australia (p.253).

> The system did not, in fact, reduce the volume of arrivals.
> Instead the authorities made chain migration official (p.254).

The irony was that officials were unaware that the chain migration
movement had an informal structure of its own - that it was not simply
a flow of atomistic individuals, but that relatives and friends were
the principal links in chains which by the fifties, had established a
nucleus of group concentrations in all the major cities. Paradoxically
it was their policy which allowed and facilitated the emergence of
ethnic group settlements in Australia.

In addition the effect was to strengthen communities by facili-
tating the practice of within-group marriage. Price (1963a) has noted
that where members of a chain group rarely intermarry they tend to form
strong, cohesive group settlements, facing outside influences together
as a group (p.225). This will be seen in relation to the Lettesi whose
rate of inmarriage is significantly high at 71% (Table 27) and whose
basis of solidarity is remarkably strong. This pattern of inmarriage
has also radically increased the degree of interconnectivity within the
community in terms of extended kin relations. This critical aspect of
community cohesion will be dealt with, however, at a later stage. The
important point here is the impact of policy, which by facilitating the
process of chain migration, increased group solidarity and influenced
the patterns of integration/assimilation.

Group settlement formation has also been responsive to changes in

the socioeconomic conditions of Australia, both temporally, and

geographically. But, again, these aspects have been dealt with in the

literature and the details need not be reiterated here (Price 1963a;

Borrie 1954; MacDonald 1958). Nevertheless, there are some aspects

relating directly to group settlements which are worthy of brief mention.

While immigration, generally, has responded to conditions of economic

growth and depression in Australia, chain migration has shown a greater

sensitivity than programmes organised through bureaucratic machinery.

MacDonald and MacDonald, in considering this factor, mention a paradox

occurring with the 'depression' of 1952 where

> policy was caught between a chain migration movement which
> delivered *undesirable types* but which looked after itself;
> and the bilateral recruitment and assisted passage scheme
> which delivered *better types* who could not take care of
> themselves. The dilemma was resolved by cancelling both
> movements with the exception of close dependant relatives.
> (MacDonald and MacDonald 1970, p.256).

Chain migration, while looking after its own, has resisted more

effectively the exigencies of both the administrative and economic

constraints.

More lengthy discussion of geographical aspects of ethnic

communities will be given in Chapter 5, but in respect to the social

organisation of group settlement, one general statement will suffice

at this stage. As Price points out, group settlements are often complex,

there being few examples in Australia of the village to village case

which was a phenomenon of United States immigration with settlements like

Roseto (Bianco 1974). In Australia the settlement unit is seldom the

village or district group but more often an overlay of village, district,

regional and folk groups which coexist territorially with other folk

group structures (Price 1963a, p.229).

Within the general pattern and process of chain migration different 'folk' exhibit varying tendencies which add to the complexity. Although a range of cultural groups have followed chain migration paths, for example, some of the British, Dutch and Jewish settlers (Burnley 1975, p.A143; 1974, p.178; Price 1964), it is a phenomenon most distinctive to southern Europeans. Yet within and between the different southern European groups there are variations worthy of note. Burnley observes that

> ...the Yugoslavs...more than the Greeks and Italians...have
> grouped themselves in terms of region rather than village or
> town of origin (Burnley 1975, p.139).

Examples of communities in Sydney and Newcastle support his conclusion (Galvin 1974; Gordon 1974). The origins of Greek migration, on the other hand, between 1889-1947 lay mainly in the islands Ithica, Kythera and Castellorizo (42%) (Price 1968; Bottomley 1979, p.45).

Marked differences have been noted for some southern and northern Italians. Lancaster Jones (1962) estimated that over 1,000 Viggianesi from Basilicata, southern Italy, lived within Carlton's 'Little Italy'. Huber, on the other hand, found that families she interviewed from Treviso, northern Italy, and living in Sydney, lived as nuclear family units having little contact with other Italians (1977, p.197).

Group settlements therefore are complex in structure but especially in cities where size and diversity and the range of opportunities have tended to attract a multiplicity of migration chains, 'secondary chains' and individual immigrants to what Price has termed 'gravitation group settlements' (Price 1963^a, p.233).

Social Structure in the Homeland and Mode of Emigration

The critical point of the MacDonalds' analysis was that migration chains have a structure that is dependent on the social structure in the place of origin (MacDonald and MacDonald 1970, p.260). If, in turn, one

is to understand group settlement structure and its relation to the process of social integration with the institutions of the wider social system, then one must follow through the continuity and change in structures that occur from origin to destination.

The theme of structural continuity in chain migration is argued, for Italy, by MacDonald and MacDonald (1970). They noted that during periods of immigration restrictions, chains from southern Italy were far more active than those from the central and northern provinces (p.260). They stressed, however, that this did not imply the popular dichotomy of north and south and that even the regional divisions were too crude to provide an adequate comparative base. They therefore grouped provinces which they classified by Modernity according to Parson's Pattern Variables (p.264). It was the Deep South, the heartland of 'La Miseria' which provided the largest source of migrants to Australia in spite of all the administrative constraints. This category included the eastern provinces of Sicily, through Calabria, Basilicata, the hinterland of Naples, Frosinone in Latium, and Abruzzi - Molise. It had the lowest rank on the Modernity Scale (p.265).

The authors argue that throughout the Deep South where feudal holdings had given way to an economy based on small family production units, the combination of intense familism and patron-client networks formed the basis of a social structure which provided the main driving force for migration chains (p.266). In relative terms this was even more important than the economic 'push' underlying emigration for from 1923-1952, despite the level of poverty in certain areas, unless there was already a 'bridgehead' of sponsors, emigration to Australia was effectively curtailed (p.267). It remained an important factor after the 1952 agreement which extended the assisted passage scheme to

Italians and only waned in importance as the EEC[1] began to provide more accessible labour opportunity.

The intense familism which formed the basis of social structure and migration chains from the Deep South has been described by Barzini (1964, pp.190-213) and by Foerster in his classic work *The Italian Emigration of Our Times*. He says of the Italian emigrant

> ...his affections are warm and deep, attaching him to
> his family and the scenes of his childhood. When he
> breaks from these tugging intimacies it is conditionally,
> not absolutely (Foerster 1919, p.428).

Italian emigration, early this century, was seldom considered permanent. Both Giacomo and Arcangelo, Lettesi pioneers, had been to America before coming to Australia. Giacomo had been there four or five times. Foerster again comments:

> ...the Italian like no other emigrant, aspires to return
> to his home. This opinion he bears in his heart, an
> opinion universally witnessed; he keeps it warm and
> pulsating in foreign lands, where it contributes tellingly
> to that aloofness from others or clannishness which his
> neighbours there have noted in him...it is potent in
> directing him back to his Italy (Foerster 1919, p.428).

Where the Italian emigrant no longer returns to Italy, familism still provides the basis for community.

Patronage, or the 'use of resources by a person - the patron - to assist or protect some other person - the client - who does not control such resources' (Boissevain 1969, p.379), although a universal phenomenon, has been particularly pervasive to societies where 'the institutions of public law are absent or fail to be effective' (Blok 1969, p.367). Patronage was a powerful social tool in the Deep South, and especially in Sicily, till the intrusion of the State in local affairs after World War II. Douglass, in a study of Agnone, Molise, claims that after the War the system continued with clientalistic political networks controlling the direction of development projects (Douglass 1980c, p.330) and

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1. EEC represents the European Economic Community.

the roles and relations which patronage implied were deeply embedded in Italian social structure. The role of the <u>padrone</u> or patron in America has been outlined for Italian immigrants by MacDonald (1964) and for the Greeks by Fairchild (1911).

Patron-client relations in the immigrant setting were multistrand, as they were in the homeland, the 'padrone' usually financing immigration, providing employment and numerous other services to his 'client' but often maintaining isolation and dependence (MacDonald 1964). Fairchild in 1911 condemned the system as exploitative - as one of 'peonage or slavery' (p.186); and he describes a familiar practice in Greek bootblacking establishments, operated usually 'by Greek lads, ranging from ten to eighteen years of age':

> During the last four months of the year there arrived at the port of Boston alone 898 of these youths, 127 of whom were returned...Our final judgment in regard to the padrone system can only be that it is a standing reproach to the Greek population of the United States, and a menace to the free labor principles of our country (Fairchild 1911, p.186).

This reproach must be assessed in view of the different cultural contexts and attitudes at that time. As MacDonald points out,

> Most important of the padrone's functions, from our standpoint, was that he kept his *paesani* together;

and that

> the continuing dependence of his wards was sanctioned by southern Italian custom (MacDonald 1964, p.86).

As communities evolved, the padrone's roles tended to be taken over by relatives and closer friends, again as they might have been in the homeland, as adaptations occurred in a society undergoing change. The process is one of continuity and change. Price claims that, to some extent, the system has operated with southern European emigration to Australia (Price 1963a, p.64).

The form of the family as the basic social unit of Italian social
structure has been the subject of much debate. While the existence of
'Little Italys' in the U.S. and in Australia has tended to reinforce a
general assumption that the extended family group is the unit of
importance, specific work on the subject has argued otherwise. Much
discussion has centred on Banfield's *The Moral Basis of a Backward
Society* wherein he postulates a state of 'social atomism' to explain
the failure of communal solidarity and the dominance, in Southern Italy,
of the nuclear family. His conclusions were based on research in
Montegrano, a mountain town in the province of Potenza (Banfield, 1958).
In his excellent 'Critique' of the South Italian family, Douglass(1980)
observes that Banfield's emphasis on the nuclear family has widespread
support.

Douglass(1980), nevertheless, produces evidence which contradicts
this image of the South Italian family, in the literature. He points to
Agnone, a mountain town in the Molise (included in the MacDonalds'
Deep South category) where the dominant cultural ethos is for the joint
extended family and where the fairly high incidence of nuclear family
households can be explained in terms of a specific stage in the
developmental cycle of the joint family form. Implying that disagreement
may be largely a matter of definition, he draws a distinction between
social structure (societal norm - joint extended family) and social
organisation (societal arrangement at a particular point in time - the
nuclear family). The example of Agnone also questions the conclusion
of Silverman (1968) that land tenure systems, where holdings are
miniscule and highly fragmented, are necessarily conducive to the
formation of nuclear family units. The varying conclusions reached by
Douglass and the MacDonalds may, however, reflect a basic difference in
disciplinary approach for while the latter were concerned more with

agricultural economics, Douglass' approach was that of the social anthropologist. The difference is to some extent a difference of scale.

No definitive statement on the form of the family as the focal unit of social structure, in southern Italy, can reasonably be made at this stage. Inconsistency of definition makes valid comparison difficult; explanation has not always been sufficiently explorative; the problem has not always been applied to classes other than the peasantry; and historical forces for change have too often been ignored. Until such problems have been adequately confronted debate on the problem is liable to continue. While Agnone may not be representative of southern Italy, other research does lend support to Douglass' findings (Douglass 1980, p.354). His own informed belief that the joint extended system is applicable to Abruzzi as well as to Molise (p.354), is substantiated by my own observations in Lettopalena.

What does appear certain is that family systems vary, considerably, throughout Italy and that they do not seem to follow a general north/ south dichotomy. MacDonald (1958) differentiates between the Centre and the South and draws distinctions within regions; Cronin points to differences between rural and urban parts of Sicily (1970, p.43); and Douglass (1980), to variations in southern Italy, generally. Two examples from northern and southern Italy, respectively, will illustrate more clearly the kinds of variation. These examples are chosen not because they are representative of northern and southern Italy, but because the authors have examined adaptation in family structure following resettlement in Australia (Cronin 1970; Huber 1977).

In rural areas of Treviso, northern Italy, people live in patrilineal extended households in long stone buildings facing a central courtyard. Individual sections are occupied by close extended families, with separate

rooms being allocated for the nuclear groups. Strict, hierarchical relations are enforced, with the eldest male being the dominant member of the household (Huber 1977, pp.21-3). Cronin, on the other hand, describes the kin group in Sicily as being comprised of all persons related by blood or marriage. It has three major divisions - the nuclear family ('the real relatives'), the extended family which is a bounded network of nuclear families related through the sibling tie, and 'i parenti' (the relatives) including all other kin. In contrast to the system described by Huber, for Treviso, the household unit is the nuclear family and it is paramount and autonomous. Relations with members of the extended family or 'i parenti' remain essentially the prerogative of the individual person. The extended family, nevertheless, is a viable entity, maintaining, by a system of social controls, the good name of the family. In addition there is a formal patrilineal bias which, in practice, is overshadowed by more effective matrilineal ties. Decisions, however, are made within the nuclear household (Cronin 1970, pp.43-66). Specific adaptations to these forms of family structure, in the Australian setting, will be referred to later.

Mass emigration, since the 1870s, has changed traditional patterns of family structure, not only in Italy, but in the place of resettlement. In southern Italy, especially, it has tended to increase the proportion of nuclear family households, for the mass emigration of young, single males precluded the formation of joint family units, and the flow of remittances and returnees from abroad, introduced new ideas of personal freedom and independence (Douglass 1980, p.353). In Lettopalena to-day, because of the high degree of mobility, it is difficult to identify a consistent pattern of family structure. Although nuclear households predominate, the joint extended system could well have represented the 'ideal' family type.

Continuity and Change

Though the term 'urban village', conceived by Gans (1962), in his

study of an ethnic neighbourhood in Boston, has been widely applied

both in the U.S. and in Australia, one should not see group settlements

as mere transplantations. As already stated, the 'urban village' or

group settlement, and the units which comprise its social organisation

are dynamic entities responding to conditions, not only in the homeland

but to emigration and resettlement. Nevertheless, as Bottomley has so

clearly pointed out in her work on Greek kinship patterns in Sydney,

new institutions are not created 'ex vacuo' but must bear some relation

to past conditions (1973, p.45; 1979, p.78). She refers to the theme

of continuity and conformity to traditional models which can be seen to

co-exist with more immediate models of life situations (Bottomley 1979,

p.77). The traditional models to which she refers can be seen to be

related to Douglass' concept of the 'ideal' or norm of social structure

(1980, p.355); or to Bottomley's own distinction between the structure

of 'ideals' and the structure of 'actions' in relation to institutions

(1973, p.45).

Continuity and change do underlie patterns of social adaptation to

emigration and resettlement. The extent of deviation from the family

'ideal' which would appear to be more variable in Italy than in Greece,

has been dependent, first, upon the mode of emigration (Bottomley 1979,

p.81). Where emigration, for example, has followed a chain migration

pattern it is far more likely that extended family systems will tend to

persist in the place of resettlement. Price expands on this:

> It is not unreasonable to assume...that forces strong
> enough to bring settlers from one village or district of
> origin to one place of settlement in Australia were also
> strong enough to keep such immigrants, when in that place,
> associated together in the full life of a village or
> district group settlement - both primary and secondary
> (Price 1963ᵃ, p.230).

What Price says does not exclude the possibility of change in traditional family structures, within chain group settlements, for adaptation must occur to new social conditions. This can be seen from Huber's study of Italians from Treviso, northern Italy, who settled in Griffith. Respondents in Griffith had followed a chain migration pattern which led to the formation, by 1925, of a closely-knit chain settlement of horticultural farmers. By the late 1960s there was an Italian (folk) group settlement, mainly comprising 50% Trevisani, 40% Calabresi and 10% Abruzzesi.

> The community was relatively closed, and many ties linked
> family, friends and neighbours (Huber 1977, pp.57-63).

Yet change had occurred in response to new conditions, combining the advantages of the independent nuclear household and the close extended kin and family relations which had characterised the patri-lineal extended household of Treviso. Huber relates this specific adaptation to institutional controls on the size of farms which encouraged the acquisition of separate farm units for each of the adult sons of the family (p.7). So despite the erosion of the joint extended household, an underlying ethos of kinship remained, due partly to the process of chain migration and partly to the rural settlement form.

Huber's study of Trevisani in Griffith is comparable to that of Mapstone (1966) on Macedonian Greeks who settled on irrigation farms in Shepparton, Victoria. For them the patriarchial family was still the norm and patriarchial authority remained central to the family. Mapstone noted how kinship ties were strengthened as cousins intermarried and siblings from a family married siblings from another Macedonian Greek family. Though 41% of households were of nuclear families, the Zadruga-[1]

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1. The Zadruga household includes the nuclear families of siblings, usually brothers, living in their father's house (Mapstone 1966, p.121).

type household still persisted, its most common forms of adaptation
being the extended family,[1] with three or more generations sharing a
house. Again, this mode of adaptation was closely related, as it was
in Griffith, to the settlement form, for the establishment of nuclear
household units was associated with the purchase of additional farms,
usually for the older brothers of a family, while the Zadruga and
extended households, on the other hand, represented viable farming
alternatives. This form of group settlement which evolved in Shepparton
was an outcome, once again, of chain migration, social structure in the
homeland and conditions in Australia (Mapstone 1966, pp.121-25).

Huber contends that change was more pronounced for Trevisani who
settled in the urban area of Sydney - that most core institutions,
indeed, ceased to exist where rural workers became urban labourers (p.197).
The Trevisani who were interviewed by Huber in Sydney lived, exclusively,
in nuclear households with little or no interaction with kin and as
close primary relations gave way to loose-knit associations the roles
of the partners were newly-defined. Change for these families was far
more disruptive and emotionally disturbing than for their counterparts
in Griffith, a condition which explains their unusually high returnee
rate (p.193).

It is questionable to what extent the urban environment can be seen
to account for the social isolation of the families Huber interviewed.
In the first place the respondents were assisted migrants who came
independently of friends or kin; secondly, they were interviewed during
the early stages of resettlement before they could develop the closer

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1. The extended family is a kin-based unit. In the above form three
   generations live together under the same roof or in a family
   compound (Broom and Selznick 1969).

primary relations that may have drawn them into an existing group

settlement; thirdly, Huber interviewed only eight families and they

were not representative of Italians in cities, most of whom have not

been assisted migrants; and finally, the fact that Italian group

settlements have emerged as strong social entities in cities shows

clearly the tenacity of kinship relations and the way they can survive

in an urban setting.

Huber's sample of Sydney Trevisani is misleading in its implica-

tions. These serve to reinforce the old rural/urban dichotomy,

confirming Parson's theory of the functional suitability of the nuclear

family to meet the needs of industrial society. Bottomley has expanded

at length on this theory and again she stresses the gap between ideology

and reality (1973, pp.292-3). The theory has been challenged by a great

many other writers, including Martin (1967), Litvak and Szelenyi (1969),

Peterson (1971) and Villeneuve (1971). Martin states that

> Contemporary urban communities contain viable elements
> associated with the 'folk' society as traditionally
> described

and that

> the postulated polarity of 'folk' and 'urban' types has
> now served its usefulness (Martin 1967, p.63).

Martin suggests that the new family form is the modified extended family

which Peterson and Villeneuve see as serving new important functions in

the urban situation. This modified extended family form is a viable

part of the social organisation of urban group settlements, as can be

seen from a range of ethnic studies of urban communities, for example,

MacDonald (1958), Price (1963a), Lancaster Jones (1962; 1964), Cronin

(1970), Lee (1970), Trlin (1970), Burnley (1970), Tsounis (1975),

Bottomley (1973; 1979), Bianco (1974).

It may even be the case that traditional kin relationships may tend

to be strengthened in urban places of resettlement. Connell has remarked

on this (1973, p.47) and Cronin observed it also among Sicilians in

Sydney:

> Kinsmen, who in Sicily are important only for maintaining
> the honour of the group, become important and necessary at
> the point of emigration because of the emotional shock of
> transplanting oneself in a foreign society. The only
> people to whom one can turn at arrival are the relatives...
> Relatives live together or near one another, they find
> jobs for the newcomers and generally act as the agents
> through which the rules and customs of the new society will
> become intelligible. The principle that relatives should
> help one another becomes a reality at this time (Cronin
> 1970, p.190).

Thompson extends her observations of this tendency to friendships

among Italians, which, in Australia, were of greater psychological

importance as a factor in their adjustment.

> At that time in Australia, I tended to be friendly with
> whoever was there. I had no other choice. Here [in
> Italy], friends are less important because I have my wife
> and family (1980, p.146).

Bottomley, referring to the Greek community in Sydney, says that

Greeks are profoundly kinship oriented, that familial obligations are

paramount, and that social relations are unlikely to replace kin ties.

She says that

> For these reasons the formal organisations are better
> seen as complementary to primary groups, rather than
> replacing them (1973, p.254).

Her study of Greeks in Sydney found that kin was more essential to

people's lives than might have been expected, even for a Greek city

(pp.86, 138). Whereas nuclear households were exclusively the norm in

Greece (p.81), in Sydney the respondents had often shared their homes

with extra-familial kin for extended periods, and most of them lived in

residential clusters. Patterns of interaction, for most of the subjects,

were mainly contained within an extensive kin network which was attached

to a sizeable migration chain (p.138). Similar tendencies among Greeks

in New Zealand and Yugoslav Dalmations, settled in Auckland, have been
noted by Burnley (1970, p.115) and by Trlin (1970, p.89) respectively.

Few studies have been completed at a level of analysis assessing
the extent of change and continuity of traditional family forms in the
Australian context and how this may have varied in different social
settings (Mapstone 1966; Cronin 1970; Bottomley 1973; 1979; Huber 1977;
Thompson 1980). From the few available studies it would appear that
where kinship was sufficiently strong to support chain migration,
these same kinship systems have tended to persist as the basis of group
settlements whether in cities or in rural settings. But while kinship
has provided this framework of continuity, other traditional forms have
been modified significantly in structure and function to meet the
specific needs of migrants. Both Cronin (1970) and Bottomley (1973;
1979) have shown Sicilians and Greeks, respectively, to have surrendered
the autonomy of the nuclear family household, as it had existed in
Sicily and in Greece, in response to the housing needs of their kin.

The extent of the adaptation is difficult to assess, however,
without reference to the attitudes and behaviour in place of origin.
Thompson (1980) refers to respondents in Abruzzi where

> Not only did families accommodate elderly relatives, but
> also unmarried brothers and sisters. A Celenese family
> who had returned from Australia was looking after an
> elderly great aunt...her aged infirmity conferred on her
> the most important role in that family, and she was
> treated with great deference (Thompson 1980, p.190).

I witnessed this same caring attitude in Abruzzi where an aged and dying
parent was given the brightest room of the house, overlooking the street
and at the hub of household activity. Though unable to recognise even
her daughters she was still, to them, the most important person in the
family. Her son, Nick, is the Treasurer for the Lettesi in Newcastle.

Cronin records a sharp contrast in attitude in Sicily where

> If a dependent relative lives with a nuclear family, he or
> she resides in their house but is definitely considered an
> outsider (Cronin 1970, p.45).

While adjustments have been made to accommodate new needs it could be

argued, nevertheless, that when the need has subsided there is a

tendency to revert to traditional forms. This argument has been

presented very strongly by Cronin in relation to the dominance of the

Sicilian nuclear household. She says:

> The pattern of the household composition reflects the
> preferred living arrangement in Sicily. It is not
> indicative of change, acculturation, or assimilation
> (Cronin 1970, p.188).

Yet this tendency to revert to a traditional form has generally

appeared where the traditional form is one of the dominant nuclear

household associated with a modified extended kin system, in other

words where it conformed to the Australian norm. Huber could find no

respondents in Griffith who would have elected to return to the patri-

lineal extended family, for

> They enjoyed the privacy of a nuclear family household
> but had sufficient kin close at hand to help in
> emergencies (Huber 1977, p.209).

Where, on the other hand, conditions in Australia provided no

support to the nuclear family unit, Trevisani could not adjust to their

social isolation and felt a strong need to return home to Italy (Huber

1977, p.208). As Huber points out:

> Immigrants in a new country find it easier to settle if
> core institutions can be adapted or reconstituted to
> dovetail with new ones (p.211).

PRIMARY SOCIAL NETWORKS AND GROUP SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE

The combination of a nuclear family household having close kinship

ties in geographical proximity seems the most consistent and appropriate

form of southern European adaptation in Australia, especially within the

urban context. It forms the underlying basis of group settlement structure. Indeed, the key to an understanding of the process of formation, persistence and change of ethnic group settlements lies in closer analysis of kinship networks and their extension into the ethnic and wider social systems, and herein lies the basis of the study of integration.

Bottomley (1973; 1979) has applied social network analysis in her study of second generation Greeks in Sydney. By examining twenty-three individual-centred networks she was able to identify a core Greek 'community' which satisfied the criteria defined by Martin from the point of view of a network model. That is:

> The number of units in the field is large enough for them
> to be linked together in a variety of ways;...relationships
> between members are dense, either over the whole portion
> or in multi-linked clusters; and links exist, not
> necessarily directly...between each member and all other
> members (Martin 1970, pp.336-7).

Bottomley could discern, within this broadly described Greek community a large group of sub-communities '...based on kinship, friendship and mutual understanding' which she saw as corresponding to Tönnies notion of community. These appeared as dense clusters in the Greek network pattern (Bottomley 1973, p.159; 1979, p.129).

Bottomley was interested, not only in identifying the social network structure of the Greek community in Sydney, but in the way that structure has exerted pressure on members to maintain their Greek tradition and identity. She used her analysis to examine three aspects of Gordon's model of assimilation (Gordon 1964) - namely structural assimilation, acculturation and identification. By examining primary relationships she was able to locate the individual respondent in a 'social field' or structure; by examining the content of these primary

relationships she could establish the degree of acculturation; and

finally she was able to assess identity by reference to those relations

that modify and maintain it (Bottomley 1979, p.14).

Bottomley classified her individual-centred networks as 'community'

type or 'clustered' networks. The community type was characterised by

a social environment based on kinship, friendship and shared understan-

dings, and by an overlapping of spheres of activities - what Simmel

calls 'a concentric pattern of group affiliations' (1969, p.163). In

the clustered type network there was social separation of these different

spheres of actions and interests. This kind of network was more

indicative of a higher level of acculturation, and identification with

the host community (Bottomley 1979, pp.129-31). In her conclusion

Bottomley underlines the importance of chain migration and community

type networks in the maintenance of Greek tradition (p.178).

Whereas Bottomley identified Greek community structure not only in

relation to formal organisations, but by examining patterns of primary

social networks, Tsounis defined the structure of the Greek community in

Melbourne in terms of its formally constituted institutions. He noted

how ethnic communities, generally, have developed distinctive institu-

tionalised sub-cultures whose permanence and viability have largely been

dependent on the ethnic institutions of everyday life (Tsounis 1975,

p.52). But while acknowledging the importance of formal institutions for

providing 'that continuity that is social structure', Bottomley stressed

that they were

> actually based on the primary ties of kinship and neighbourhood
> and that rather than being a secondary-associative substitute,
> the process has been one of extending primary relationships,
> creating a series of networks with mutual rights and obli-
> gations (Bottomley 1979, pp.72-3).

Her point is implicit in Tsounis' observations of the relative

importance of Greek institutions, for while the most important

institution for the Greeks has undoubtedly been the Greek Orthodox

Community, Tsounis found that Regional Fraternities have in some ways

been closer to the lives of the people; that while Communities were

sometimes large and impersonal, the Regional Fraternities, through

kinship and in-marriage, have been able to maintain their solidarity and

identity (p.61). They were also more durable than Pan-Hellenic

institutions (Tsounis 1975, p.62).

This need to search for meaning at the primary scale of relation-

ships, or at a 'lower level of social organisation', was stressed by

Zubrzycki (1961) at an earlier period when he expressed his 'frustration'

and 'bitter disappointment' over his quantitative survey of immigrants

in the Latrobe. In discussing his sample of Dutch immigrants in Moe,

Zubrzycki pointed out that, according to the data, theirs was the lowest

proportion belonging to migrant organisations. Nevertheless they had

evolved a complex network of informal primary groups and committees.

He concluded:

> In examining the process of adjustment we very rarely descend
> to what I think is the true unit of ethnic relations, namely
> the membership of primary groups...insight into the
> functioning of primary groups...is crucial to understanding
> their integration into the larger social structures
> (Zubrzycki 1961, p.52).

This argument has been sustained by a number of other writers -

by Price when he spoke of the importance of identifying the underlying

patterns of group settlement structure and the need for more detailed

anthropological techniques in work on assimilation (1963, p.228); by

Phillips (1970) who looked at assimilation in terms of resocialisation

for new roles through interaction with the host group; by Byung Hee Yoo

(1978) who considered low social interaction between Maltese in
Sydney and the host population, as an indication of low integration
(p.37); by Caruana (1978) who compared the interaction space of first and
second generation Italians in Liverpool; by Larsen and Hill (1958)
who looked at changing social structure in terms of information flows
along interpersonal channels; by Grimes (1979) who traced the adaptation
of Irish immigrants to their new environment by examining the spatial
aspects of their friendship linkages in respect to both residence
and work patterns; by Burns (1976) who analysed social network chains
and their role in providing access to factories in Sydney; by both
Abu-Lughod (1961, p.32) and Peterson (1971, p.560) who studied immigrants
to Cairo and who concluded that kin and the 'village' neighbourhood
were the most important units of social organisation; by Mitchell and
his co-workers (1969); and finally, by Mackie who showed the need to
examine 'acculturation' at the level of the family, at different stages
of the life cycle. Mackie observed significant differences between
isolated families and respondents who belonged to a close-knit family
network. Within the latter the presence of growing children and kin,
at different stages of cultural change, seemed to create conditions for
a dialogue of values for people who would otherwise not have interacted,
at the primary level, with members of the host group (Mackie 1975, p.109).

In summary it is apparent from the above discussion that primary
networks extending out from the individual, to family, to extended kin,
to locality and folk attachments, provide the most appropriate level of
analysis of ethnic group settlements of southern Europeans and for examining
the process of group settlement formation, community consolidation and
integration. This Chapter will examine group settlement formation of
the Lettesi community resident in Newcastle.

PART B.   THE LETTESI COMMUNITY: GROUP SETTLEMENT FORMATION

Emigration of people from Lettopalena, Abruzzi, Italy has occurred through a process of *chain migration* which has led to the formation of a *village* community in Newcastle.

LETTOPALENA, VILLAGE OF ORIGIN

The geographical situation of Lettopalena is remote for the village lies deep in the mountains of Abruzzi, in the south-west of the province of Chieti where the Maiella Range divides Chieti from L'Aquila (Fig. 22). Here in the shadow of the mighty Maiella are the sites which mark three stages of development which in turn provide insight into changing migration patterns (Figs. 23, 24). The original site, a narrow mountain ledge, above a ravine of the Aventino River, is similar to that of other mountain towns, all of which share a similar emigration experience, for emigration was endemic to the whole of the region. In 1943, as the people watched from the shelter of the stables across the river, Lettopalena was destroyed by German troops. It was there in the stables that they fashioned their homes and lived during the period following the war till emigration provided the means of mass escape. As this wave of emigration subsided in the sixties those people who remained settled down to a life of relative comfort and security in the new town which lies just beyond the ruins of the stables. The new town is characterised by a new migration pattern of short-term movement to other parts of Italy and to European countries, particularly Germany. (Plates 4-7).

MIGRATION PATTERNS FROM LETTOPALENA

Migration records for Lettopalena though neither entirely accurate,
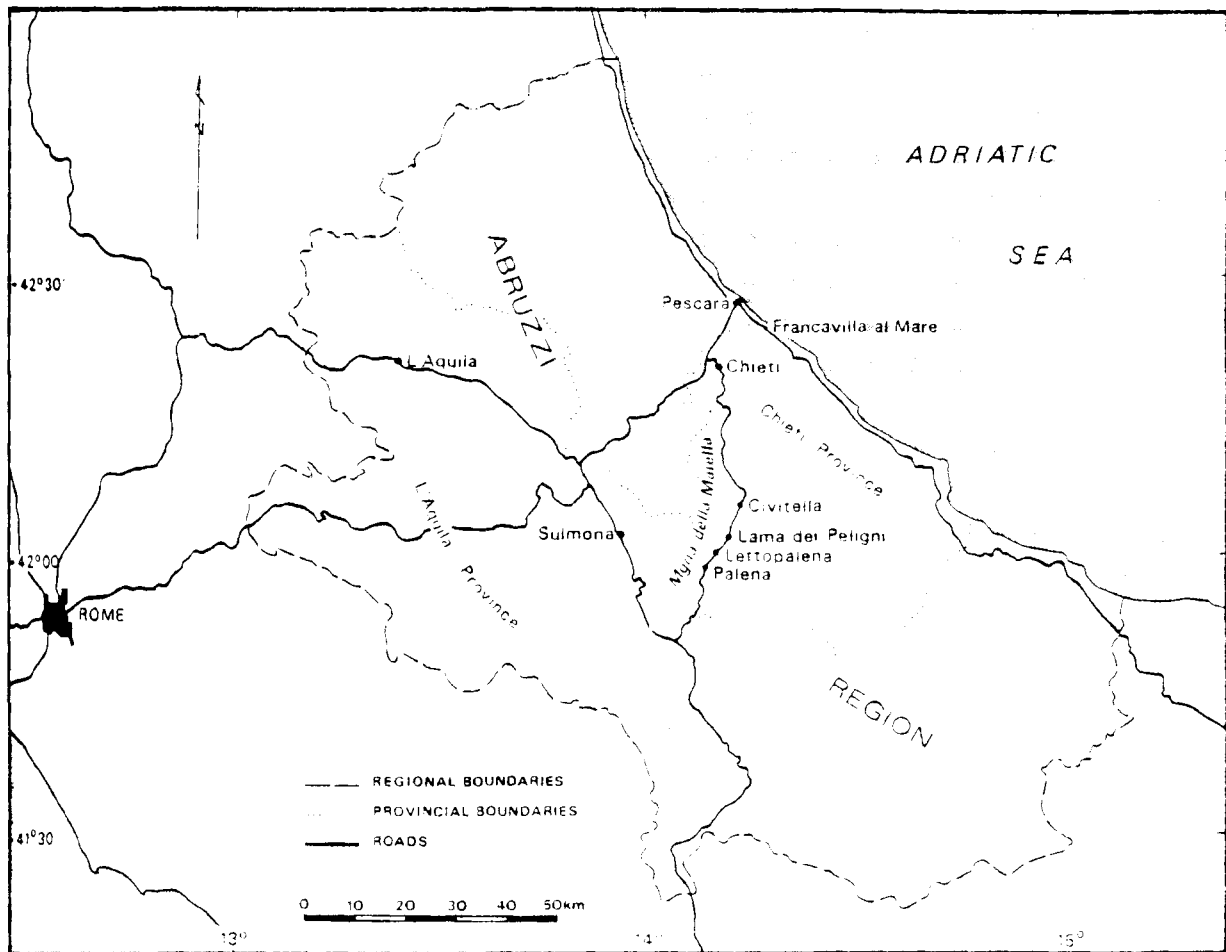
Source: Comune di Lettopalena

Figure 22: Lettopalena, Situation in Abruzzi
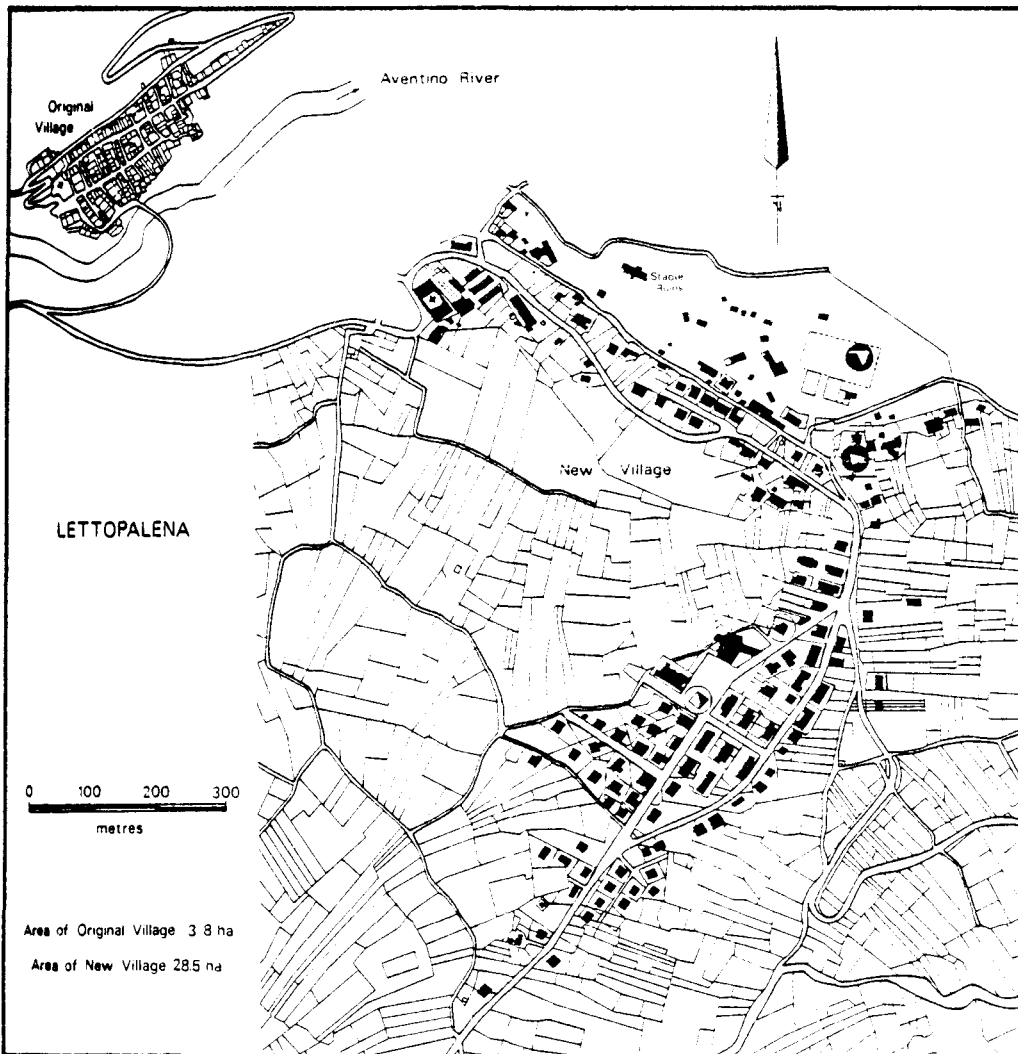
Source: Comune di Lettopalena

Figure 24: Lettopalena, 3 Sites - Old Town, the Stables and the
           New Village

Plate 4:   Old Site of Village

Plate 5:   Ruins Remaining, the Church

Plate 6: Old Site, Antonio Rossetti and Pasquale Martinelli

Plate 7: Looking Across Ravine to the Next Village, Taranta
2 km Away

nor complete, do provide an indication of international migration flows
and the patterns they suggest do support the beliefs of those from
Lettopalena who were interviewed in Australia. According to the records
752 people have emigrated permanently since 1900: 36% to the United
States, 33% to Australia and 18% to Argentina. Much smaller
percentages apply to Canada (3.6%), France (3.2%), Belgium (2.6%) and
Germany (1.4%); and just a few have settled in Switzerland, Corsica,
Africa, New Caledonia, Mexico, England and New Zealand (Table 3).

Although the recorded dates must be used with caution in any
estimation of times of departure, they can provide a guide to deciding
the proportions who emigrated before and after World War II. They can
also be used, in combination with returnee records, and mobility
statistics for the village population, to discover the trends in the
migration pattern. It can be seen, therefore, that before World War II
the principal destinations of Lettesi emigrants were the United States
and Argentina. Of the 267 immigrants to the United States, 54%
arrived in the period before the war; and of the 130 people arriving
in Argentina 29.2% were pre-war immigrants. In contrast, only 4.1% of
the 243 Australian intake, emigrated during the pre-war period; 95.1%
came after the war. Thus after the war the principal destinations were
Australia and Argentina.

The greatest loss in numbers in the period since the war was
sustained during the years 1947-1956. As post-war immigration was first
available to Argentina, many young men, returning from the war, left at
once to prepare the way for their families. Then those who had relatives
in the United States went there. Most of the emigrants, however, left
for Australia, some with Australian government assistance but most of
them as sponsored immigrants. The majority left in the early fifties

TABLE 3

EMIGRATION LETTOPALENA

Destination	No.	%	% Pre-World War II	% Post World War II
United States	267	36.0	54.0	46.0
Australia	243	33.0	4.1	95.9
Argentine	130	18.0	29.2	70.8
Canada	27	3.6	-	100.0
France	24	3.2	4.1	95.9
Belgium	19	2.6		100.0
Germany	10	1.4		100.0
Corsica	7	0.9		100.0
Switzerland	5	0.7		100.0
Africa	4	0.5		100.0
New Caledonia	1	0.1		100.0
Mexico	1	0.1	100.0	
England				100.0
New Zealand	1	0.1		100.0

Note   6 people destination and date unknown
           2 deregistered 1964 destination unknown
           1 deregistered 1960 destination unknown
           3 deregistered 1939 destination unknown

Source: Comune di Lettopalena

TABLE 4

RETURN MIGRATION AND PREVIOUS RESIDENCE, LETTOPALENA

(a) Outside Italy	No.	(b) Regions within Italy	No.
Germany	8	Abruzzi	37
U.S.A.	8	Lazio	2
Australia	8	Lombardia	1
France	2	Campania	1
Canada	2	Umbria	1
Somalia	2	Molise	1
Belgium	1	Fruili	1
Kenya	1		
Zambia	1		

Source: Comune di Lettopalena

to be followed by their families a few years later. A far smaller number emigrated to Canada. Then, as the wave subsided in the early sixties, migration from Lettopalena took a new direction.

Because Europe had recovered from the war by the sixties and was experiencing an unprecedented economic boom, work was now available closer to home, and many from the village took advantage of this. Migration continued from Lettopalena at an annual rate varying from 0.2% to 11.2%. Simultaneously, however, there was an increase in in-migration, reaching a rate as high as 5.1% and even exceeding out-migration for four of the years concerned (Table 5). Compared to the net loss of 369 persons for the period 1950-1960, there was a reduced net loss of 111 persons between 1960 and 1970.

As permanent migration to distant countries no longer provides the only solution, most of the moves are now short-term and to destinations closer to the village (Tables 4, 6). Of the 37 people returning from other parts of Abruzzi, 25 returned the same year they left and a further seven after only a year's absence. Of the eight returning from Germany, two returned the year they left, four remained a year and two remained for four years. For those who did not return there was the reassuring knowledge that at any time they could if they so wished; and, in fact, many do for their annual vacation. This is the time, too, when friends and family holiday in the village from Australia and America. It is a time of much rejoicing.

CHAIN MIGRATION FROM LETTOPALENA TO AUSTRALIA

The migration of people from Lettopalena to Australia follows the chain migration pattern common to Southern European immigrants. It corresponds to Price's 'major village to village' concentration which

TABLE 5

MOBILITY RATES, LETTOPALENA

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Out migration	7.0	2.6	11.1	2.3	2.3	4.8	4.6	0.2	4.3	3.8	4.3	11.2	7.2	4.8	2.4	6.3	2.8	3.7	3.8
In migration	2.2	1.5	3.6	1.8	4.1	1.7	1.8	1.3	2.2	2.4	2.8	5.1	3.8	0	3.5	4.8	2.0	4.5	3.2

Source: Comune di Lettopalena

TABLE 6

RETURNEE RATES AND DURATION OF ABSENCE, LETTOPALENA

Abruzzi

No. of years duration	1	1	2	3	10	15	24
No. of people	25	7	1	1	1	1	1

Other Italian Regions

No. of years	1	2	3	5	7	8	13	15	23	28	35
No. of people	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2

Germany

				Belgium	France
No. of years duration	1	1	4	6	15
No. of people	2	4	2	1	2

Note: Some people have returned to Lettopalena more than once
      10 people have returned twice
       6 people have returned three times

Source: Comune di Lettopalena

he estimates as being responsible for 46.3% of southern European immigration to Australia (1963$_a$, p.112).

The Early Pioneers

The first Lettesi to arrive in Australia was Giacomo de Vitis in 1925. Giacomo and his cousin, Arcangelo Rossetti, like many others from the village, had already been to America. Giacomo had been there four or five times and Arcangelo went, as a boy of seventeen, for the first time in 1900; he returned there twice before the First World War and finally again, in 1923. His father had previously been to Argentina, sometime before the turn of the century. As mentioned earlier, this pattern was typical of pre-war immigrants, especially of those before World War I, not only from Lettopalena, but from southern Europe generally (Price 1963$_a$, p.104). In these earlier years thoughts were directed towards Italy and emigration was seldom regarded as being permanent. The turning point came, for emigration to Australia, when Arcangelo's sons, Giacomo and Antonio, bought a canefarm in Queensland in 1938, for it provided a permanent base in Australia for Lettesi immigrants after the War.

On arriving in Australia, Giacomo de Vitis found work in the canefields near Proserpine, northern Queensland with other Italians who sailed to Australia with him. He 'called' Arcangelo in 1927, then each of them sponsored other members of their families. Giacomo sponsored his brother Giulio (1928), then his son Giovanni (1932), the first to move to Newcastle (1947). Giulo left for America then returned to Lettopalena, shortly before the outbreak of the War. After sponsoring his sons, Antonio (1929) and Giacomo (1931), Arcangelo also returned to the village where he remained for another 25 years, until Antonio had sponsored the rest of the family. Then he settled permanently in

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Australia. On a visit to the village in 1935 Antonio married then returned to Australia where he and his brother Giacomo bought the cane-farm in Proserpine (1938). Giacomo bought his own farm in 1946. A few years later, when Australia opened immigration, Antonio's farm became the primary organizing node for sponsoring Lettesi immigrants to Australia.

Antonio approached other Italian farmers in his efforts to guarantee both work and accommodation for those whom he sponsored personally, and indirectly. Such guarantees were necessary to satisfy the requirements of the sponsorship scheme as set down by the Australian Government. Although some of these farmers formally sponsored Lettesi, it was Antonio's support and personal influence that facilitated the immigration, either directly or indirectly, of the majority of Lettesi immigrants to Australia. While only twelve received support through the Government Assisted Passage Scheme, Antonio was sponsor or intermediary to 25, 21 of them men and the other four, women; but his support extended a great deal further for many of these people were able to sponsor others, only because of the support he provided.

Antonio's significance can be seen from Figure 25 for it shows that by being directly responsible for the immigration of 25 people he thus initiated further chains which, in only four relays, encompassed 68% of respondents. The 33% of these who were 'called' by relatives, were sponsored officially by Italian farmers in Proserpine and this, too, was organised through Antonio Rossetti. It can be seen that Antonio's 'primary star' includes 25.7% of the nodes in his network, representing those Lettesi whom he sponsored directly. They in turn were responsible for a further 36.1% who then sponsored another 22.7%. These people sponsored 13.4% who finally sponsored 2.1%. By initially sponsoring so

Source: Survey 1976
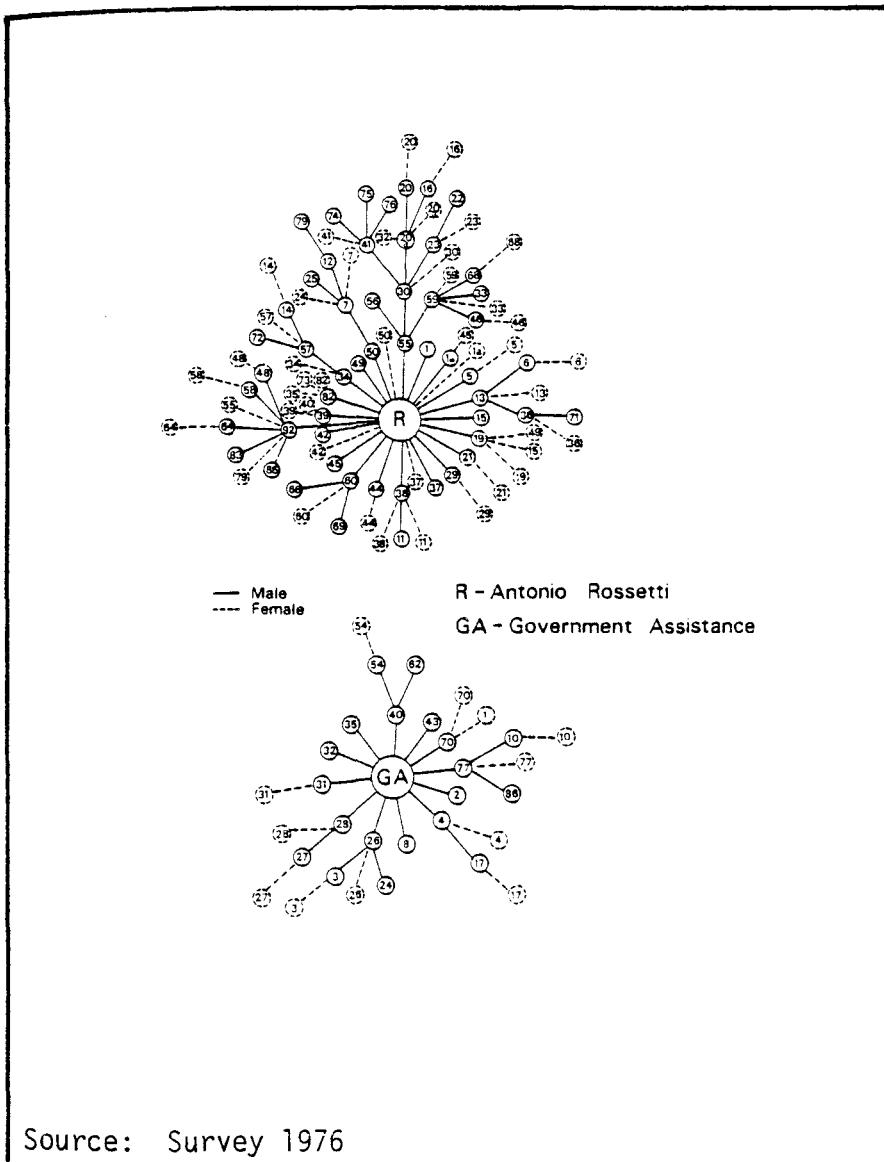
Figure 25:   Chain Migration Networks, Antonio Rossetti
             and Assisted Immigrants

many Lettesi and providing a focus for community growth, Antonio facilitated community survival.

There are others who may have been part of his network. Fourteen respondents were sponsored by seven people who have since died, or left the community, so their method of arrival is not known. Most of them, however, were older men and were probably sponsored by members of the community and supported in some way by Antonio Rossetti.

Antonio was also involved indirectly with some who were assisted by the Australian Government (Fig. 25). There were 22.4% of Lettesi respondents who were either assisted or part of a chain initiated by assisted Lettesi immigrants. Of the twelve men directly assisted by the government, five did not initiate further immigration. Of the remaining seven, one sponsored his wife, while the rest of them sponsored several other persons. Five of these people then sponsored their wives. Although they arrived independently of the community, half of those assisted gravitated to Proserpine where they worked cutting cane for Antonio or Giacomo, or for one of the other farmers known to Antonio. Some of their nominees were helped by him, as well.

Mr. Celedonia, Agent from Sulmona

Antonio could arrange for work and accommodation and official sponsorship for Lettesi immigrants but in almost every case loans had to be negotiated to cover the cost of passage to Australia. Forty per cent of these were provided by an agent, Mr. Celedonia, from Sulmona, in Italy. Relatives provided 47.4% and the remainder came from the following sources: family in Lettopolena (5.2%), Antonio Rossetti (4.4%), kinfolk in America (1.5%) and the Australian Catholic Union (0.74%). A comparison of men and women shows that 47.4% of men received a loan

from Mr. Celedonia, compared to 29.3% of the women. Having acquired
a loan from Mr. Celedonia a man would often emigrate then save sufficient
money to cover the cost of his family's fares; thus 62.1% of the female
fares were provided by family sponsors compared with 35.9% of male fares.
Either directly, or indirectly, Mr. Celedonia made emigration possible
for most of the community, for without a passage, sponsorship was
impossible.

> *Otherwise nobody come to Australia. He was a nice fellow*
> *to everybody.*
> *Was godfather to Lettesi.*

The Family as the Basic Unit of Emigration (Fig. 26)

The role of the early pioneers was crucial and little could have
been achieved without help from Mr. Celedonia, yet the process was essen-
tially one of family migration. Nuclear and extended family relation-
ships enmesh the members of the Lettesi community into a single cohesive,
coherent web. The degree of interconnectedness is exceedingly high. On
the basis of relationships to the degree of first cousin three relays
were extended throughout the community. After a single relay 28.9% of
potential community links were connected; by the second relay, 59.1%;
and by the final relay, 80.2%. There is only one isolate family unit in
the whole of the Lettesi community in Newcastle, and it is interesting
to note that this family presented the only interview refusal. Such a
degree of connectivity is highly significant, not only to the process of
chain migration, but to community formation and stability through time.

Most sponsorships occurred within the nuclear family. Excluding the
direct nominees of Antonio, family sponsorships account for 80% of
remaining respondents. Husbands arranged 43.8% of these, fathers 33.4%,
brothers 19.8%, and sons 3.7%. A further 13.3% were sponsored by members

of extended families, most of them by brothers-in-law. Only 6.7% were arranged from outside the family. Leadership was essential for community survival but the primary support came from adult male members of nuclear and extended families. They, too, assumed the ultimate responsibility for the crippling debts incurred by emigration.

INTERNAL MIGRATION WITHIN AUSTRALIA

The first years of resettlement brought a high level of mobility, for in order to earn sufficient money to repay their debts and sponsor their families, it was often necessary for men to move around. Most of the moves in these early years, except for those of newly-arrived assisted immigrants, were associated with seasonal agricultural work - in the cane and tobacco areas of northern Queensland and in the fruit-growing areas of the Murray Valley and the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area.

In this period of high mobility Proserpine was their resting place - the home they returned to:

as the bird flies back to the place that is familiar.

It was their principal destination during those first few years of settlement with 50% of all respondents living and working there for a period of time. However, work was only available during the cane season so the moves were usually of short duration. While 66% were for the six months season, 15% were for less than six months. The remaining 19% ranged from six months to six years. Many returned for successive seasons, 4.6% for four seasons, 11.6% for three and 28% for two seasons. The 56% who went for only a season were mainly the later arrivals.

Assisted immigrants were bound for two years to work wherever the government decided. On landing in Melbourne they were taken to Bonegilla, a camp for newly-arrived assisted immigrants, and from there they were

dispersed to a variety of locations. They were assigned to work in Melbourne and Adelaide, to power plants in Yallourn and with the Snowy Mountains Authority, to dairy farms in Tasmania, and in Gippsland, Victoria, to a wheat farm in Orange, N.S.W., to the Victorian Forestry Commission to make railway sleepers and to irrigation projects in Millicent, South Australia.

However, few remained with the government for the full term, for without family and friends they felt a strong sense of isolation, and there were periods when the government could not provide work. They eventually made their way to either Proserpine or to Newcastle, where successive stages of settlement were evolving under the leadership, in Proserpine, of Antonio Rossetti, and in Newcastle, of Giovanni de Vitis[1]. As already mentioned these were the sons of the pioneering leaders from Lettopalena (Figure 26a).

Some Lettesi found work in other places as well - in Queensland at Mareeba, Innisfail, Mackay and Ingham, and in southern New South Wales at Griffith, and Mildura in northern Victoria. However, the only jobs available at most of these locations involved seasonal agricultural work. The men would finish the cane and tobacco seasons, then some would move south to the fruit-picking areas. Most of them, however, went directly to Newcastle where work was available in heavy industry.

There were a number of reasons why the canefields could not provide a stable basis for community consolidation. There was the problem of finding work in the off-season, opportunities for buying one's own farm had diminished, and finally, canecutting as a job, though very lucrative, was also very exhausting, especially for the older men. They were the first to join Giovanni in Newcastle for there, with a stable job, they

1. Giovanni's Family Tree (Figure 26a) shows suburbs where his kin have settled in Newcastle.

FRANCESCO de VITIS
(BICE)

MARIA de VITIS
GIOVANNI de VITIS

DONATO de VITIS
DOMENICA de VITIS
(TIGHES HILL)

BERARDINO de VITIS
FRANCESCA
(LETTOPALENA)

SANT'NA de VITIS
BERARDINO
(PALENA - ITALY)

OTTAVIO de VITIS
(LETTOPALENA)

GIACOMO de VITIS
ROSA ROMANELLI
(NEWCASTLE) (deceased)

ANTONIO de VITIS
ISOLA de VITIS
(ISLINGTON)

GIULIO de VITIS
LETTOPALENA (deceased)

TERESA de VITIS
IGIDIO MARTINELLI
LETTOPALENA (deceased)

OTTAVIO de VITIS
(AMERICA)

CECILIA de VITIS
FRANCESCO TEREZINI
(LETTOPALENA)

VINCENZO de VITIS
(AMERICA) (deceased)

MATELLA de VITIS
(AMERICA) (deceased)

FILIPPO de VITIS
FELICETTA MARTINELLI
(MAYFIELD)

FRANK de VITIS
(HAMILTON)

GIUSEPPINA de VITIS
(LETTOPALENA)

MARIA de VITIS
DONATO RAPACHIETTA
(HAMILTON NORTH)

RINA de VITIS
NICOLA DONADEI
(MAYFIELD)

LISTINA de VITIS
(FRANCE)

ELIZABETH de VITIS
(ARGENTINA)

ANTONIO de VITIS
(TIGHES HILL)

VINCENZO de VITIS
SILVIA DELMONACO
(WALLSEND)

ROBERT DONADEI
(MAYFIELD)

LEANNA DONADEI
(MAYFIELD)

JOHN RAPACHIETTA
(HAMILTON NORTH)

LILLIANNA RAPACHIETTA
(HAMILTON NORTH)

ROSANNA RAPACHIETTA
(HAMILTON NORTH)

FRANK de VITIS
LORENA HILL BILIO
(CHARLESTOWN)

MICHELE de VITIS
(CHARLESTOWN)

KYLIE de VITIS
(CHARLESTOWN)

JULIANNE de VITIS
(CHARLESTOWN)

RENO TERENZINI
LISA de VITIS
(HAMILTON)

GIUSEPPE TERENZINI
ANGELA MARTINELLI
(HAMILTON)

FRANK TERENZINI
(HAMILTON)

JOHN TERENZINI
(HAMILTON)

FRANK TERENZINI
(HAMILTON)

TERESA de VITIS
(MAYFIELD)

MARIA de VITIS
(BELMONT)

GIANNA de VITIS
(WHITEBRIDGE)

ROBERTO de VITIS
(ISLINGTON)

ANNA de VITIS
(ISLINGTON)

FRANK de VITIS
(ISLINGTON)

MARIA de VITIS
(SYDNEY-Convent)

GIOVANNI de VITIS
ORSINA MARTINELLI
(HAMILTON)

MARIA de VITIS
VINCENZO GIZZI
(MAYFIELD)

ROSA de VITIS
(HAMILTON)

FRANK de VITIS
(HAMILTON)

GUIDO GIZZI
ELGISA MARTINELLI
(HAMILTON)

DOMINIC GIZZI
(HAMILTON)

PALMA GIZZI
(HAMILTON)

JIM GIZZI
LORETA CHEGE
(MAYFIELD)

ROSA GIZZI
AMADEO de CLAUDIO
(HAMILTON)

DOMENICO GIZZI
JAN WOOD
(REDHEAD)

CORINA GIZZI
(MAYFIELD)

ROBYN GIZZI
(REDHEAD)

RUSSELL GIZZI
(REDHEAD)

STEPHEN GIZZI
(REDHEAD)

JASON GIZZI
(MAYFIELD)

MICHAEL
(MAYFIELD)

PALMA GIZZI
CRISANTI LUCARELLI
(MAYFIELD)

RENZA GIZZI
VINCENZO LOBOSCIO
(MAYFIELD)

ANGELA LOBOSCIO
(MAYFIELD)

MARIA de CLAUDIO
(HAMILTON)

DANIELA de CLAUDIO
(HAMILTON)

MARIA GIZZI
(HAMILTON)

Figure 26a
FAMILY TREE
of
GIOVANNI de VITIS

First to reside in Newcastle from Lettopalena

Source: Survey 1976

Figure 26a
FAMILY TREE
of
GIOVANNI de VITIS

First to reside in Newcastle from Lettopalena

Source: Survey 1976

could purchase a home and make final arrangements for sponsoring their families. The first to join Giovanni came in 1949, another five in 1950, but only one in 1951. As others began to join them there was a marked increase, 17 in 1952 and 19 in 1954. Between 1952 and 1957, 79% of male respondents arrived in Newcastle. Not all of them remained on this first occasion, but by 1962 all Lettesi respondents were residing in Newcastle on a permanent basis (Table 7).

Chance factors played a part in community formation, especially the vagaries of work opportunity. Guiseppe, for example,had a ticket to Mildura where he planned to pick grapes during the cane off-season, but when he heard the announcement of the train's arrival in Newcastle, and recalled that this was where Lettesi friends were living, he broke his journey intending just to visit them. By the following day, however, he had found a job and so he decided to remain in Newcastle. His father-in-law was not so lucky. Intending to stay in Newcastle he went there to find work but having no money, not even for a bus fare, he walked to the industries, only to be told there was nothing at all available. He finally gave up and with the help of friends he left for Melbourne. For various reasons some of the Lettesi have settled in other parts of Australia but they are a minority. Most of them reside in Newcastle.

Some of the Lettesi left Australia altogether, though the returnee rate is low, about 8% of adult males. Their reasons for leaving varied, however. Two of the men left, intending to return but their families in the village persuaded them to remain there. One man returned because his wife was ill while in Australia and another one went home to care for an aged parent. Guiseppe left for New Caledonia

because he couldn't live without his girl who was there

and a few more left for reasons unknown.

TABLE 7

RESIDENCE IN NEWCASTLE, LETTOPALENA RESIDENTS

	No. in Newcastle	% in Newcastle		
1948	1	1.2	Additional each Year	
1949	2	2.3	1	
1950	8	9.3	5	
1951	9	10.5	1	
1952	26	30.2	17	
1953	35	40.7	9	
1954	54	62.8	19	
1955	58	67.4	4	79%
1956	64	74.4	6	
1957	77	89.5	13	
1958	77	89.5	0	
1959	79	91.9	2	
1960	83	96.5	4	
1961	84	97.7	1	
1962	86	100.0	2	

Source: Survey 1976

Despite the many difficulties involved in resettlement, their reasons were not related to dissatisfaction. The returnee rate of 8% compares most favourably with the general Italian rates (1947-1971) - 25.6% for males, 13.4% for females. The correspondina rates for 'foreign-born' are 23.3% (males) and 20.3% (females)(Price and Martin 1975, p.A25).

This high satisfaction level, as measured by the returnee rate, may be explained in a number of ways. A feeling of satisfaction is a relative state so that impressions of Australia can only be assessed in comparative terms with Lettopalena. It may be that the information about Australia which led to its perceived opportunities as being greater, was, on the whole, accurate; secondly there may be a genuine feeling of satisfaction with life in Australia; and finally, one could conclude that this is a function of being part of a close community, for such a community provides a buffer between its members and the host society. It satisfies that basic human need of belonging, sharing and identifying with a group and as a material support system it creates those links which are essential to integration with the host society. Access to the wider Australian community is essential for achieving a standard of living which is commensurate with a high degree of life satisfaction.

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM LETTOPALENA

In his book, 'The Italian Emigration of Our Times', Foerster (1919) refers to the

> Hopes, passions and calculations, uniquely coloured for each
> individual among the millions who have departed for Italy,
> have been the immediate precursors of the decision to
> emigrate. One man gazes ahead, another is driven from
> behind; one dreams, another measures and weighs his thoughts;
> one reasons then follows with his will, while another
> unquestioningly accepts the decision of a first (p.47).

Long-Term Causes of Emigration

Causes of emigration may be exceedingly complex. As Price (1963, p.112) points out, they represent an assessment of relative advantage in the homeland and the place of settlement; thus the tendency is for movements to occur from economically disadvantaged, 'overpopulated' regions to those which can offer economic opportunity. The operative factors have been described as 'push' and 'pull', respectively. However, economic factors may not predominate; political instability, natural disasters and personal consideration may be equally or more, important. Chain migration, itself, is a factor, for the urge to maintain 'primordial' kin relationships is a fundamental and compelling human need (Zubrzycki 1976, p.133).

Bianco describes the condition of the peasantry:

The poor farmer was abandoned to himself and to the land
which he could only exploit over and over again, and the
only assurance in his life were his debts, poverty,
disease and the destruction brought by wars (Bianco 1974, p.3).

Farming conditions further inhibited improvement - soils were depleted by erosion and by leaching; there was increasing pressure of population on the land; farming methods were inefficient; and fragmentation of land was exacerbated by the practice of subdividing property among the heirs (Fig. 24). When the opportunity arose, in the 19th century, for emigration, mainly to America, there was an exodus of Italians, mainly from the south. It began in the 1820s, gathered momentum in the 1870s, abated in the 1920s and resumed after World War II.

The Destruction of the Village, 1943

The primary cause of emigration from the village was the basic inability to make a living from the land, and the situation worsened with increasing competition from advanced western farming after the War. The

immediate cause, however, was the destruction of the village which occurred in November, 1943, after four months of German occupation of the area. The destruction of Lettopalena led to mass emigration on a scale never before experienced in the village. The devastation and the trauma of what they suffered, together with the anxiety of what lay ahead, were the factors which led to the decisions to leave. This can be seen from the many discussions which tell of the nightmare memories they shared.

> *German soldiers come in the night to push us away from Lettopalena. Gangs of soldiers pull us away from the bed - 'away'. We watch from the stables across the river as they blow up each house, one by one. Made us go to Palena, then Roccapia. What was so silly was we went over the mountain, back to the village.*

They sheltered again in the village stables, but because they were still in the way of the fighting they were rounded up a second time and forced to return, in blizzard conditions, to Roccapia. On reaching Roccaraso twenty-six died. Some were lost in the snow, some died from severe exposure. When the soldiers left them again at Roccapia they climbed once more across the Maiella and made their way to Allied territory for it was no longer safe to remain around the village. Some people were sheltered in nearby towns like Civitella and Fara san Martino, but the majority were sent to Bari in the south and there they remained till the war ended. Only then did they return to Lettopalena.

> *After two years we went back. Everything destroyed. People cry and cry. Nothing there...When Australia opened immigration - that was the solution for Lettopalena.*

Australian Government Policy of Mass Immigration

The decision of the Australian Labor Government to launch a programme of population expansion was announced by Mr. A. Calwell in August 1945. The policy which he delivered to the House of Representatives was that

Australia would aim to achieve 1% of her annual increase from

immigration. To the people of Lettopalena, unaware of the event, the

policy held tremendous significance. Nevertheless, it was not until six

years later, in 1951, that the decision was made reality and an agreement

was signed with the Italian Government. Although some sponsored

immigrants had already been accepted, those assisted by the government

had to await this agreement. Its significance is such that 11.1% of

post-war immigrants are of Italian birth. In 1974 they numbered

356,900 people, 20% of whom were assisted by the government (Price and

Martin 1975, p.A14). The remainder were sponsored immigrants.

Post-War Conditions in Lettopalena (Plates 8,9)

When the people returned to Lettopalena they fashioned their homes

from the derelict stables, across the river from the ruins of the

village. Living conditions were barely tolerable. Homes generally had

only a few small rooms without adequate air, light or services.

Families were often large, so conditions were very crowded. Maria

recalls how at night she was sent to sleep at her grandparents' home

across the street, because her home was too small for the family of four.

Yet little could be done to hasten home reconstruction. War compensation

allowed 80% of the home cost but the people were unable to provide the

remainder. After 1948 emergency housing was provided but this could

accommodate relatively few. No immediate solution to the problem seemed

possible.

Feelings of hopelessness were reinforced by the fact that work was

virtually unattainable. They tried to work the fields but the task was

daunting for the long, tiring hours yielded little in return. Farming

was not a feasible solution. The combination of inadequate housing and

Plate 8:   Stables, Old Buildings and Ruins

Plate 9:   Stables Converted to Homes, Now Derelict

the hopelessness of finding suitable work pressed down so heavily that the people sought escape. Emigration presented the only solution.

At the time there was an old man living in the village. He had travelled the world, but mostly to America where he worked in the coal-mines of Pennsylvania. He said to the younger men,

Look around you. Look at the mountains. See we are
closed in. What you get unless you open the door? If
you don't open the door the walls surround you - you
will remain inside forever, without future. Working
without earning is no good.

These are the words they still remember.

When the village employment office received the official circular inviting applicants for immigration to Australia the circular was passed by hand around the village. Groups of friends discussed it among themselves and decided collectively to make application. The first four men were called in December 1951 and the remaining men in the following February. They were the government assisted immigrants. Meanwhile, through the efforts of Antonio Rossetti, others were leaving through the sponsorship scheme. Chain migration was gaining momentum.

Reasons for Choosing to Emigrate to Australia

Community was the most impelling consideration in the immigrants' choice of destination in Australia. When asked for the most important reason for their choice, 62.8% replied that their family was here, and another 17.4% that their friends were here.

My father was in Australia, and elder brothers, new land
and new promise. I knew a lot about Australia even
before I came here.

Knew something about it - a new country. Leone already here,
Frank Delmonico. All you knew were here. Desire to be with
your friends.

Family and friends were the most important reason and they were the ones

who made reunion possible through the operation of the sponsorship scheme.

Social and family pressures to maintain community cohesion must have played an important role in decision-making. On completing military service Giacinto decided that he would rather emigrate to New Caledonia. But:

> *Mother cry every day and say 'Why don't you go to Australia with your father? Whole family go there'. My father say to come, because we have friends here. Filippo arrange accommodation next door.*

Immigration was a family and community matter leaving limited room for individual decision.

The opportunity for work was also very important, being stated by 25.6% of the respondents.

> *Antonio Rossetti wrote and said there was work.*
> *Australia was said to be the rich country. Guido and Vince Gizzi said it was good.*
> *Uncle Filippo wrote to my mother - 'It's rich country. You find job everywhere. Pay's not too bad.'*

So again it was due to family and friends that the people heard about work opportunities and other advantages offered in Australia.

General information about Australia influenced 18.6% of the decisions. Such information was also available from the United States and from Argentina, but the United States restricted voluntary entry to those whose families were already there, and many were unimpressed by what they knew of Argentina.

> *Before the war some went to Argentina. They met misfortune - had to abandon their families. Had no choice - couldn't support them. Couldn't afford fare back to Italy. Some died miserably.*

Other reasons were considered to be less important. Climate was

mentioned by only one person; so was the prospect of adventure; 5.8%
came with no intention of ever staying; 7% because alternatives were
unsuitable. Correspondence with kinfolk, their return visits home and
tales of their adventures were very influential in choosing the place of
destination. Overwhelmingly then, the community has prime importance as
a reason for choosing to come to Australia, as a medium for supplying
relevant information and as an instrument of chain migration.

POST WAR CHANGES IN LETTOPALENA

The combination of factors which stimulated emigration in the period
before the Second World War, and in the years immediately following the
war, had been modified to the extent that permanent migration is no
longer seen as the ultimate necessity. Changes in the population size
and structure, in the economic situation of the people, in the village
morphology and way of life of the people, have altered the trend in the
migration pattern. With comfortable modern homes and relative income
security, many now prefer to have their homes in the village.

Population Change

Emigration has had a considerable impact on the size and composition
of the village population and in turn this has influenced the course of
migration (Fig. 29). The population in 1977 (466) was only about half
of what it was in 1947 (926). Initially, in the period 1947-1950, there
was an increase in population, despite emigration, possibly because of
the post-war baby boom; however during the early fifties, as emigration
gained momentum this was followed by a period of marked decline most
pronounced in the years 1951 and 1955. Allowing for time in transit
these years correspond to those of highest Lettesi intake in Australia.
Except for the years 1962 and 1965 when net gains were recorded of 13
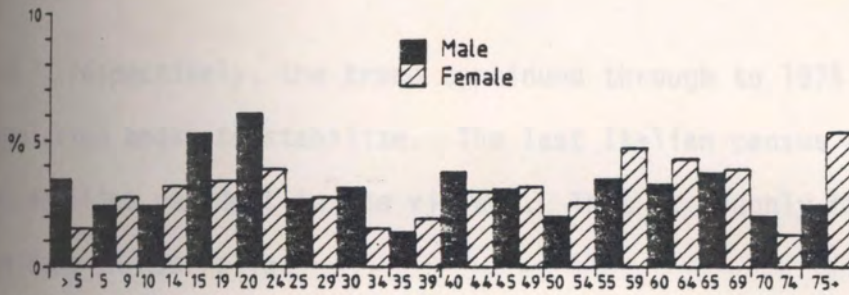
Source: Italian Census 1971

Figure 27:   Population Histogram Lettopalena
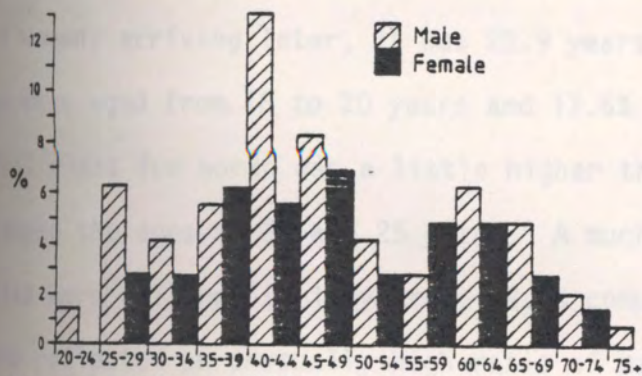
Source: Survey 1976

Figure 28:   Population Histogram of Lettesi Respondents, Newcastle
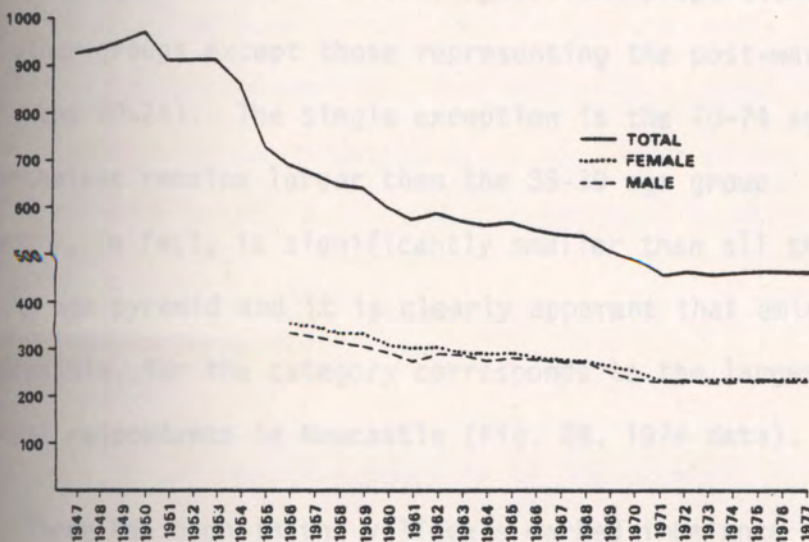
Source: Comune di Lettopalena

Figure 29:   Population Change, Lettopalena 1947-1971

and 7, respectively, the trend continued through to 1971 when the population began to stabilize. The last Italian census of 1971 recorded 145 families resident in the village. This is roughly the number now resident in Australia.

The Italian census of 1971 shows that emigration has changed the population structure (Fig. 27). It was a process which selected the youth of the village, the average age for men being 24.4 years and for the women, arriving later, it was 28.9 years. Twenty per cent of the men were aged from 16 to 20 years and 17.6% between 21 and 25 years. The modal class for women was a little higher than the men with 25.4% arriving between the ages of 21 and 25 years. A much higher proportion of the males were children (1-15 years), 22.4% compared to 10.2% of females. This reflected an unusually high ratio of male to female births both during the war and in the immediate post-war period.

Lettopalena, therefore, has an ageing population wherein categories including ages from 55 to over 75 years are proportionally greater than all other groups except those representing the post-war baby boom (i.e. 15-19 and 20-24). The single exception is the 70-74 age group which nevertheless remains larger than the 35-39 age group. This latter category, in fact, is significantly smaller than all the other categories of the age pyramid and it is clearly apparent that emigration is responsible, for the category corresponds to the largest age group of Lettesi respondents in Newcastle (Fig. 28, 1976 data).

There has been in the village a marked imbalance of the sexes which would have been particularly apparent had statistics been available for the early fifties (Fig. 29). Emigration was then in a high state of flux with men preceding their wives and families only to sponsor their immigration four or five years later. According to the annual population

records women have persistently out-numbered the men, except in the years 1972 and 1975. By 1971 a plateau was reached with a low degree of variation between the totals for men and women, but the balance does not extend to the age classes. A high proportion of persons aged 75 years and older belongs to the female category (25 compared to 11 males), a characteristic not uncommon elsewhere. Surprisingly, on the other hand, there is a high proportion of young males, indicative again of an unusually high ratio of male to female births in the post-war years.

The above characteristics of the village population reflect the impact of substantial emigration, but as well they explain to a great extent the present trend in the migration pattern. First there is the size of the present population, reduced to 50% of the 1947 figure (Fig. 29), so obviously today there are fewer people to emigrate. A further point here is that migration is selective and that those who remain of the adult population are those who have been most reluctant to leave. Thirdly, in terms of structure, the dominant groups are the young men and the aged women. The village now satisfies the need of the aged and it would seem that young men either cannot leave the village or else they are now reluctant to do so. Some in the village have expressed such an attitude which they explain in terms of recent changes in the village.

Economic Change

Today a man can find security in the village; there is no necessity to emigrate permanently for a basic livelihood can now be guaranteed by an income, either from wages or social security. This is a situation which contrasts markedly with that prevailing before the War and its effect on emigration has been highly significant.

Before the War income was mainly derived from farming, in an arduous and unrewarding battle for survival; but now the fields have all been abandoned, except for limited areas in close proximity to the village. Apart from the reclamation of land for forestry, no agricultural reconstruction has occurred for the area is unsuitable for agricultural development (Plates 10,11).

To find alternative work in the pre-War period and in the period immediately following the War, men had to leave the village for extended periods. Employment opportunities were limited in Europe and communications were too inefficient to allow for commuting on a regular basis, so most of the men had emigrated to America. From there they remitted most of their earnings to support their families and to purchase land for they always meant to return to the village. Instead they were forced to re-emigrate to America where some of them made a permanent home.

Since my visit to Lettopalena in 1977 economic conditions in Europe have worsened, particularly in respect to the declining labour mobility within the European Economic Community (E.E.C.); and undoubtedly the impact has been felt in the village. In 1977 the situation was such that to secure work one still had to leave, but because of post-war industrial expansion, the operation of the European Economic Community and the vastly improved communications in Europe, commuting could occur between workplace and village. The pattern of commuting was a function of distance occurring daily, for some, to neighbouring parts of Abruzzi; for others perhaps weekly, or monthly to the larger cities, and for many, like the workers within the E.E.C., visits to their homes occurred less frequently. However, many of their families lived in the village.

Retaining the village home was not always a matter of choice.

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Retaining the village home was not always a matter of choice.

Plate 10: Man with a Scythe, Traditional Ways

Plate 11: Relict Fields, No Longer Cultivated

Douglass(1980a) has been critical of the Guest Worker system wherein foreign workers, including Italians, were frequently the objects of overt discrimination, being used as a source of cheap, unskilled labour which could easily be repatriated with a downturn in the economy. He estimates that of the 4,534,000 Guest Workers from Italy between 1946 and 1970, 3,011,000 returned to Italy (p.11). The situation of southerners was little better in northern Italy where job opportunities in the 'Industrial Triangle' had led to a high rate of internal migration. Douglass,again, speaks of overt discrimination, underscored by job and housing advertisements stating that 'southerners need not apply', and 'we do not rent to southerners' (Douglass 1980a, p.31).

A high proportion of village incomes is now derived from welfare benefits, providing some sense of financial security that few could achieve before the War. Then life was indeed precarious for the farmer. Aged pensions were restricted to those in government service until the National Pension Scheme (I.N.P.S.), introduced in the early '30s, extended cover to workers in industry. It was not until 1946, however, that farmers and fishermen were received into the scheme. The ill and unemployed were dependent on local government and on religious orders like the Salesian Fathers with their weekly distribution of fish for the poor. The poor could obtain 'Certificates of Poverty' which entitled a man to just sufficient food or money to enable him and his family to survive. Money was, indeed, a scarce commodity.

One Lettesi recalls how it was:

There was a tobacconist-cantina. We could play cards and have a drink of wine. He had a book for us to sign for what we owed him. Summertime we'd work for him to pay him back. We never, never had money in the pocket. Never! Didn't know what money looked like.

Some did receive additional assistance. Through the Ministry of Defence, the Knights of Vittorio Veneto - those who had served in the Great War, were entitled to an annuity in recognition of their services. The sum was small but those who were wounded also received a partial pension in proportion to their diminished capacity to work. The wives and children of those who had died, either during the War, or as a result of war injury, also received a War pension. The amount was not significant but it eased their situation.

The reforms introduced in 1946 and amended and improved in 1948, extended the National Pension Scheme to all. Workers' unemployment and sickness benefits and retrenchment allowances were part of new provisions for Guest Workers within the E.E.C. Through compulsory contribution to the Integrity Fund, a worker, if dismissed due to closure or lack of work, would receive, from the company, six months pay; if work was unavailable at the end of that time unemployment benefits would be payable by the State. An employee who had contributed for a minimum of 15 years would be entitled at 60 years, to a minimum sum of approximately $100 a month. Such provisions, by providing income security, have alleviated the need for permanent migration.

The New Village, Site and Morphology

The new village stands in dramatic contrast to other villages and towns in the area, providing relief from the poverty and oppression so characteristic of this rural, mountain region (Plates 12, 13). All that remains on the earlier site are the ruins left when the village was destroyed, for the new village lies on part of the village lands, east of the river where the slope falls more gently on a site unimpeded by the physical constraints of the original site (Fig.23, Plate 3). Thus a settlement has emerged which is dramatically different in form and

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Plate 12: The New Village, Spacious Layout

Plate 13: New Village, Kitchen Garden

size from the old village (Fig.24). Although its population was
considerably greater, the old village occupied only 3.8 hectares
compared to 28.5 hectares for the new village. Hence the morphological
density was extremely high with the houses tightly packed together and
generally occupying five or six storeys. Except for the village square
open space was non-existent (Plate 2).

The present settlement has a relatively low density, both
horizontally and vertically. Although there are many flats each
building is detached and each of the households has its own kitchen
garden. Private homes comprise a high proportion of the buildings and
a number of these have extensive gardens. Streets and footpaths are
spaciously laid out, providing adequate open space for leisure activity.
The quality of the buildings stands in marked contrast to that which is
apparent from photographs of the old village; for while some of the
older units require some maintenance, homes are generally in excellent
condition. They are solidly constructed, internally spacious and the
finishings and furnishings are of a high standard. Census figures (1971)
show that most of the homes are adequately serviced, in contrast to
nearby villages (Table 8). There is a feeling of confidence and pride
in their village that makes the people want to remain.

The Way of Life

Now the villagers enjoy the easy rhythm of living which contrasts
with the pressures once forcing them to leave.

In the morning when it is cool, the village is alive and the
people do what needs to be done. The *Commune* (Council Chambers) opens
at 8.30 and the other shops at around 9 o'clock. There were two
cantinas (bars) in the old village; now there are three, two with

TABLE 8

DOMESTIC SERVICES, LETTOPALENA, ITALIAN CENSUS 1971

Dwellings furnished with:

Drinking Water				Toilet			Bathroom
By Pipe			By well	Interior	Exterior	Total	
Interior	Exterior	Total					
134	-	134	-	132	2	134	86

Gas		Electricity			Heating			Total Dwellings		No. Rooms
Pipe	Cylinder	Lights	Lights and other uses	Total	Central	Independent	Total			
135		62	72	134	2	9	134	136		659

Dwellings furnished with drinking water and toilet   2

Source: Italian Census 1971

adjoining grocery areas, a butcher's shop and a post office. From the
early   morning one hears the calls and the music of the tradesmen
selling their wares. Driving through the village, they sell anything
from fruit and fish, to children's clothing and mattresses. Some of
them set up stalls to sell hardware or regional handcrafts and the
people mill around to see what is offering (Plate 14).

At one o'clock the shops close and all the streets are suddenly
deserted, for the heat of the day is a time for relaxation over the
midday family meal then the afternoon siesta. In the silent streets
the only form of life will be a cat stretching lazily beneath the shade
of a tree. Then around five o'clock the village comes alive again and
life spills everywhere, onto the streets, the men gathering in groups
outside the cantinas, arranging a game of cards in the shade beneath the
trees and talking and joking while enjoying a drink and cigarette.
The women sit apart, in small groups beneath the trees or along their
front steps leading down to the footpath. They chat to one another as
they watch the children play, their hands moving constantly at their
sewing or knitting. In the cool of the evening, when the sun has set,
it is a favourite pastime to walk through the village, especially on
Saturday when the main street throngs with people. In winter the
pattern changes but the pace of life is even more relaxed. Some might
describe such a life as idyllic (Plates 15,16,17).

In summary the chain migration process which has led to the
formation of ethnic communities in Turtle Creek, Pennsylvannia; Caseros,
Argentine; and in Newcastle, Australia, had its origins in the village of
Lettopalena, Italy. Here, for generations, in the mountains of the
Abruzzi, emigration has been part of the way of life imposed by the

Plate 14:   Small Truck Selling Wares

Plate 15:   Men Playing Cards Outside the Cantina in the Early
            Evening

Plate 16:   Women and Children in the Early Evening

Plate 17:   Old Man With a Donkey

agricultural marginality of the land. Against such a background Lettopalena was destroyed and the village faced an exodus which threatened her survival. Yet now the village has been rebuilt, a minimum income is guaranteed, and the people feel more reluctant to leave.

The changing fortunes of Lettopalena are reflected in the pattern of emigration to Australia. During the longer period of sustained emigration the early pioneers began to settle in Queensland. When the village was destroyed, so many had to leave that a permanent community became established in Newcastle. Now the flow has subsided and the Lettesi community is functioning to accommodate new social needs within the wider context of Australian society. Via the chain migration process the fate of this community is inextricably linked to that of the village, its pattern of social organisation reflecting the kinship structure of the village but adapted in terms of roles and relationships to the needs and aspirations of a new social setting.

. . . . . .

CONCLUSION

Ethnic social areas which are identified on the basis of aggregate data from census statistics, frequently disguise the existence of complex, but socially meaningful, group settlement types. Group settlements which are spatially and socially distinctive are comprehensible in terms of formative processes which depend on degrees of continuity and change of aspects of social structure between origin and destination. The Lettopalena community, as a distinctive geographical entity, is an example of a 'village to village' settlement type which was formed by a process of chain migration dependent mainly on kinship ties. But while

community formation has been a function of chain migration, a process
common to southern Europeans, the solidarity and stability of the
Lettesi community, in comparison to other group settlements in
Newcastle, has also been an outcome of the unique experience of the
village.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY CONSOLIDATION:

THE RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION OF THE LETTESI COMMUNITY

To me everybody is a relation. The heart speaks to one
another...it's something different, the community. It
gives you a feeling of belonging.

In Chapter 3 I outlined the chain migration process which led to
the emergence of a 'village to village' group settlement of Lettesi
immigrants in the urban area of Newcastle. Now I shall examine
residential integration' which has occurred through a process of intra-
urban migration which has strongly reinforced community consolidation,
mainly within the suburb of Hamilton. In Chapter 5 I shall analyse the
role of this community in the broader context of integration with
society.

Part A of this chapter will survey research which describes and
explains the post-war patterns of ethnic social areas in Australian
cities and which examines associations between spatial and social
change, especially in relation to the process of integration. Part B
will examine the form and process of Lettesi residential integration
in Newcastle by reference to the framework of intra-urban mobility,
with the emphasis on the role of the community.

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1. *Residential integration* is viewed here as a process whereby links
   are created providing access to the urban housing market. In this
   sense it is aspatial, and although it exhibits a spatial pattern,
   it is not necessarily synonymous with either segregation or
   dispersion. The spatial form it takes, however, will affect
   integration.

PART A. AN EVALUATION OF THE LITERATURE: ETHNIC SOCIAL AREAS

ETHNIC SOCIAL AREAS

Ethnic social areas have long been recognised as a characteristic feature of the structure of cities whose populations contain a high immigrant component. Human ecologists in the 1920s, first drew attention to the existence of 'natural areas' and to the ecological process of invasion and succession. More recently, techniques of social area analysis and factorial ecologies have stressed the dimensions of socioeconomic status, familism and ethnic status as best describing the structure of cities. More detailed descriptions of ethnic social areas have mainly examined the residential distributions of national groups or birthplace categories, and, in particular, their patterns of concentration and segregation which were assumed to measure integration or assimilation. Some have argued further that segregation is based on class; others have stressed the significance of culture. Such explanations of ethnic spatial patterns, though often implying change, are essentially static and are usually approached at the macro scale. The framework of intra-urban mobility which is used to explain social areas in cities, provides a more dynamic approach at a level more appropriate to community analysis; yet within this general framework the ethnic factors have either been ignored, been given incidental reference or have been derived from too limited a perspective.

The 'natural area' observed by the human ecologists was synonymous with the concept of 'social area'. It was

> a geographical entity characterised both by a physical
> individuality and by the characteristics of its people
> (Zorbaugh 1926, p.223).[1]

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1. Cited in Lancaster Jones (1969, p.3).

The human ecologists saw the natural area as emerging through the operation of ecological processes. Burgess (1928), in conceiving his classical Concentric Model had observed, for example, that

> The city, upon analysis, is divided and subdivided into residential areas and neighbourhoods, predominantly inhabited by a racial or immigrant group, or economic or social class (p.105).

Burgess identified his Zone in Transition as the point of first entry for immigrants into the city, for here was the area of least social resistance to the ecological process of invasion. Burgess identified, within this zone, specific ethnic neighbourhoods such as Little Italy and the Jewish Ghetto; but as the separate groups became increasingly more mobile they gradually spread outwards from the centre to the periphery in continuing waves of invasion and succession.

The biological analogy to which the human ecologists referred in their explanation of spatial differentiation was the subject of much criticism. Firey (1945) claimed that they were not aware of culture and of the impact of values, sentiment and symbolism on patterns of urban land-use. He was supported by Hatt (1946) who condemned what he called the 'reification' of the 'natural area' concept, and who advocated more behavioural theory to replace the determinism of the early ecologists; Jones (1960) criticised the classical models for implying no more than a mechanical adjustment of social groups to the urban situation; and Murdie (1969) claimed that their very simplicity rendered them useless for the kind of urban study which seeks to analyse urban complexity.

It was against this background that Shevky, Bell and Williams introduced their theory of increasing societal scale and the methodological approach called *social area analysis*. This method of urban analysis viewed spatial differentiation against social change in

industrial societies where the dominant trend was from urban to industrial form. Three associated trends included change in the distribution of skills, in the organisation of productive activity, and in the composition of the population. Social differentiation accompanied these trends, with a clearer ordering of socioeconomic groups, changes in styles of family life, and segregation of ethnic groups. Three main constructs were derived from these trends and indices were selected for the purpose of measurement. These constructs, or dimensions, of urban social structure were socioeconomic status, family status and ethnic status. When Shevky, Bell and Williams applied their methodology to urban analyses of Los Angeles and San Francisco they found their results geographically meaningful (Shevky and Williams 1949; Shevky and Bell 1955).

Social area analysis has been widely criticised, mainly on the basis that the theory fails to indicate the transition from a theory of social change to a theory of residential differentiation. These and other problems have been argued in detail by writers such as Hawley and Duncan (1957), Udry (1964) and Bell and Moskos (1964). Others have discussed their arguments at length but have generally concluded that social area analysis offers a useful conceptual schema for the study of urban social structure (Timms 1965, p.255; Lancaster Jones 1969, p.21; Burnley 1980 p.203). It has

> ...laid the basis for a spatial model of the internal
> socioeconomic pattern of cities (Berry 1964, p.129).

Increasing support for the social area framework has resulted from the findings of a wide range of studies which have provided the model with empirical validation. Examples include the work of Bell and Tryon (1955), Van Arsdol, Camilleri and Schmid (1958), Anderson and Egeland (1961), Anderson and Bean (1961), McElrath (1962) and Herbert (1967).

Most of the later studies have used factor analytical techniques, incorporating a wider range of social variables than indicated in the original framework.

In view of the scale and ethnic composition of Australian post-war mass immigration it is hardly surprising that social area studies of Australian cities stress the ethnic dimension. Its importance was apparent in the pioneering work on the social areas of Melbourne by Lancaster Jones (1969) which was followed, in the seventies, by an array of studies of the social areas of the major Australian cities. Their findings have recently been summarised by Burnley (1980, p.199) and a list of the studies is presented here (Table 9).

Apart from problems relating to theory, social area studies have been vigorously criticised for failing to address the question of 'Why is the group there?'. Caruso and Palm state rather cynically:

> The areal units are where they are because we put them there and we have a perfect right to regionalize using any combination of variables we feel are appropriate (1973, p.224).

To reach a better understanding of social space they strongly urge that we direct ourselves to the social groups that we claim to study. Their comment is valid and their approach will be adopted in explaining the Lettesi residential patterns.

Nevertheless, the importance of social area studies, and other 'macro' studies of ethnic distributions, is acknowledged by the writer. Their main value lies in their comparative scope for identifying recurring ethnic spatial patterns, within the context of the broader ecological structure, and in this sense they do provide a sensitizing framework for further exploring the forms of group settlement and their mode of integration into the wider social system. In describing the

TABLE 9

SOCIAL AREA STUDIES OF AUSTRALIAN CITIES

MELBOURNE	SYDNEY	ADELAIDE	BRISBANE
Lancaster Jones (1969)	Badcock (1973)	Stimson (19)	Cities Commission (1975)
Stimson (1970)	Davis (1974)	Badcock (1977)	McDonald et al
Johnston (1973)	Spearitt	Jaenach	Logan et al (1975)
Logan et al (1975)	Logan et al (1975)	Williams	
		Logan et al (1975)	

NEWCASTLE	WOLLONGONG	PERTH	HOBART
Parkes (1973)	Parkes (1971)	Logan et al (1975)	Logan et al (1975)

Source: Burnley 1980, p.199.

patterns of ethnic social areas reference will be made to other detailed studies of ethnic distributions in Australian cities.

Ethnic Patterns in Australian Cities

The post-war resettlement of immigrants in Australia has been overwhelmingly urban in form. Two of the earliest studies of the geographical pattern of Australian post-war immigrant settlement emphasised the contrast in urban-rural preferences and considered those factors which accounted for the pattern (Rose 1958a; Zubrzycki 1960). Apart from specific factors Rose pointed out that immigrants tend to respond to opportunities in much the same way as the Australian-born, so that the general pattern of their distribution reflects the pattern already established. Thus post-war immigrants have settled predominantly in the south-east of the Australian continent, mainly in Victoria and New South Wales. Both Rose (1958a) and Zubrzycki (1959; 1960) show how Sydney and Melbourne and to a lesser extent, Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane, have attracted the highest proportions of immigrants while industrial cities like Wollongong and Newcastle, Geelong and the towns of the Latrobe Valley have also attracted large numbers of settlers. Woolmington (1958) explains the more dominant role of the Illawarra Region in comparison to Newcastle in terms of its rapid industrial expansion which coincided with the period of mass immigration. This post-war pattern of urban concentration is in contrast to the pattern of rural settlement which predominated in the period before the war (Borrie 1954; Price 1963). Post-war immigrants have entered the rural sector only in areas where holdings are small, where labour input is relatively high and where chain migration nuclei were previously formed, as in the cane and tobacco areas of Queensland and Victoria and the irrigation regions of southern New South Wales, northern

Victoria and South Australia (Hempel 1959; Mapstone 1966; Phillips 1970; Buchanan 1973; Hugo 1975; Huber 1977).

Ethnic patterns in urban areas have been associated, in America, with the *Zone in Transition* (Burgess 1928). This traditional role of the Transition Zone, as a reception area for immigrants in cities has been examined for Hobart by Ryder-Turner (1963). He comments:

> Of immediate import is the fact that North Hobart has a
> higher incidence of Europeans than the Metropolitan
> area (p.46).

However, he noted that the UK-British and Dutch had a lower incidence in the Transition Zone; the Polish and German approximated the Hobart average; there were national clusters of eastern Europeans; but significantly, it was the southern Europeans who had created the greatest impact on the Transition Zone (p.48). A later study by Lee (1969) on the role of the ethnic community as a reception area for Italian immigrants in Melbourne, pointed to the significance of secondary concentrations for attracting continuing chain migration settlement. Secondary concentrations could be found in the outer suburbs, showing that southern European settlement was not confined to the Transition Zone. Indeed, closer study of ethnic spatial patterns showed that this area was only one of several to attract large numbers of newly-arrived immigrants. Stimson (1970) concluded that

> Within Melbourne, as elsewhere, immigrants displayed
> considerable variation in the extent to which they concen-
> trated in specific areas of the city (p.118).

It was clear from the findings of an increasing number of studies that immigrant groups have a tendency to settle in different kinds of urban environments. The patterns emerging prior to the 1961 census are described in general studies of the major Australian cities by the geographers Rose and Scott, and the sociologist, Zubrzycki. Both Rose

(1958) and Scott (1965) recognised *two distinct zones* - a core or inner area and an outer suburban zone. The inner area was dominated by southern Europeans who were mainly of Italian, Greek and Maltese origin. Although Rose did observe some Eastern Europeans there, they preferred the outer industrial suburbs where central Europeans, mainly Germans, were predominant. Some southern Europeans preferred this zone as well (Scott 1965). The Netherlands-born were more evenly distributed but seemed to prefer the outer fringe.

In his study of segregation in Australian cities Zubrzycki (1959) saw a distinction between *four major groups*. These same distinctions were broadly apparent in the studies already mentioned by Rose and Scott.

- The British Isles and New Zealand group had a pattern most similar to the Australian population.
- The Netherlands group was under-represented in the inner-city area while concentration was fairly high in outer suburbs within the rural-urban fringe.
- Southern Europeans, mainly Italians, Greeks and Maltese had pronounced concentration in the inner-city zone. Some Maltese, however, had a tendency to settle as market-gardeners in semi-rural areas.
- Central and eastern Europeans were moderately concentrated in the inner-city area and were heavily concentrated in outer industrial suburbs (pp.613-4).

In their social area analyses of Australian capital cities, using data from the 1971 census, Logan et al found their ethnic dimensions to be generally similar throughout the different cities. It was difficult to compare the spatial patterns, however, because the separate ethnic groups were not differentiated. The major association in ecological terms was between ethnicity and low socioeconomic status and, to a lesser extent, household type, a particular feature of inner city concentration (Logan et al 1975, pp.73-96). For more detailed analysis one has to examine residential differentiation in particular cities and for individual ethnic groups. As ethnic patterns have a

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recurring form throughout the major cities of Australia, detailed discussion will be limited to a comparison of ethnic patterns in Melbourne and Sydney, then to two of the major groups, Italians and Greeks.

Melbourne

Ethnic social areas have been identified for Melbourne using data from the 1961 census, by Lancaster Jones (1969) and Stimson (1970). Burnley (1971, 1972a, 1974, 1975, 1976a), using data from the 1966 census and later applying data from the 1971 census, clarified the patterns of differentiation and indicated patterns of spatial change, implying their relevance to the process of assimilation. Research on individual ethnic groups in Melbourne - on Italians by Lancaster Jones (1962, 1964) and Lee (1969); and on Greeks by Burnley (1972b), have confirmed and expanded on aspects of residential distribution and change.

In his study of Melbourne, using the Index of Dissimilarity, Stimson identified *four major patterns*. In general terms of an outer/ inner dichotomy these patterns conform to those of Rose (1958), *Zubrzycki (1959) and Scott (1965).* Lancaster Jones (1969), *however,* in his principal components analysis, using religious variables as well as of birthplace, found large Jewish populations in middle distance suburbs, east and south of the city centre (p.77). These Jewish populations were highly correlated in terms of residence with Polish refugees (p.74). Otherwise his patterns conformed to those of Stimson (p.77).

By expanding his spatial framework into *five separate zones,* Burnley was able to present greater detail both in terms of distribution and spatial change. His zones were as follows:

- Inner Metropolitan, southern European

- Older Residential Inner Suburbs, southern European

- Middle Ring Suburbs, strong Polish, moderate British, German, southern European

- Outer Industrial Suburbs, strong Maltese, central, eastern and southern European

- Outer Residential and Rural-Urban Fringe Areas, strong Netherlands, moderate British, German

(Burnley 1971, p.62; 1972a, p.21; 1974$\frac{a}{b}$, p.169; 1975, p.A132; 1976c, p.183).

A comparison of the distributions for 1966 and 1971 shows a high degree of stability for all birthplace groups except Italian, Greek and Maltese. A decrease for Italians in the Inner Metropolitan Area and in the Middle Ring Suburbs was balanced by an increase in the Older Residential Inner Suburbs, the Outer Industrial Suburbs and the Outer Residential and Rural-Urban Fringe Areas. The overall change was one of diffusion. For the Greeks, on the other hand, it was one of consolidation in the Older Residential Inner Suburbs. The Greek proportion in 1971, decreased in the Inner Metropolitan Area, increased dramatically in the Older Residential Inner Area, decreased considerably in the Middle Range Suburbs and increased in the Outer Residential Zone. For the Maltese the pattern was one of secondary concentration with movement from the outer areas to inner and middle range suburbs.

In a study of southern Europeans in Melbourne, Burnley (1976) examined distributions and change between 1954-1971 in substantially more detail than the above studies. It is interesting to note how the inner-city settlements of Greeks and Italians were separate and distinctive, and how their patterns of spatial change were so markedly

different. The distinctiveness of 'Little Italy' has been vividly described in an interesting work by Lancaster Jones (1962, 1964) which was referred to in Chapter Three. Cox (1964) has described the settlement more briefly. While Petrolias (1969) has compared the Italian and Greek communities and the way they express a political identity, Tsounis (1971) has examined the Greek community, portraying it as a distinctive institutional entity. Patterns of distribution and residential change were examined in more detail for Italians by Lee (1969) and for Greeks by Burnley (1972b). They found that, contrary to Burgess' theory, many long term settlers, particularly Greeks, remained in the old established areas while many new arrivals settled in secondary concentrations. In the case of Greeks these were mainly adjacent to the older established settlements; for Italians they were found in the outer suburban zone (Burnley 1972b, p.164; 1976c,p.186). The marked variations in spatial pattern between Greeks and Italians resident in Melbourne serve to emphasise an even greater divergence which exists between other ethnic groups whose patterns are substantially more dissimilar.

Sydney

Patterns of ethnic differentiation which are a manifest part of Melbourne's residential structure, present a recurring pattern in other Australian cities as illustrated by Rose (1958), Zubrzycki (1959), Scott (1965) and Logan (1975). As these general studies were not sufficiently detailed for in-depth comparisons with the patterns in Melbourne special reference will be made to studies of Sydney. Patterns in other cities will be summarised more briefly. Badcock's (1973) social area analysis of Sydney described two dimensions having ethnic components - 'migrant assimilation' and 'cosmopolitanism'. His

'migrant assimilation' factor identified seven categories, similar in pattern to those described in other studies (Davis and Spearitt 1974; Burnley 1971, 1972a, 1972c, 1974[a,b] 1975, 1976[c]). His 'cosmopolitanism' factor referred to Greeks and Italians, resident mainly in the southern inner-city suburbs, and to Hebrew residents in the eastern suburbs (p.8).

In his analysis of immigrant settlement in Sydney, Burnley (1972c) described ethnic patterns in greater detail and their impact on population growth and change for five areally delineated categories of the city, comparable to those he defined for Melbourne. His study examined change between 1947-1966 and by examining chain settlement and community evolution, drew attention to variations within the major patterns. However, contrasts in pattern between Melbourne and Sydney can best be assessed from his comparative studies, some of which refer to the 1966 census (1971, 1972a, 1974[a,b]) and others to the 1971 census (1975, 1976[c]). The patterns for the cities are remarkably similar except for the following minor variations. Whereas Italians in Melbourne have tended to consolidate in the older residential Inner Zone, this has occurred to a lesser extent in Sydney where dispersion has increased to the Outer Residential Zone. As well, Polish, Yugoslav and German immigrants in Melbourne have tended to consolidate more strongly in the Middle Zone. In Sydney, contrary to the trend in Melbourne, the Maltese population has remained stable (1971, p.62; 1972a, p.21; 1974a, p.169; 1975, p.A132; 1976[c] p.183).

Detailed variations within the major spatial patterns can be seen from studies of particular groups. Although work has been completed on Maltese (Byung Hee Yoo 1978), Armenians (Kirkland 1980), Irish (Grimes 1979), Chinese (Teo 1971) and Vietnamese (Lai-Har Rebecca Chiu 1980),

discussion will focus on Greeks and Italians for the purpose of comparison with patterns in Melbourne; and also to provide a comparative background to the study of Lettesi patterns in Newcastle. However one must be aware, when drawing comparisons, that most of the studies are time specific; for example, Lancaster Jones'(1962, 1964) research on Italians was completed twenty years before Burnley's (1981) publication and cannot take account of spatial and social change.

Burnley's work on Greek settlement in Melbourne had traced the evolution of the major concentration in a zone of contiguous inner-city suburbs expanding out from Melbourne LGA. By 1966 this area contained nearly 39,000 Greek born persons, 64% of Greeks in Melbourne. There was minimal dispersion to outer residential zones. In his work on Greek settlement patterns in Sydney Burnley described a similar development of contiguous concentration centred on Marrickville. By 1971 there were 13,200 Greeks residing in the Marrickville Municipality, and 34,000 within the broader inner zone, nearly 56% of Greeks in Sydney. Burnley's more detailed analysis in Sydney allowed him to identify invasion and succession, proceeding outwards from the city centre; patterns of socioeconomic differentiation which had increasingly occurred within the zone of Greek settlement; and chain migration which reinforced patterns of secondary concentration, as well as of primary settlement. This mainly occurred within the inner-city zone. In his study of Italians Lee had identified chain migration to secondary concentrations similar to that above, but in the outer suburban area of Melbourne (Lee 1969; Burnley 1972b; 1976a).

Burnley's (1981) more recent work on Italian settlement in Sydney traced the origins and evolution of the main concentrations in the inner suburb of Leichardt and the outer suburb of Fairfield where

Calabrese had settled as market-gardeners in the 1920s. Caruana (1978) studied Italians in Liverpool, another outer Sydney suburb, and found their origins to be more diversified (p.19). Leichardt, which was characterised by a strong institutional base was comparable to Carlton, Melbourne's 'Little Italy', described at length by Lancaster Jones (1962, 1964). Carlton was the core of an 'Italian Crescent' comprising nine contiguous municipalities. Within this zone, in 1961, there were 46,500 Italian-born persons, about 66% of Italians in Melbourne (1964, p.87); for Sydney the figure was 44% in 1961 and 27% by 1976 (Burnley 1981, p.8). This contrast between Italians in Sydney and Melbourne was largely due to the reinforcing effect of chain migration and gravitation settlement to the primary concentration in outer Fairfield. It has nevertheless been noted that dispersion did occur at a far greater rate for Italians than Greeks, both in Sydney and in Melbourne. Another observation drawing contrast with Greeks was the pattern of socioeconomic differentiation which for Italians in Sydney occurred beyond the primary concentrations (1981, pp.16, 18). These contrasts would suggest a higher degree of spatial dispersion for Italians than for Greeks.

The above studies illustrate consistent and distinctive spatial variations between birthplace groups and for sub-communities within birthplace groups. Social area studies of other individual cities - in Adelaide, by Stimson (1974) and Badcock, Jaensch and Williams (1977); in Brisbane, by the Cities Commission, McDonald et al (1975); and in Wollongong and Newcastle (Parkes 1971, 1972, 1973); together with research on specific ethnic groups, for example, Dutch, German, Italian, Greek and Yugoslav by Galvin (1971, 1974); Macedonians and Serbians by Gordon (1974); and Greeks by Burns (in progress), have generally confirmed the ethnic patterns already described for Melbourne and Sydney.

The persistence of ethnicity is a recurring theme not only in Canada (Porter 1975), the United States (Glazer and Moynihan 1963, 1975) and in England (Brown 1970) but also in Australia, as demonstrated above. Explanation of the persistence of ethnicity in society and its spatial expression in the form of ethnic neighbourhoods, has proceeded at different levels - the first at a more general level, focusses on the debate of whether ethnicity is a function of class or culture; the second applies spatial and social indices, at the aggregate scale, to assimilation or integration; and finally, the process of intra-urban mobility is seen to explain social area formation.

CLASS AND CULTURE

Although essentially descriptive, the research on social areas and ethnic distributions, outlined above, has pointed the way to explanation of patterns. The spatial concomitance of ethnic segregation with areas of low socioeconomic status has been observed in social area studies, generally (Burnley 1980, p.198). Although in Adelaide no marked correlation was apparent (Stimson 1974, p.147), in Melbourne, Lancaster Jones identified areas of relatively low socio-economic status to be associated mainly with southern Europeans (Lancaster Jones 1969, p.83). Burnley confirmed this for Sydney and Melbourne (1974$_{b}^{a,b}$ p.173; 1975, p.A136). Johnston, examining inter-censal changes, observed an increasing consolidation of this pattern (Johnston 1973, p.94). This tendency is suggested by Lieberson (1961, p.56) and Burnley (1980, p.198) who see segregation and low socio-economic status as mutually reinforcing conditions, creating what Neutze (1978, p.45) describes as a 'culture of poverty' in residential zones of ethnic segregation. Ware refers to the emergence of a new urban proletariat of southern Europeans, segregated from the native-

born (Ware 1974, p.198). Further research, on ethnic stratification, in Australia (Zubrzycki 1968, 1969; Collins 1981) and the United States (Peterson 1956; Thernstrom 1970) has demonstrated that immigrants have not diffused equally throughout the socioeconomic structures, despite apparent deviations in Rhodesia (McEwan 1964) and Brazil (Hutchinson 1958). This has led to the concept of 'structural pluralism' (Gordon 1975, p.85) being applied to explanations of residential segregation.

Residential segregation, as an expression of 'structural pluralism', within the wider societal context of class structure was first suggested by Engels (Harvey 1972, p.8). Harvey has stressed its significance more recently in addressing the problems of ghetto formation (1972) and of urban resource redistribution (1973); Engel (1968), to explain the persistence of ethnicity; Porter (1975) in arguing against ethnicity as 'a form of class control by the major power structures' (p.294); Boal (1972), to interpret residential sub-communities; and Collins (1981), to account for ethnic stratification. In his recent work, Collins remarks that

> The inequality of migrants in Australia is a direct con-
> sequence of the way in which Australian capitalism
> utilises this important industrial reserve army of labour
> to maximise capital accumulation and to minimise class
> struggle by creating 'fractions' or divisions within the
> Australian working class...Inequality...is related to the
> labour market function of these workers, and the related
> spatial distribution of these migrants in the cities in
> which they predominate (Collins 1981, pp. 194, 195).

Though not all adopt a fully Marxist perspective there, nevertheless, is stress on discrimination as tending to perpetuate ethnic segregation (Lowry 1970; Simirenko 1964). Trlin, for example, speaks of a cycle of causation in respect to beliefs, attitudes and ethnic residence (Trlin 1976, p.79). Disillusioned with the politics of 'the liberal expectancy', a view which Porter (1975, p.304) still upholds in the

longer term, and acknowledging the reality of conflict in ethnic

relations, Gordon has revised his assimilation model. He says:

> Assimilation theory must, for purposes of achieving greater
> explanatory power, be placed in the framework of a larger
> theoretical context which helps explain the general
> processes of racial and ethnic group relations (Gordon 1975,
> p.88).

Bottomley (1979) in following Gordon's original model was self-

critical for her own lack of emphasis on class (See her Introduction).

There is reason to question the Marxist conclusion that segregation

is determined by social class. Burnley, for example, has observed the

emergence of small, middle-class Greek neighbourhoods in Sydney

(1976b, p.211), similar to one in Hamilton South, in Newcastle (Galvin

1971, p.67). Teo (1971) has shown how Chinatown, in Sydney, has

retained a proportion of those who were socially mobile but who preferred

to be part of a traditional Chinese community. Burnley (1975, p.A137)

found that even unskilled workers of southern European origin were

spatially separate from the unskilled Australian-born. Darroch and

Marston claimed that socioeconomic differences accounted for only

relatively small proportions of ethnic residential segregation in

Toronto (1971, p.491). Examples such as these support the idea of a

cultural, 'expressive' function of ethnic communities and their

tendency to concentration, as opposed to a purely 'instrumental' role

as subordinate minorities within a social class system. Some concepts

which have emerged to describe the role of culture and values in

maintaining ethnic neighbourhoods include Firey's (1945) 'sentiment and

symbolism', Feldman and Tilly's (1960, p.877)'social choice' model,

Poulsen's (1977, p.15) 'locality attachment', and Zubrzycki's (1977,

p.137) 'primordial attachments'.

Studies of ethnic neighbourhoods in cities reveal the significance

of primordial bonds of kinship and of a common cultural heritage as a
source of belonging and identity. Research has shown the importance of
kinship in chain migration and community formation (Chapter Three).
Burnley, for example, in his study of Italians was able to account for
sharp differences in pattern by reference to kinship and chain migration;
for in Bossley Park (Fairfield) and Leichardt, respectively, 40% and
46% of subjects had chosen the suburb because relatives already lived
there (Burnley 1981, p.182). Stressing the importance of culture and
tradition, Wirth, in his classic study of the ghetto says:

> The solidarity of the group, like the integrity of the
> individual implies a measure at least of isolation from
> other groups and persons as a necessary condition of its
> existence...The ghetto is a cultural community that
> expresses a common heritage, a store of common traditions
> and sentiments (Wirth 1956, p.289).

This theoretical field of ethnic enquiry which has issued debate
on whether ethnic segregation is a function of social class or of
culture, usually resorts to alternative explanations of whether ethnic
communities exist in cities because of their 'circumstantial' or
'primordial' functions. These polar perspectives referred to by Glazer
and Moynihan (1975, p.19) have been presented as a theoretical synthesis
by McKay (1979) and are incorporated within the scope of Gordon's
assimilation model (1975). Both perspectives are also supported by
Bell who says:

> The strength of a primordial attachment is that emotional
> cohesion derives not only from some inner 'consciousness of
> kind', but from some external definition of an adversary
> as well (Bell 1975, p.174).

Lettesi community consolidation in Hamilton has been a function of both
the primordial bonds of kinship and the instrumental roles of community
membership. They are inextricably linked. However, such an under-
standing could only be derived from research at the primary network
level.

SPATIAL AND SOCIAL INDICES OF ASSIMILATION/INTEGRATION

At the aggregate level of explanation of ethnic patterns spatial measures of dissimilarity, concentration and segregation have been used in several ways. Some have used the measures to see to what extent different birthplace groups are associated residentially; others to find the degree of discrepancy in residential pattern from the host population; others, again, have selected social data and derived 'indices' by applying the relevant formula, to use, in conjunction with residential measures, in studies of ethnic stratification, or as indicators of degree of assimilation/integration. Although spatial and social indices have mainly been concerned with providing measures of social change some studies have used them as descriptive tools to group residentially similar categories and to indicate the extent of inter-group dissimilarity (Stimson 1970; Galvin 1971, 1974; Burnley 1972c). These have been most useful when used in conjunction with maps of ethnic residential distributions. In descriptive terms they have generally confirmed the patterns already described above (Galvin 1974).

Statistical measures of association have generally been applied to research on assimilation, following Park's contention that 'most, if not all, cultural changes in society will be correlated with changes in its territorial organisation' (Park 1952, p.231). Following the lead of the human ecologists, Duncan and Duncan, in 1955, examined the relation between segregation patterns and occupational mobility in six American cities. They concluded:

> The ecological analysis has provided strong support for the proposition that spatial distances between occupational groups are closely related to their social distances, measured either in terms of socioeconomic status...or in terms of differences in occupational origins (p.63).

The approach was extended in 1959 when Duncan and Lieberson carried out a study on segregation and assimilation. A number of socioeconomic and other social variables were correlated with segregation indices, with variable though generally positive results (p.104). This study was followed by another by Lieberson (1961, 1963) on ten ethnic groups in ten American cities where he looked at the impact of residential segregation on ethnic assimilation, as measured by social indices. He concluded:

> Segregation is not only a significant dimension to assimilation but, further, the magnitude of a group's segregation appears to influence other aspects of the group's assimilation... Support is offered for Hawley's hypothesis that residential dispersion is a basic prerequisite for ethnic assimilation (1975, p.119).

This positive statement should, nevertheless, be tempered by thoughtful consideration of Hauser's words which may be found in the Foreword to Lieberson's book.

> Lieberson's study exemplifies in several ways the strong points of this approach to urban analysis, while suggesting some of the obstacles to the achievement of a fully satisfactory comparative design of research, foremost among which is the difficulty of assembling the requisite data in sufficiently standardized form (Hauser, in Lieberson 1963, p.vi).

Australian researchers have applied social indices to assimilation studies in the Australian context where immigration experience has been markedly different. As well, they have not sufficiently acknowledged the difficulties of assembling appropriate data. Lieberson, for example, being aware of the many factors controlling an immigrant's occupation, used an index of intergenerational mobility to assess the extent of assimilation. When comparable data were unavailable in Australia, researchers derived indices from first generation data. Zubrzycki was aware of the implications and the problems. He said:

Whether observed differences in occupational achievement

> are results of selective immigration, entrance status,
> ability, motivation or perhaps discrimination can only
> be inferred from the data here presented (1969, p.38).

Selective immigration of rural peasant villagers from economically

marginal regions of southern Europe has ensured the emergence of the

pattern of stratification, observed by Zubrzycki (1968, 1969) and other

writers, for example Martin 1975; Burnley 1980, p.236 and Collins 1981,

p.188. Occupation, though useful in stratification studies, is

therefore inappropriate as a measure of assimilation for first genera-

tion immigrants in Australia.

Despite the many problems with the social and spatial indices

(Chapter Five), they have received acceptance in Australian research.

Some have confined analysis to residential measures of dissimilarity,

concentration or segregation, usually on the assumption that these

measures indicate varying degrees of social assimilation (Lieberson

1961). Examples include Zubrzycki's (1959) study of Australian cities,

comparative studies of Melbourne and Sydney (Rose 1958; Burnley 1971,

1976) and individual studies of Melbourne (Stimson 1970) and of Sydney

(Burnley 1972c; Badcock 1973). The remaining work has combined spatial

measures with social indicators of stratification (Zubrzycki 1961;

Burnley 1972a, 1975, 1976; Neutze 1978), or in a broader sense, of

assimilation (Timms 1965; Heiss 1966; Peach 1974).

Where social indices have been used with spatial measures as

indicators of assimilation these studies have been accepted as confirming

the assumption that segregation is a valid measure of assimilation,

though the studies, themselves, had not tested this assumption.

> Residential concentration is a reliable indicator of
> integration[1] of a minority group into the host society,

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1. Although Burnley uses the word 'integration' the authors to whom he
   refers use the word 'assimilation'.

as Australian studies by J Heiss, Duncan Timms and GCK Peach
testify (Burnley 1976&; p.201).

The question will be raised in Chapter Five, as to whether the social

indices are relevant or valid as measures of assimilation for first

generation immigrants. The point is made, finally, that unless one

can understand the 'assimilation' process at the scale of community

structure, one cannot select suitable social indices to apply at the

aggregate level of study.

> Nothing truly general can be said about aggregate regu-
> larities until it has been made clear how far they remain
> invariant with organizational differences at the micro-
> level (Hagerstrand 1970, p.8).

Other problems arise with aggregate level studies of spatial and

social indices, concerning the scale of analysis. Heiss (1966) in his

study of Italians in Perth, defined areas in terms of three levels of

segregation - highly segregated, less segregated and non-segregated.

He observed that the inverse association between segregation and

assimilation was

> ...almost entirely due to the high degree of assimilation
> in the non-segregated areas. The residents of the less
> segregated areas are not different from those who live
> in the most segregated areas (1966, p.167).

Heiss, however, had already pointed out marked differences in socio-

economic levels between areas containing 'most' and 'less' segregated

Italians. From research on the Lettesi, and Italians in other cities,

it is reasonable to suggest that movement had occurred from the low

socioeconomic, 'most' segregated area into the adjoining higher status

area of 'less' segregation. If this is so, and if Heiss' measures are

valid, then dispersion, in this case, is not related to 'assimilation'.

Another aspect of scale is the possibility that Heiss was dealing with

sub-populations of Italians - perhaps with 'rural villagers' in the

segregated areas, and with urban Italians in the low segregation zone

(Gans 1962). Without an understanding of the community structure these must remain hypothetical suggestions, and Heiss' conclusions, tentative.

Similar problems emerge from the work of Peach (1974) wherein important information may have been lost from using aggregate data based on Local Government Areas, for in the present research most of the dispersion has been contained within a single Local Government Area - the Newcastle City LGA. If aggregate data at the LGA scale had alone been used in research on Lettesi there would be no understanding of their residential mobility and the way this is related to community change.

In their study of the interaction of social and physical space, Feldman and Tilly raise another related issue:

> The validity of this kind of analysis rests upon the shaky assumption that processes of change may be inferred from static, cross-sectional relationships...Our conclusions are, therefore, at best tentative (Feldman and Tilly 1960, p.880).

Similar reservations will be explored in Chapter Five. The main conclusion drawn is shared by Hauser in his concluding remark in the Foreword to Lieberson's book:

> In future, it will doubtless remain true that much of what passes for knowledge of cities in general will, in fact, be based on intensive scrutiny of individual communities in particular (Hauser, in Lieberson 1963, p.vi).

INTRA-URBAN MOBILITY

The studies of ethnic social areas already outlined have been essentially descriptive, those dealing with spatial change and its relation to social change having referred to static patterns at different points in time, rather than analyzing spatial and social processes. These, however, have been examined within the analytical framework of

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intra-urban mobility, a dynamic process of social area formation. Studies of this process have concentrated, nevertheless, on the socio-economic and familism dimensions, ignoring the question of whether the concepts can adequately explain the ethnic dimension. A summary of the concepts will briefly be presented and will be followed by a discussion of the few existing studies relating to ethnic intra-urban migration. Finally, an account will be given to describe and explain the spatial pattern of Lettesi community consolidation around Hamilton.

Macro studies of residential mobility have a high level of generality and a low level of prediction, the ecological and economic models, for example, failing to take account of culture and preferences and the way these are expressed in spatial behaviour (Burgess 1928; Hoyt 1939; Harris and Ullman 1945; Alonso 1964). Burgess' (1928) model of urban growth and structure saw the evolution of ethnic communities in terms of a process of 'sequent occupance' whereby groups moving out from the initial areas of concentration were replaced by recent immigrants to the city. This process has been documented by Burnley in Sydney (1976b, p.202) and referred to by Trlin (1976a, p.65) who indicated some discrepancies. Matwijiw (1979) has examined these discrepancies more closely in a study of ethnic residence in Winnipeg and in a follow-up study by Matwijiw, Rose and Briggs (1980) in Sydney. Their results supported his earlier conclusions and were a challenge to Burgess' classical theory which was revised by Hoyt in 1964.

> *The empirical results have shown that different ethnic* groups tend to favour different areas of the city and through time reveal different patterns of residential expansion (Matwijiw 1979, p.58).

> ...the phenomenon of 'succession' has not been a signifi-cant element in the reception of immigrants within the Sydney area (Matwijiw, Rose and Briggs 1980, p.20).

Even where invasion and succession have occurred, these and other

ecological processes fail to explain the emergence, persistence and disintegration of ethnic communities and the recurring patterns of ethnic spatial preferences.

Others have attempted to bridge the gap between macro (structure) and micro (process), seeing individual households as both perceiving and reacting to, and changing the sociospatial structure of the city (Clark 1972; Newton 1978). Clark, it would seem, applied a simplistic stance claiming that if structure was sectoral then moves, too, would be sectoral, so failing to conceive of the total urban form as a complex, multidimensional constraint. Burnley (1980, p.209) attempted to bridge the gap between the behavioural and the land rent models by relating preferences and decisions of where to move to the preparedness to bid for particular locations within the constraint of household income. Caruso and Palm (1973) and Trlin (1976) conclude that the process of urban residential mobility is more complex than macro studies suggest; and the following writers all see the need for a micro level, 'behavioural' approach (Anderson 1962; Simmons 1968; Dahms 1971; Boal 1972; Popp 1976 and Jones 1979). The behavioural model, with the emphasis on decision-making, at the individual, household level, has represented a more productive approach, both in terms of understanding the relocation process and of bridging the gap between macro and micro theory.

> Only when decisions and behaviour of individual households
> are made clear at the micro level, is it efficient to
> use them in a model based on aggregate data (Popp 1976, p.300).

The residential location decision process was formulated as a model by Brown and Moore (1970) following an earlier paper by Brown and Longbrake (1969), using concepts developed by earlier writers, mainly Wolpert (1965, 1966) and Simmons (1968). The conceptual framework

reviewed by Simmons (1968), was later modified and extended by Popp (1976) then adjusted specifically to immigrants by Trlin (1976). More recently it was reviewed by Lukomskyj (1981). During the course of research the framework, generally, has been expanded to incorporate new concepts and understandings. These concepts will now be summarised briefly. For definitions one can refer to the original articles, to summaries by Burnley (1980), Simmons (1968) and Popp (1976), or to the research works of Newton (1972, 1977) and Lukomskyj (1981).

The relocation decision process has long been the subject of widespread research. Simmons (1968), and later, Brown and Moore (1970), described the process in two stages - 'why move' and 'where to move'. In considering the question of 'why move' Simmons (1968) outlined the relevant factors as being generated internally by needs and values, and externally by the physical and social environment. Wolpert (1965, 1966) had suggested that decisions were affected by environmental stress which was always present in the action space or activity field of individuals and which was influenced by the relative place utility of alternative locations, as perceived by the person. His concept of stress was adopted by Simmons (1968), integrated in a model by Brown and Moore (1970), developed further by Clark and Cadwallader (1973) and tested by Clark in a study of Auckland (1975). His concept of place utility was further consolidated by Brown and Longbrake (1969, 1970), Simmons (1968), Popp (1976) and Johnston (1971, 1972). Whitelaw and Robinson (1972) stressed the mutual reinforcement of action space and mental maps, while Horton and Reynolds (1969) considered how action space could be shared by groups such as those living in the ghetto. Perception, as modified by values and culture was seen to influence the form of mental maps (Clark 1975) and the threshold level of place utility which was relative to individuals as they adjusted expectations

of satisfaction and housing needs (Simmons 1968). Firey (1945) referred to sentiment and symbolism, Wirth (1947) to housing as a social value, Gans (1962) to the West End urban villager, Palm (1976) to the notion of attachment to community and Poulsen (1977) to the concept of locational attachment as expressions of value in residential choice.

In considering the problem of 'where to move' some writers have focused on spatial patterns, for example Gibson (1967), Adams (1969), Clark (1969) and Johnston (1971, 1972). The decision-maker, usually the head of the household[1] (Whitelaw and Robinson 1972), was assumed to follow a spatial search process (Wolpert 1965; Simmons 1968; Brown and Moore 1970), constrained by a mental map (Lynch 1960) based on limited information mainly generated from within his activity space (Johnston 1971). The mental map was seen to have a sectoral bias related to the form of his activity field (Clark 1972). Adams (1969) referred to a restricted sectoral image with a directional bias to the C.B.D. Whitelaw and Robinson (1972), on the other hand, argued that the commuter axis was equally sensitive and that neither were conclusive especially in relation to movers having a relatively high socioeconomic status. Anderson (1962) claimed that sectoral patterns only occurred with growth of sub-groups and that enclaves were more apparent for many ethnic groups. Poulsen (1977) questioned the restricted sectoral image, arguing in favour of locality attachment; Gibson (1967) touched on another 'value' concept by relating ethnic differences to level of expectation. Both Anderson (1962) and Dahms (1971) saw values as important but constrained by power and wealth, respectively; while Trlin referred to the 'self-fulfilling prophecy' whereby attitudes to ethnic groups continued to reinforce the existing patterns of residential

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1. This assumption did not hold for the case of the Lettesi.

segregation.

In examining the decision of 'where to move' other researchers have given attention to the evaluation of housing alternatives where a mover's set of locational choice preferences has been seen to be operative within a framework of constraints (Simmons 1968; van Arsdol, Sabagh and Butler 1968; Dahms 1971; Hinshaw and Allott 1972; Newton 1972, 1977; Lukomskyj 1981). Simmons (1968), Newton (1977) and Hinshaw and Allott (1972), saw preferences being related to factors pertaining to socio-economic status, familism and ethnic status. Newton (1977) concluded that movement was dominated by the socioeconomic position of the household. Rossi (1955), in explaining 'Why Families Move', stressed the importance of the changing stages of the life cycle, which was later reinforced by Wolpert (1965) and Palm (1976). Gans (1962) saw stability in Boston's West End as being a function of solidarity and the sharing of common values.

Constraints have been seen to be structural, economic, institutional, attitudinal, or relating to information. Structural constraints could refer to accessibility (although Jones (1979) found this factor to be insignificant), to the general ecological structure of the city (Clark 1972, 1975), to housing submarkets (Curson 1975; Newton 1977) or to vacancy chains by which the filtering of socioeconomic groups may occur (Burnley 1980). Economic constraints referred to income or rent, institutional constraints to government housing policy and finance availability, attitudinal constraints involved discrimination by property agents or 'gatekeepers' (Barresi 1968), and finally there were constraints on access to information (Simmons 1968).

Although this framework of intra-urban mobility, focussing as it does on decisions of movers, has provided an understanding of the

residential process, there is a danger in accepting the model as the reality and imposing it indiscriminately on an aggregate of household units identified, perhaps, by the fact of being 'movers' (Clark 1975). If the process is one of social area formation then one should begin by defining the social group, then attempt to enter the 'group life process' to discover significant meanings and understandings from the group's own perspective on why they are there. The relevant concepts can then be selected to facilitate our explanation of the social area pattern. This approach will be adopted in regard to the Lettesi, but before turning attention to the Lettesi pattern I shall examine those studies of residential mobility which make some reference to the dimension of ethnicity.

Despite the recognition of the importance of ethnicity to the sociospatial structure of cities and the growing understanding of intra-urban mobility as a process of social area formation, research has rarely tried to integrate these perspectives. Some researchers have explicitly avoided subareas where the ethnic dimension would demand consideration (Newton, 1972); others have focused on a range of static factors relating to stress and environmental preferences and tested their significance for different social groups; a few have applied the residential mobility model directly to ethnic groups; but, as yet, no study has adequately shown how patterns of ethnic residential mobility are expressions of a process of adjustment and integration which for many southern Europeans is a community affair.

In a highly competent integrative schema Trlin (1976) combined multi-disciplinary concepts to provide a framework for explanation of ethnic intra-urban residential patterns. His schema focused on four main determinants - the process of migration; population characteristics

and urban ecology; culture (ethnicity) and social distance; and perceptions, beliefs and self-fulfilling prophecy. By his own admission other determinants were excluded - the mechanism of the housing market, the role of the estate agent, perception and mental maps, the journey to work etc. His paper is illustrative of the danger of imposing selected criteria to explain ethnic patterns.

In addition Trlin's framework has been influenced by values that are based on an assumption that is not made explicit - that integration is a function of residential dispersion. This assumption provides the basis for his selection of determinants to consider in relation to ethnic residence, determinants which tend to underplay the role of the ethnic community in residential integration. While conceptual frameworks are a useful guide to selection of criteria most relevant to the case we should nevertheless be conscious that schemas themselves are tools that impose a particular shape that is neither objective nor value free. If criteria, by necessity, must be subjective then it should be guided by immigrant experience, insofar as the researcher can 'wear immigrant shoes'.

Kirkland's (1980) analysis of residential 'adjustment' though competent and useful for comparative purposes, contains similar anomalies. Because the focus he adopts is imposed by the framework of intra-urban residential mobility, and not the process of resettlement and adjustment, the ethnic factor is given insufficient emphasis. If, for example, one considers the following as stages in a process of resettlement and adjustment then the associated patterns of mobility are predictable - high mobility for 'single' male immigrants as a stage in the serial migration of families; relative stability with family reunion and the associated pattern of home purchase; and the shift of a concentration into a higher socioeconomic area during the later phase of community consolidation.

Kirkland, however, explains the former patterns by reference to stages of the lifecycle; for the latter he stresses socioeconomic factors (p.147). While these may be relevant they cannot explain the existence of ethnic social areas in cities. These can only be explained by ethnic factors relating to a process of group settlement formation within the broader context of resettlement and adjustment.

Residential mobility must be seen as part of a long term process of adjustment and integration, yet many who examine residential location have taken a static cross-sectional view, especially in relation to residential preferences. An example of research where static preference factors were examined in relation to different social groups was one presented by Hinshaw and Allott (1972). They found that, even for their ethnic respondents, proximity to friends and relatives was not a significant factor. Their sample, however, taken from college undergraduates, could in no way have represented first generation immigrants (1972, p.105). In a similar study of a sample of 'movers' Clark (1975) examined statistical correlations between stress factors and the desire to move. Although he commented on the need to stratify samples, there was no explicit reference to ethnic groups despite a significant, though small relationship, between desire to move and proximity to friends and relatives, the factor most pertaining to ethnic groups.

Gibson (1967) did focus on specific ethnic groups, namely Greeks and Dutch, in the Adelaide area. There were strong constraints relating to social and demographic background, expectations and mode of immigration which Gibson saw reflected in residential pattern. Finally, she attributed the more dispersed pattern displayed by the Dutch to a

higher level of integration which she measured in terms of five selected indices. These indices, however, bore no direct relation to the factors explaining the residential patterns.

It was clear from her study that kinship bore a most important role for her Greek respondents. Yet she did not explore its relation to community, nor the role of community in the process of integration occurring within the urban residential system. This role of community in the process of integration may have been more apparent if Gibson had studied a social group rather than a national category and if residential mobility had been viewed as a process. Though Gibson did attempt to assess changing needs, most of her analyses were static and cross-sectional, for example, the reasons given for changes of address, the indices she applied as measures of integration, and the characteristics of the two populations.

Kirkland (1980) has analysed the 'Armenian' spatial pattern and found it to be complex. There is a primary concentration in Willoughby, on the North Shore, six secondary concentrations, south of the Harbour, and dispersion mainly south-west of the city (p.148). One may assume that this complexity, however, is indicative of the existence of different 'social groups' having separate and identifiable group organisations, at least at the primary network level. Some of his apparent anomolies and inconsistencies are understandable in these terms. For example, he refers to Armenians as 'urban' and being used to maintaining friendship without propinquity and relates this to the tendency to residential dispersion (p.164). Later, he refers to the Sydney Harbour Bridge as presenting a major barrier to social interaction, and to 'reluctance to maintain contacts over larger distances where access is not convenient' (p.185). Finally, he refers to low and middle

income families who will often move 'only as far as is necessary', choosing to remain near their relatives and friends (p.188). His own conclusions, upon comparing respondents who were dispersed to those within Armenian concentrations, also reinforce the above assumption. Differences were significant for country of origin, which subsumed the factor of chain migration, and for occupation and length of residence. These factors suggest different forms of group settlement, associated with different sub-groups of Armenians.

One researcher did focus directly on the process relating integration directly to residential mobility. In a study of inter-ethnic relations Curson (1975) referred to three related elements - differential distribution of housing types, differential access to *housing space and gradual socialisation to the urban social system. This* he described as a process,

> ...whereby immigrants from relatively simple, undifferentiated
> rural backgrounds come to terms with the new urban environment
> and become effective role-players in the complex multi-
> differentiated urban system (Curson 1975, p.150).

His view is comparable to my own approach where access to the urban housing market is seen as a function of communication or of socialisation to the new urban system. He fails, however, to recognise the role of the ethnic community in this process of integration whereby access to housing is largely organised through the operation of community networks. He assumes instead, a rate of 'socialisation' that research has shown to be unrealistic. He says,

> For most this represents a transition from a traditionally-
> oriented system based on a close-knit kinship system
> offering a high degree of psychological satisfaction and
> security to its members...to a more commercial, impersonal
> and complex urban environment marked by...considerable
> depersonalisation of human relationships and the
> psychological isolation of the individual (Curson 1975, p.151).

The introduction to a paper by Robinson and Kambesis (1977) on spatial adjustment and residential choice of Greek immigrants in urban Illawarra was promising in its approach. It demonstrated an awareness of 'ethnicity constraints', of the relationship between personal and residential adjustment and the associated levels of integration or assimilation. But the study itself did not fulfil its promise. Because preferences were established by requesting respondents to nominate the single most important reason for their move, there could be no real understanding of community adjustment. Secondly, as the moves were mainly short distance and could therefore be contained within the ethnic concentration, proximity to kin, though it may have been important, would usually not be nominated as the single most important cause which on aggregate referred, in fact, to house oriented factors. The study described the spatial pattern of residential moves and their frequency and distance, and it stressed the high rate of residential mobility, its containment within a restricted 'ethnic search space', and changes in the pattern of mobility with time. It did not examine how the patterns were related to community adjustment and integration and the term 'integration' was not defined.

In summary, many of the concepts developed to describe the process of intra-urban mobility, can be usefully applied to ethnic communities and valuable work has already been completed, for example, by Kirkland (1980). Even so, the framework is inadequate for conveying the meaning of community and the way it is bound, inextricably, for certain groups, to territory and kin. The pattern of Lettesi residential consolidation must be seen as the outcome of a continuing process of chain migration and group settlement formation. To understand this pattern it is essential to examine the role of community in relation to resettlement. It is a community comprised, not of discrete household units, but having

an organisational structure based on a complex of kin relationships.
These relationships are significant in terms of their expressive
meanings and for their instrumental role in residential integration
which is part of an ongoing process of adjustment.

PART B.   THE RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION OF THE LETTESI COMMUNITY IN

NEWCASTLE

Part B will now examine the pattern and process of Lettesi
residential integration in Newcastle. The aim is to extend the intra-
urban mobility framework through a deeper understanding of a particular
community and its own unique pattern of residential mobility. I shall
show how this community has defined its identity by meanings associated
with territory and kin; secondly, I shall argue that residential
mobility is associated with a process of residential integration whereby
access is attained to the urban housing system, mainly through the
interpersonal channels of the group; finally, I shall conclude that
residential integration may assume particular spatial forms related to
the form of community structure, and that a close-knit, cohesive
community structure, which is often associated with patterns of
concentration, can usually facilitate the process of integration,
especially for the first generation. This will be seen for residential
integration; other aspects of integration will be dealt with in
Chapter 5. The process of Lettesi residential integration will there-
fore be examined from their initial settlement in Newcastle till the
1976 survey. The pattern which is one of community consolidation, of
secondary concentration and minimal dispersion has evolved within a
context of resettlement and adjustment where the roles of kinship and
community have been paramount. Factors relating to socioeconomic
status, or to family status have been secondary considerations.

THE CHANGING RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

The pattern of Lettesi residential change from the time of initial
settlement till 1976 can best be described by considering the spatial

indices (Table 2), the distribution maps (Figs 16-20), and the linear

graphs showing proportions residing annually in the various suburbs

(Fig. 30).

The spatial indices, referred to in Chapter 1, show a trend

towards decreasing concentration and segregation and dissimilarity from

the host community. Nevertheless this trend is considerably less marked

than similar trends found for Italians generally and for other southern

European categories. Despite some degree of residential dispersion the

Lettesi remain relatively more concentrated and segregated.

The distribution maps (Figs 16-20) give geographical expression to

these statistical measures of association and may be compared with those

for Italians, generally (Figs 10-15).They show the initial concentration

in Islington, then movement to the adjoining areas of Mayfield and

Hamilton, a secondary concentration emerging in Lambton, consolidation

in Hamilton and finally, dispersion, by a small minority, to more

distant suburbs.

More detailed presentation of the pattern is given by graphs

showing annual suburban residence. These will be referred to in the

following account of the stages of community residential adjustment

(Fig. 30).

STAGES OF COMMUNITY RESIDENTIAL ADJUSTMENT

Stage 1 - Survival.

Islington was the primary focus of settlement for many of the

post-war immigrants to Newcastle, and especially for the Lettesi

community. Though not as close to the heavy industries as Mayfield,
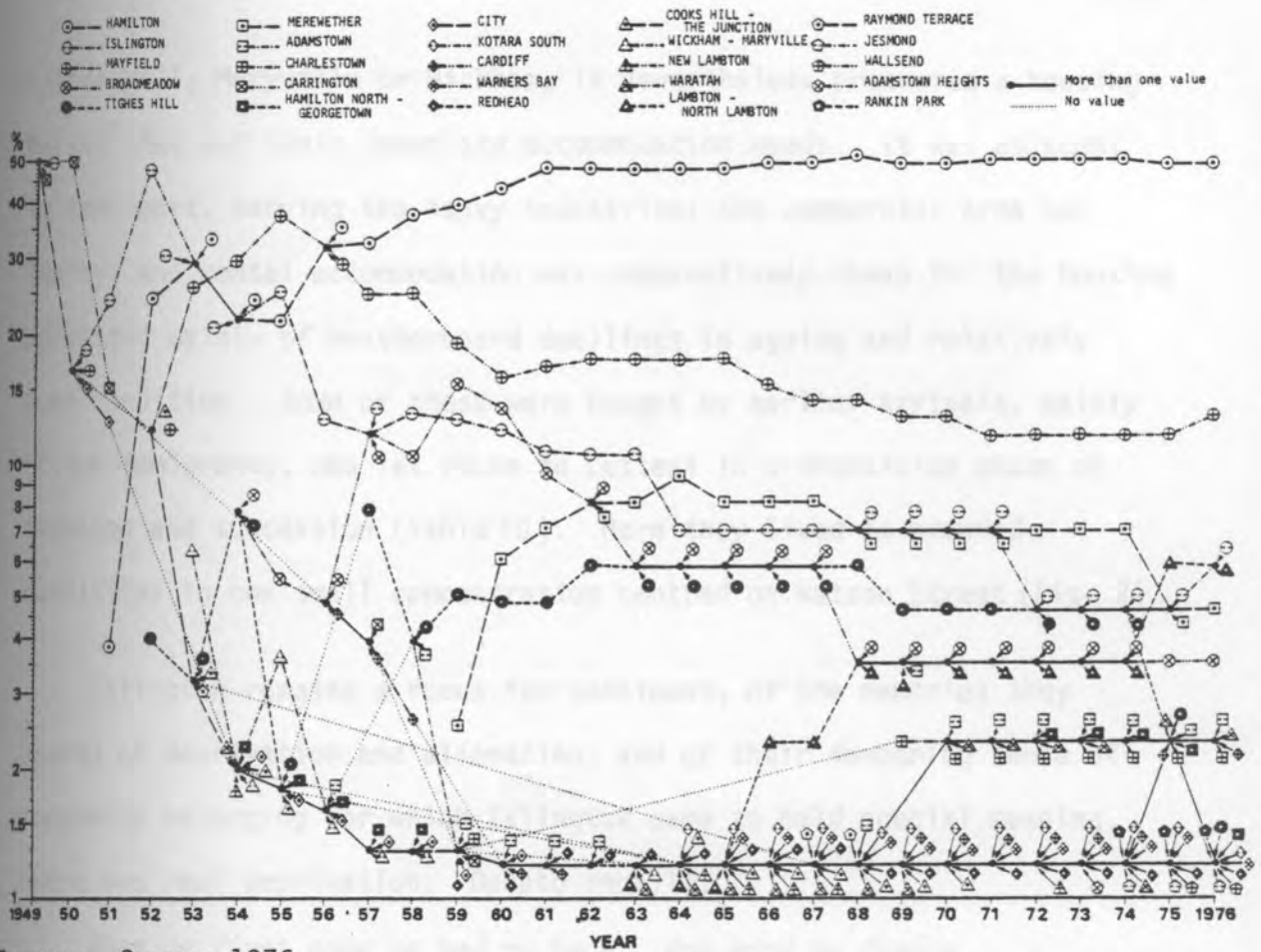
Source: Survey 1976
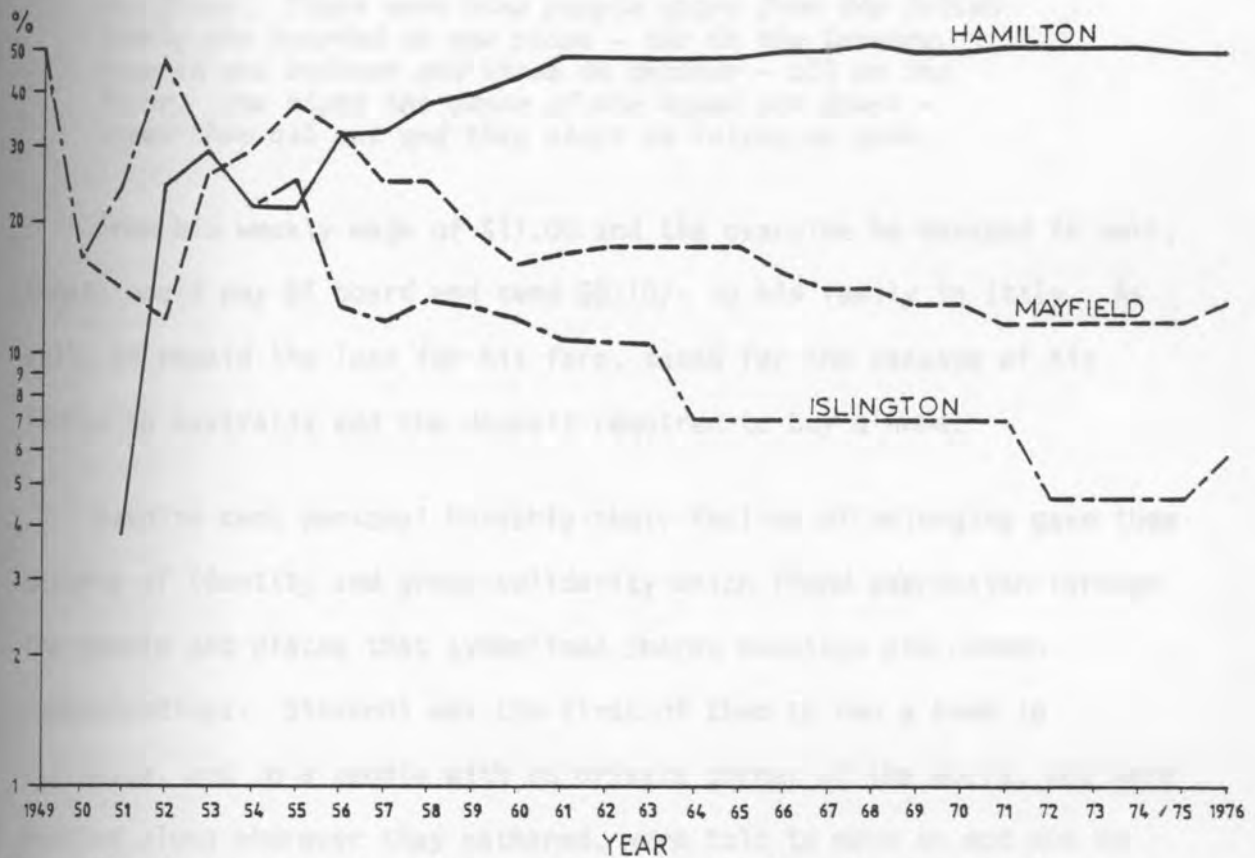
Figure 30: Proportions of Lettesi Residing Annually in Different Suburbs

Tighes Hill, Maryville or Wickham, it nevertheless presented a housing market that met their immediate accommodation needs. It was adjacent to transport, serving the heavy industries; the commercial area was nearby; and rental accommodation was comparatively cheap for the housing consisted mainly of weatherboard dwellings in ageing and relatively poor condition. Some of these were bought by earlier arrivals, mainly Polish immigrants, who let rooms to Lettesi in a transition phase of invasion and succession (Table 10). Here they lived in crowded conditions in one small concentration centred on Watson Street (Fig. 2).

Islington remains a focus for sentiment, of the memories they shared of deprivation and alienation, and of their deepening sense of community belonging for which Islington came to hold special meaning. There was real deprivation. Donato recalls:

> *When we first came we had no beds. Was hard to find a boarding house - if you wanted board you had to sleep on the floor. There were nine people apart from the Polish family who boarded at one place - two in the laundry, four in one bedroom and three in another - all on the floor. One night the owner of the house got drunk - threw them all out and they slept in Islington park.*

From his weekly wage of $11.00 and the overtime he managed to work, Donato would pay $1 board and send $8/10/- to his family in Italy. As well, he repaid the loan for his fare, saved for the passage of his family to Australia and the deposit required to buy a home.

Despite such personal hardship their feeling of belonging gave them a sense of identity and group solidarity which found expression through the people and places that symbolised shared meanings and common understandings. Giovanni was the first of them to own a home in Islington, and to a people with no private corner of the world, who were hustled along wherever they gathered, were told to move on and not to cause trouble, this was a small but significant piece of territory

TABLE 10

BOARD OR RENTAL ACCOMMODATION

Owner	No. Assisted with Accommodation
Lettesi	107
Other Italian	6
Polish	37
German	2
French	4
Yugoslav	2
Australian	5

Source: Survey 1976

TABLE 11

SUBURBS NOT PREFERRED

Suburb	Nominations (f)	% of Nominations*
Mayfield	61	25
Carrington	43	18
Islington	41	17
Wickham	32	13
Tighes Hill	22	9
Maryville	8	3
Hamilton	7	3
Cooks Hill	6	2
Waratah	5	2
Newcastle	3	1
Wallsend	3	1
Stockton	2	1
Belmont	2	1
Cardiff	2	1
Toronto	1	1
Charlestown	1	1
Merewether Hts	1	1
Warners Bay	1	1

Source: Survey 1976   N = 241

* Percentages Rounded Off

where they could gather together freely, discuss common problems and enjoy the company of fellow *paesani*. Giovanni would order Italian wine from Griffith and sell it to his friends for 2/- a bottle, and those with cigarettes would share them with the others. There, as Joe says, they would pool their information,

> *The voice was there all the time. If something was going on we all knew about it.*

For the Lettesi, information was the key to survival.

There were other symbols of Lettesi identity - Giovanni's neighbour, Mrs. Myra Kelly[1], a lifeline figure to many Lettesi; Mr. Small who owned the local delicatessen, who not only was the first to provide spaghetti, but who also lent money for a family to come from Italy; the Regent Corner at Maitland Road, Islington; and the first Italian club to open in Beaumont Street. Such symbols relating to people and place, by conveying a meaning, shared by Lettesi, gave coherence to their emergence as a distinctive community during this first and critical stage of settlement in Newcastle.

Stage 2 - Family Reunion

By 1952, 30% of the present Lettesi community were settled in Newcastle and 50% of these were living in Islington. By 1956, 74% had arrived but by then the distribution had radically changed to only 12% in Islington but increasingly to more than 30% in both Mayfield and Hamilton (Fig .30b). Of the suburbs adjacent to Islington these were the two which had resisted most effectively the kind of invasion/ succession process which was so characteristic of the Zone in

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[1]   More detail will be given in Chapter 5.

Transition and which was changing the residential character of
Islington (Cahill 1968). The housing market also satisfied their needs,
for as well as providing a more livable environment there was a high
proportion of older cottages, many of which could be bought very cheaply
as the ageing population declined.

At this stage of resettlement, family reunion was the overriding
imperative. To achieve this goal in minimum time, housing size and
quality became secondary considerations for the cost of a home had to
be finely balanced against all other financial commitments - the cost of
repaying the passage to Australia, the impending costs of resettling
their families, providing a livelihood for their families in the
village and their personal board and lodging in Newcastle. These were costs
incurred by the process of migration. Whatever could be saved on the
cost of a home could be redirected towards the important goal of
achieving an early family reunion.

To achieve this goal they often pooled their resources. They
would board together or buy a home with members of the nuclear and
extended families but sometimes, also, with friends from the village
(Table 10).[1] It was the most effective means of maximising savings - of
buying a home and avoiding rent, of repaying a loan quickly and
reducing interest, and of purchasing homes for the separate family units.
In 1953, within a year of living in Newcastle, Domenico and his father
had bought their first house, a small, timber cottage in Watson Street,
Islington. Three years later they bought a house for Domenico. He says:

---

1. This practice was common among southern Europeans, as already noted
   in Chapter 3 (Mapstone 1966; Cronin 1970; Huber 1977; Bottomley 1973;
   1979; Thompson 1980; Kirkland 1980). It is in marked contrast to
   some other European groups, for example the French (Stuer 1979) and
   Dutch (Meneke and van der Schaaf 1979).

All the time I worked I give all my money to him. We put our money together. When you split the money it's gone.

'*Interest was the enemy*', was a common remark, so they repaid their loans in minimum time, Ugo, in only 2½ years by having a daytime job as well as a nightshift at the B.H.P.

Marcello remembers:

We were so poor we always think of to-morrow. We scared. We afraid. We been going that road so long we couldn't change.

Adjustment to crowded and dilapidated housing was conditioned by a perception relative to their experience. The conditions they accepted were poor by Australian standards but vastly superior to those in the homeland where the village had been destroyed and they had lived in the stables. Now having a real home gave immense satisfaction. Frangesco was the first to buy a home in Hamilton and Vincenza, his daughter, recalls the delight with which they received the good news.

I remember it was a palace the way he told it to Mum.

During this phase of Lettesi resettlement, residential choice was influenced predominantly by the ethnic factors of family and community. Both socioeconomic status and stage of the life cycle were low priority considerations. All the Lettesi wanted was '*something to move into*', '*a roof over the head*' so they could sponsor their families, for family reunion was the primary objective. Buying a home, whether in Hamilton, or in Mayfield, not only provided the means to this objective but also to maintaining community bonds which were still very important in their struggle for survival.

Stage 3 - Community Consolidation (Table 12; Figure 30)

By 1957 when 90% of the Lettesi in Newcastle had settled there

TABLE 12

SUBURBS PREFERRED

(a) 1st Choice

Male			Female		
Suburb	No.	%	Suburb	No.	%
Hamilton	37	45	Hamilton	32	52
Charlestown	11	14	Merewether	9	15
Merewether	6	7	Charlestown	4	6
Kotara South	4	5	Mayfield	3	5
Highfields	4	5	Islington	2	3
Mayfield	3	4	Broadmeadow	2	3
Warners Bay	3	4	Warners Bay	2	3
Islington	2	2	Bar Beach	1	2
Broadmeadow	1	1	Highfields	1	2
Waratah	1	1	Kotara South	1	2
North Lambton	1	1	Newcastle	1	2
New Lambton	1	1	Glebe	1	2
Cardiff	1	1	Adamstown Hts	1	2
Wallsend	1	1	Wallsend	1	2
Whitebridge	1	1	Coal Point	1	2
Bar Beach	1	1			
Redhead	1	1			
Waratah	1	1			
Caves Beach	1	1			
Belmont	1	1			

N = 82   N = 62

TABLE 12 cont'd

(b) 2nd Choice

Male			Female		
Suburb	No.	%	Suburb	No.	%
Merewether	15	26	Hamilton	8	24
Hamilton	11	19	Charlestown	6	18
Charlestown	8	14	Kotara Sth	6	18
Kotara Sth	6	11	Merewether	4	12
Broadmeadow	5	9	Broadmeadow	3	9
Mayfield	3	5	Mayfield	3	9
Belmont	2	3	Adamstown Hts	1	3
Nth Lambton	2	3	Nth Lambton	1	3
Adamstown Hts	2	3	Wallsend	1	3
Wallsend	1	2			
New Lambton	1	2			
Coal Pt.	1	2			
	N = 57			N = 33	

TABLE 12 cont'd

(c)   3rd Choice

Male			Female		
Suburb	No.	%	Suburb	No.	%
Merewether	9	18	Charlestown	7	23
Charlestown	7	14	Hamilton	5	17
Kotara Sth	5	10	Kotara Sth	4	13
Adamstown Hts	5	10	Merewether	2	7
Hamilton	5	10	Broadmeadow	2	7
Glebe	3	6	Mayfield	2	7
Broadmeadow	2	4	Belmont	2	7
Nth Lambton	2	4	Nth Lambton	1	3
Belmont	2	4	Bar Beach	1	3
Redhead	2	4	Whitebridge	1	3
Mayfield	1	2	Newcastle	1	3
New Lambton	1	2	Glebe	1	3
Bar Beach	1	2	Georgetown	1	3
Highfields	1	2			
Wallsend	1	2			
Waratah	1	2			
Caves Beach	1	2			
Valentine	1	2			
Coal Pt	1	2			
	N = 51			N = 30	

TABLE 12 cont'd

(d)　Suburbs Preferred, Weighted Scores*

Suburbs	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hamilton	138	35	117	42	255	38
Merewether	54	14	34	12	88	13
Charlestown	56	14	31	11	87	13
Kotara Sth	29	7	19	7	48	7
Mayfield	16	4	17	6	33	5
Broadmeadow	15	4	10	4	25	4
Warners Bay	9	2	6	2	15	2
Adamstown Heights	9	2	5	2	14	2
Highfields	10	3	3	1	13	2
Islington	6	1	6	2	12	2
Nth. Lambton	9	2	3	1	12	2
Belmont	9	2	2	1	11	2
Wallsend	6	1	5	2	11	2
Bar Beach	4	1	4	1	8	1
Glebe	0	0	7	3	7	1
New Lambton	6	1	0	0	6	1
Coal Point	3	1	3	1	6	1
Redhead	5	1	0	0	5	1
Waratah	4	1	0	0	4	1
Whitebridge	3	1	1	0	4	1
Newcastle	0	0	4	1	4	1
Caves Beach	4	1	0	0	4	1
Cardiff	3	1	0	0	3	0
Valentine	1	0	0	0	1	0
Georgetown	0	0	1	0	1	0
	N = 399		N = 278		N = 677	

*Weightings

1st Choice Score 3

2nd Choice Score 2

3rd Choice Score 1

Percentages Rounded Off.
Source:　Survey 1976

permanently, the community had already shown a preference for Hamilton (Fig. 30). A locational choice tension between Mayfield and Hamilton had clearly been apparent in 1956 but now Hamilton was the focus for community consolidation. From information on suburbs where they did *not* want to live it is clear that Lettesi held a negative image of Mayfield, describing the general area as being too polluted. The adjoining suburbs in the Zone in Transition, including Carrington, Islington, Tighes Hill and Wickham, were also unpopular because of pollution and heavy traffic (Fig.31; Table 11). By 1962 when the last of the families arrived, nearly 50% were resident in Hamilton and this proportion was sustained until 1976, the year of the field survey. Between 1956 and 1960 the early popularity of Mayfield had declined, its proportion showing stability until 1965 then continuing its decline until 1971. Mayfield has since retained about 11% of the community, mainly older settlers and some of the married children who have tended to follow a patrilocal pattern of residence in their initial choice of marital home. Of the remaining members most of them form part of this inner-city Lettesi concentration, living mainly in suburbs contiguous to Hamilton, with proportions varying between 2% and 8%. The rest have dispersed into some of the outer suburbs. As the graphs suggest, the community shows a remarkable degree of residential stability (Fig. 30).

For most of the Lettesi now residing in the concentration this is the final stage of resettlement and adjustment. Problems of survival belong with the past and family reunion has been achieved; but community remains an ethnic imperative, and is still more important in residential relocation than socioeconomic status or stages of the life cycle. Problems relating to these dimensions have mainly been resolved within the concentration. The majority continue to identify with the community and to Hamilton as its territorial focus. To them, 'Hamilton'
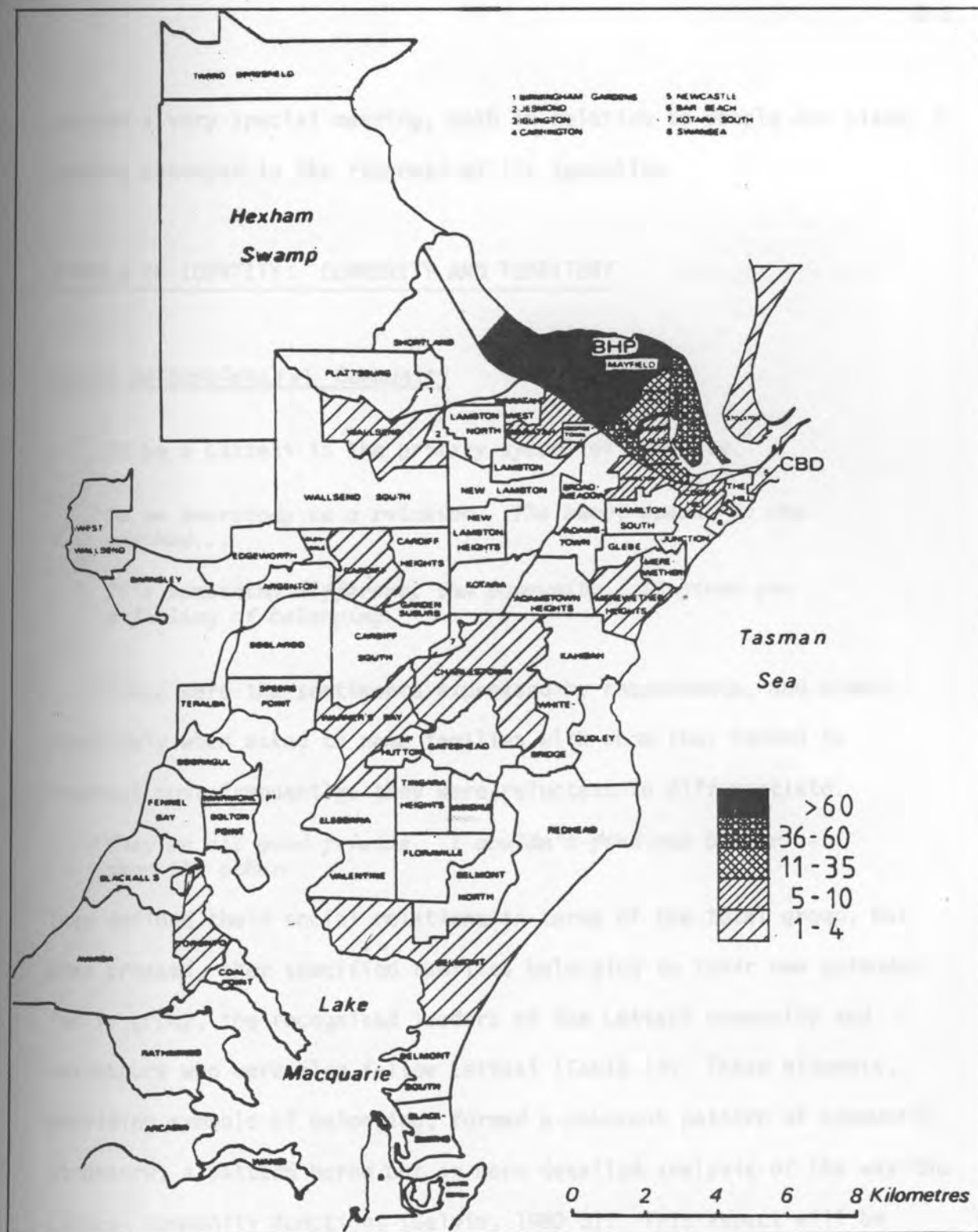
Figure 31: Suburbs Not Preferred

carries a very special meaning, both in relation to people and place, a meaning conveyed in the richness of its symbolism.

SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY: COMMUNITY AND TERRITORY

Little Lettopalena (a) Community

To be a Lettesi is the primary symbol of identity.

To me everybody is a relation. The heart speaks to one another...

It's something different, the community. It gives you a feeling of belonging.

These were the sentiments expressed by respondents, and almost invariably when asked to name families with whom they tended to interact most frequently, they were reluctant to differentiate.

They're all good friends. I couldn't find one better than the other.

They defined their social relations in terms of the total group, but when pressed, they specified families belonging to their own extended family group, the recognised leaders of the Lettesi community and neighbours who were also fellow Lettesi (Table 13). These elements, providing symbols of belonging, formed a coherent pattern of community structure, a pattern borne out in more detailed analysis of the way the Lettesi community functions (Galvin, 1980 d). This aspect will be examined in the following chapter.

The strong kinship basis of community solidarity is apparent from a comparison of the social interaction graph with the graph showing kinship interconnections (Figs 32,33). There is a high degree of similarity. The bonding function of extended kin relations can be seen, as well, from the kinship matrix which illustrates connections to the

TABLE 13

SOCIAL POSITION WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

Committee Membership No. of years	Kinship Network No. of Households	Sociometric Nominations (No.)
14	3	12
12	13	23
10	16	19
7	4	9
6	15	21
6	15	18
3	7	2
2	12	8
2	6	9
2	5	7
1	10	21
1	8	5
1	0	2

Source: Survey 1976
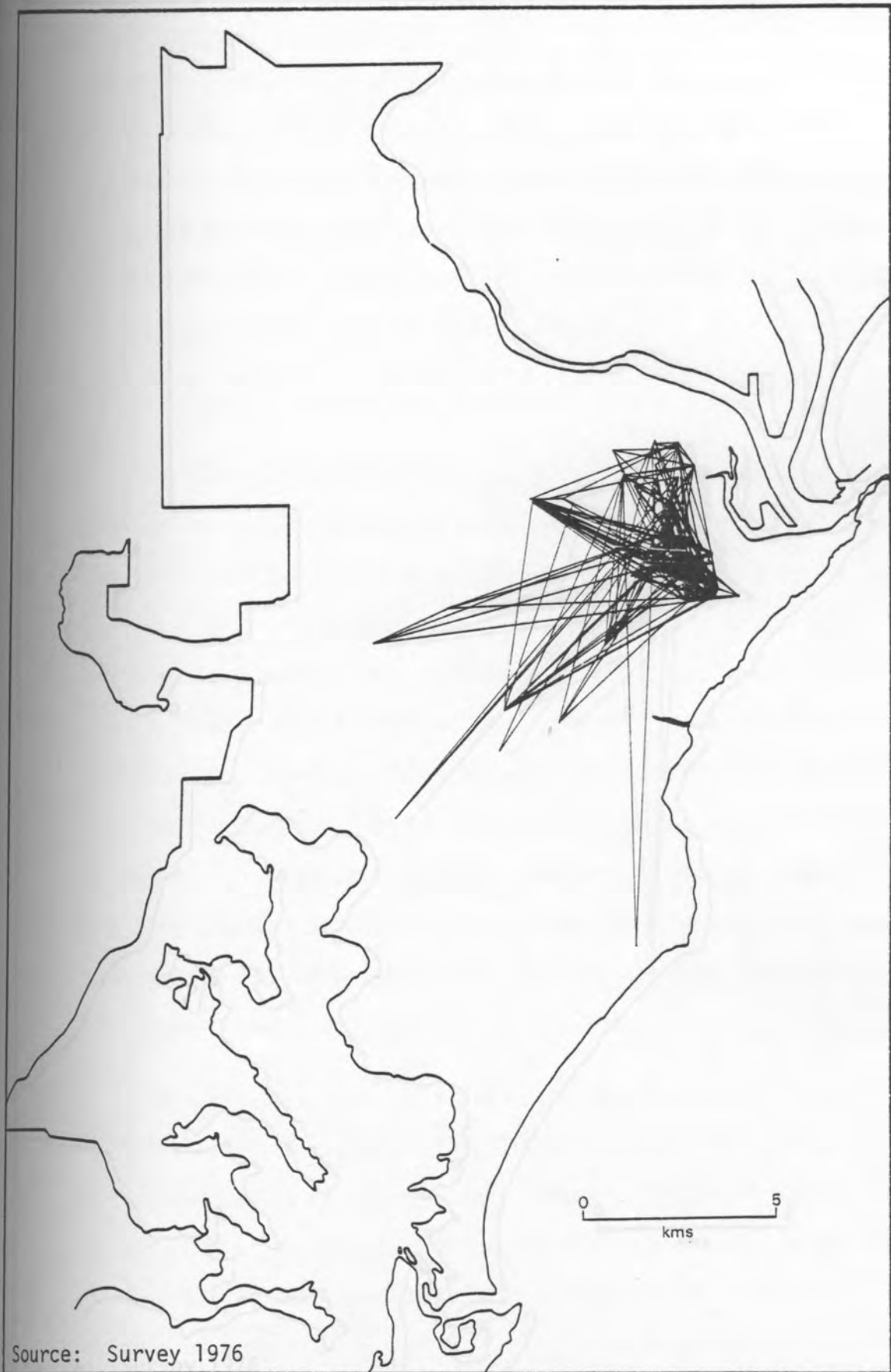
Source: Survey 1976

Figure 32: Social Interaction Graph (Galvin 1981d)

Source: Survey 1976
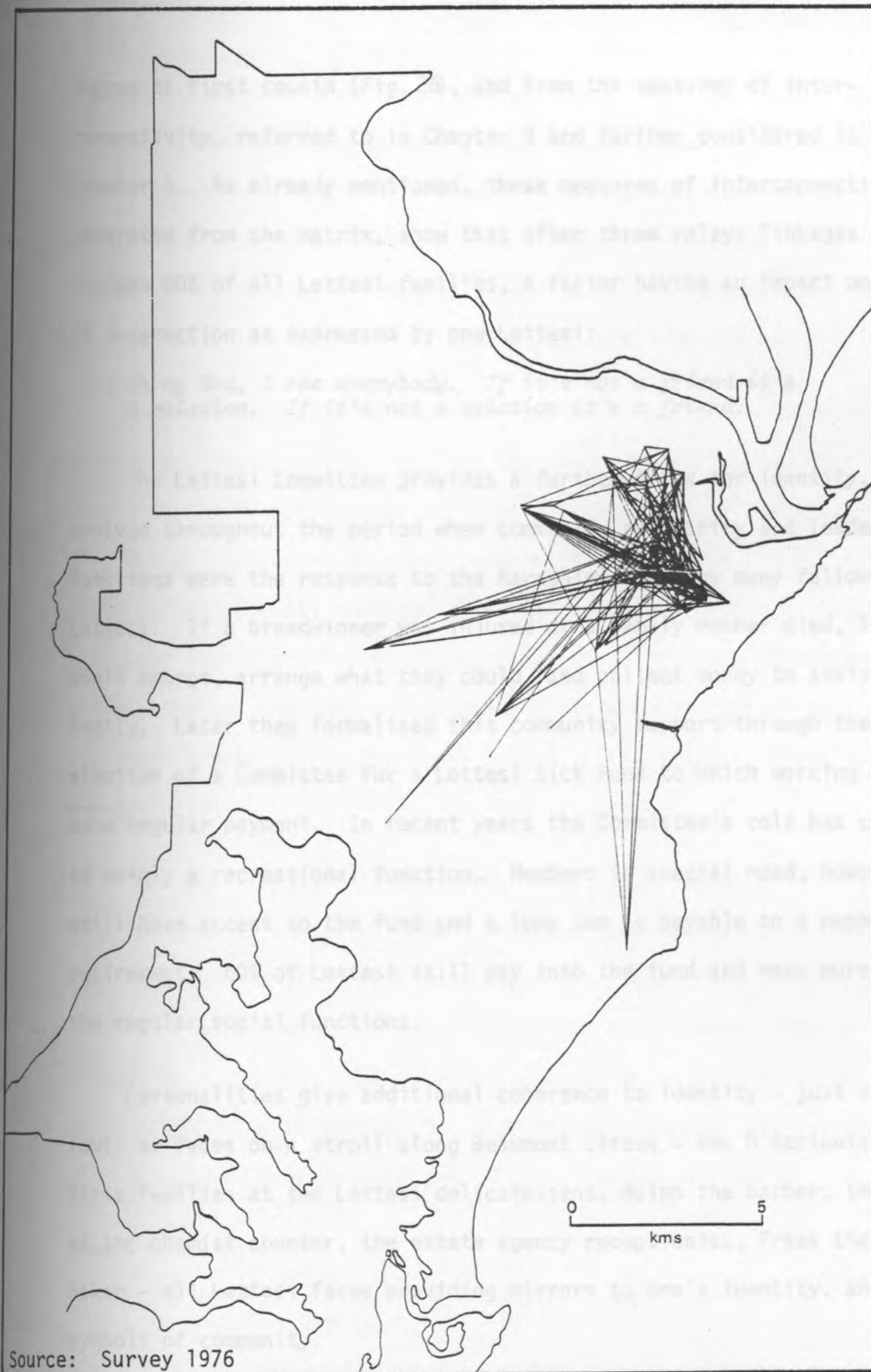
Figure 33: Kinship Interconnections Graph (Galvin 1981d)

degree of first cousin (Fig. 26), and from the measures of inter-
connectivity, referred to in Chapter 3 and further considered in
Chapter 5. As already mentioned, these measures of interconnectivity,
generated from the matrix, show that after three relays linkages exist
between 80% of all Lettesi families, a factor having an impact on levels
of interaction as expressed by one Lettesi:

> *Oh my God, I see everybody. If it's not a friend it's
> a relation. If it's not a relation it's a friend.*

The Lettesi Committee provides a further focus for identity. It
evolved throughout the period when community solidarity and leadership
functions were the response to the hardships faced by many fellow
Lettesi. If a breadwinner was injured or a family member died, leaders
would emerge, arrange what they could, and collect money to assist the
family. Later they formalised this community support through the
election of a Committee for a Lettesi Sick Fund to which working members
made regular payment. In recent years the Committee's role has changed
to mainly a recreational function. Members in special need, however,
still have access to the fund and a lump sum is payable to a member on
retirement. 60% of Lettesi still pay into the fund and many more attend
the regular social functions.

Personalities give additional coherence to identity - just seeing
familiar faces on a stroll along Beaumont Street - the D'Accionis and de
Vitis families at the Lettesi delicatessens, Ralph the barber, the girl
at the chemist counter, the estate agency receptionist, Frank the local
baker - all Lettesi faces providing mirrors to one's identity, and
symbols of community.

(b) Territory

Patterns of kinship and interaction, binding the community into a

complex social web, have their spatial dimension. The spatial patterns of kinship and interaction have a high degree of density and interconnectivity which intensifies within the core concentration (Figs 32,33). Here neighbouring occurs with a high degree of frequency, patrilocal residence is found as a tendency, and with only one exception leaders of the community live within this area of densest interaction.

The exception is Antonio, the Foundation Secretary who moved to Lambton for reasons of health, but who, nevertheless spends most of his time with family and friends in Hamilton. Another six families settled in Lambton, forming a secondary concentration within a few blocks of one another, two of these families being next door neighbours. Although they have left the original concentration they have not dispersed in any real sense, and they retain close links with the parent community, a feature apparent from the above graphs, (Figs 32,33). There is only one exception.

From the graphs it is clear that Hamilton provides the territorial focus of Lettesi identity. When asked for the suburbs where they would most like to live if housing costs were not a constraint, 45% of men and 52% of women emphatically made Hamilton their primary choice (Figure 34, Table 12).Their replies, given with conviction, express their attachment. Vincenza, for example, referring to her father, said:

> Merewether Heights would be like putting him in a cage.
> He'd die right away. Hamilton or die.

Others commented:

> Italy first, then Hamilton. No-where else. Hamilton.
> I would never change.

> I like Hamilton. You know, the place I live. Hamilton.
> That's all it boils down to - Hamilton. Little Italy.
> I like it just here.

> Always liked Hamilton. Little Lettopalena.
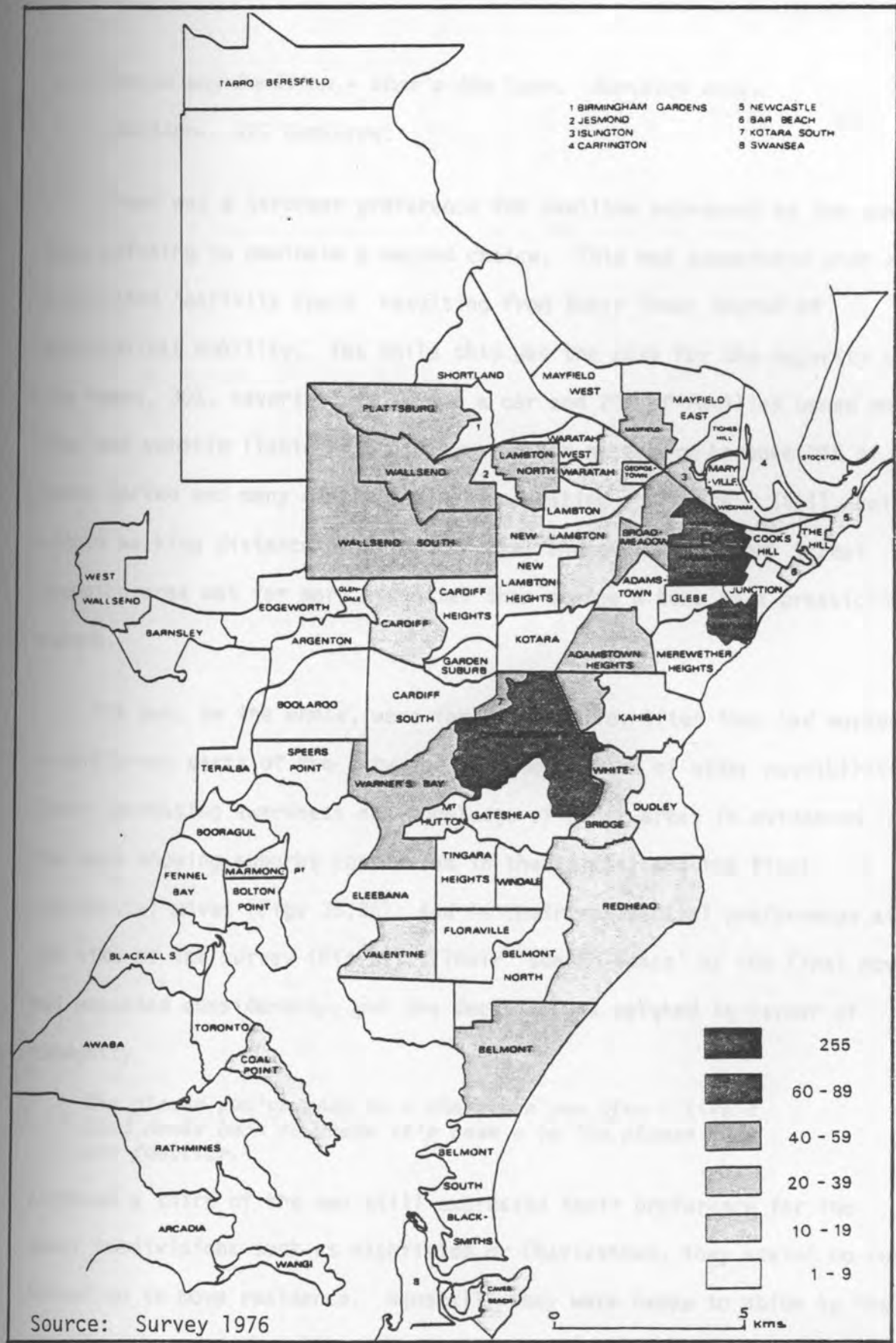
Figure 34: Suburbs Preferred

People say Hamilton - that's the best. Hamilton only.
Hamilton. All Hamilton.

There was a stronger preference for Hamilton expressed by the women, many refusing to nominate a second choice. This was associated with a restricted 'activity space' resulting from their lower degree of geographical mobility. Yet while this was the case for the majority of the women, 30%, nevertheless, drove a car and 20% of families owned more then one vehicle (Table 14). This was often necessary because 36% of women worked and many of the men were operating shiftwork. Still, being within walking distance of friend or kin, and of the Beaumont Street shopping area was far more essential than owning a home in a prestigious suburb.

The men, on the whole, were far more mobile. Often they had worked in different parts of the city and were more aware of other possibilities. Their increasing awareness and knowledge of other areas is evidenced in the maps showing suburbs considered in the initial and the final residential moves (Figs 35,36); and in their residential preferences at the time of the survey (Fig.37). Their 'search space' by the final move, had expanded considerably, yet the decision was weighed in favour of community.

The places you've been to - the place you live - like a
bird comes back to where it's been - to the places that
are familiar.

Although a third of the men still expressed their preference for the newer subdivisions such as Highfields or Charlestown, they stated no real intention to move residence. Generally they were happy to abide by their wives' wishes and they liked the Hamilton area. A composite mental map of the Newcastle urban area, arranged from information from the male heads of households, shows the dominance of Hamilton, even for the men (Fig. 38).

TABLE 14

TRANSPORT

(a) Mode and Purpose

	Work No.	General (Shopping/visiting) No.
Car/Truck	50	70
Bus	19	37
Bike	4	5
Walk	3	41

(b) Car Ownership and Users

(i) No. of Cars in Family

	No. of Cars in Family		
	1	2	3
f	50	18	2

(ii) Users

	Husband	Wife	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
f	68	26	13	2	1

Source: Survey 1976

Figure 35:   Suburbs Considered, First Residence

Figure 36: Suburbs Considered, Final Residence

Source: Survey 1976

5km

Source: Survey 1976
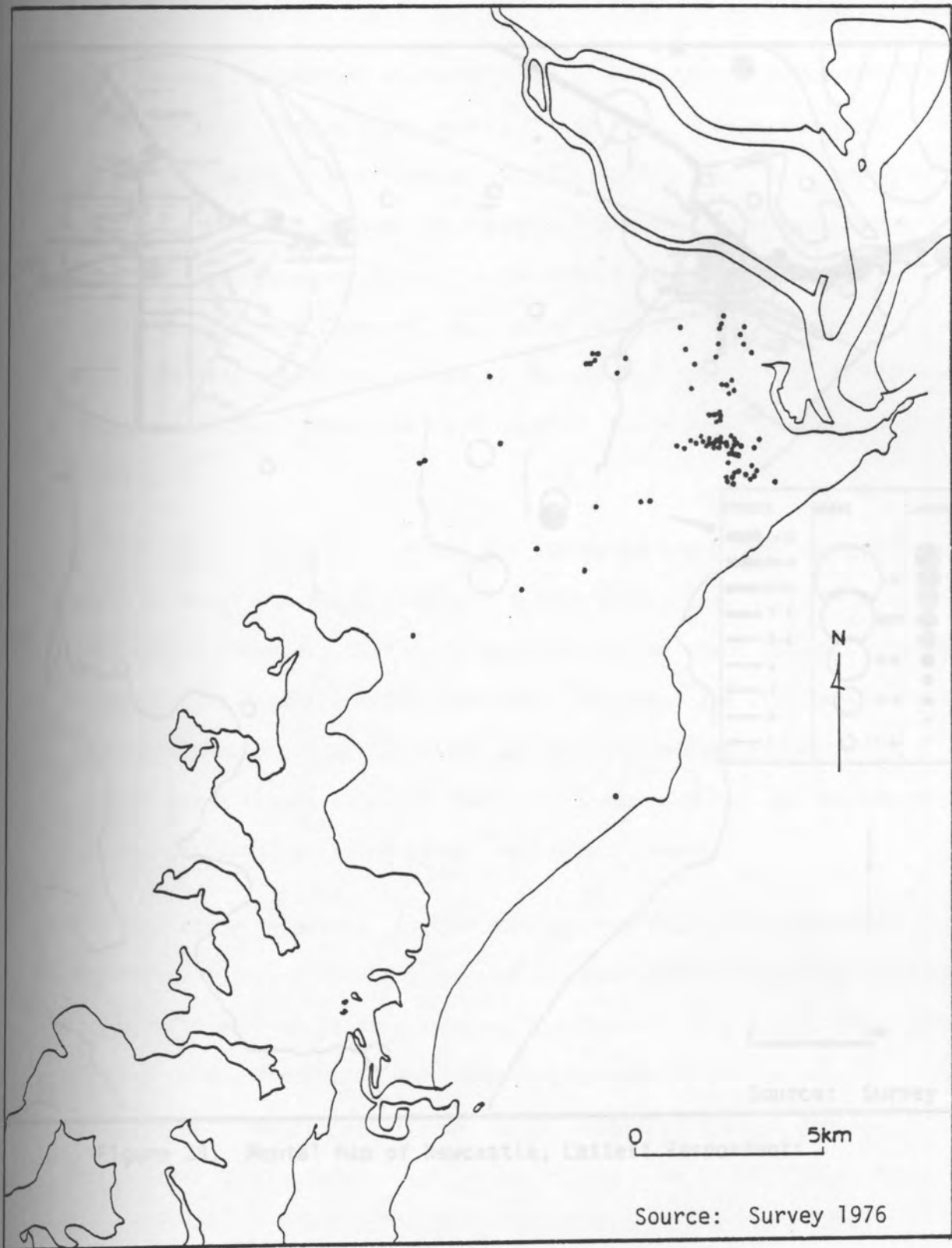
Figure 37: Lettesi Residence 1976
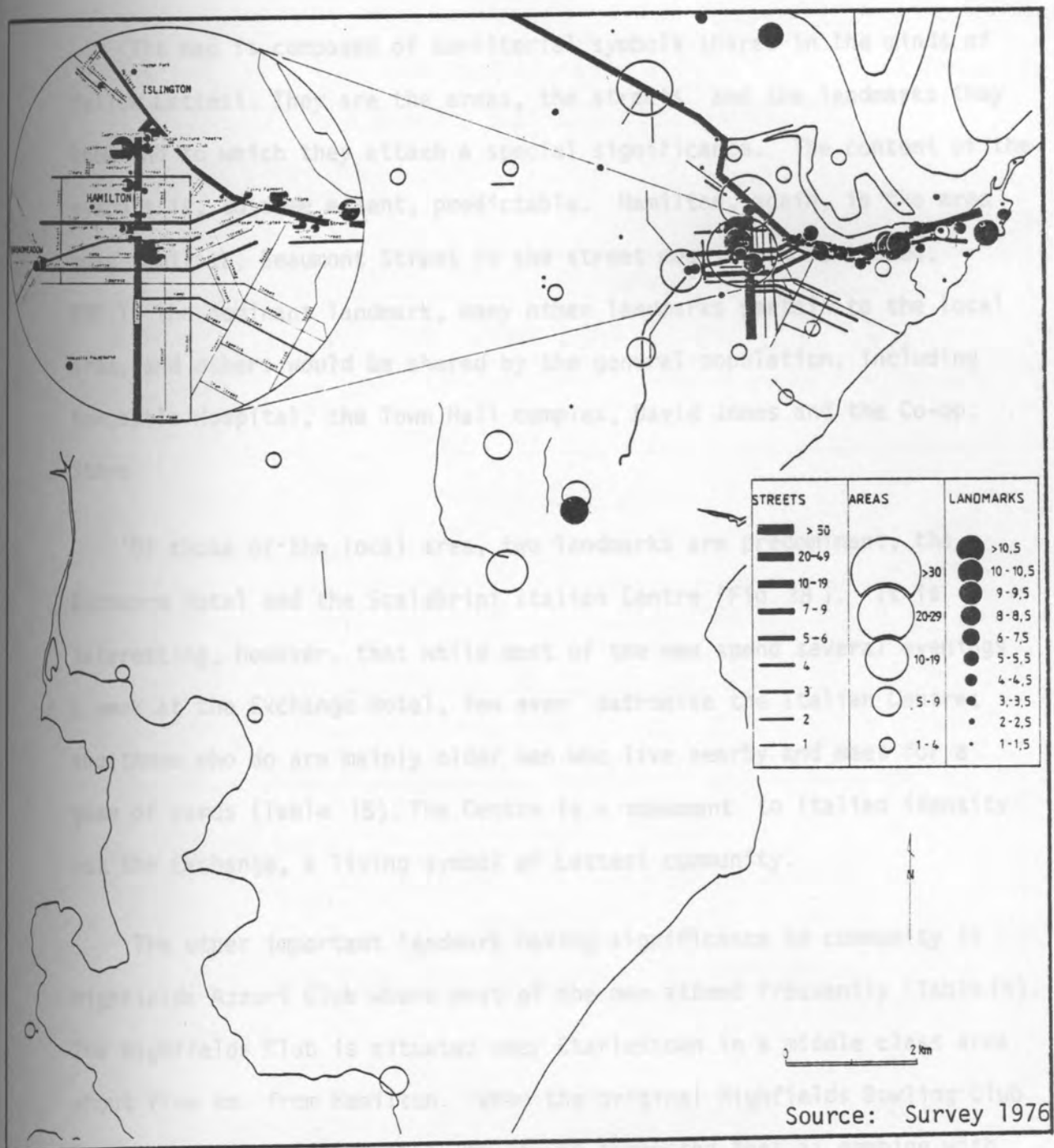
Figure 38: Mental Map of Newcastle, Lettesi Respondents

The map is composed of territorial symbols shared in the minds of fellow Lettesi. They are the areas, the streets and the landmarks they know and to which they attach a special significance. The content of the symbols is, to some extent, predictable. Hamilton, again, is the area most familiar, Beaumont Street is the street most often mentioned, BHP is the dominant landmark, many other landmarks pertain to the local area, and others would be shared by the general population, including Newcastle Hospital, the Town Hall complex, David Jones and the Co-op. Store.

Of those of the local area, two landmarks are predominant, the Exchange Hotel and the Scalabrini Italian Centre (Fig. 38). It is interesting, however, that while most of the men spend several evenings a week at the Exchange Hotel, few ever patronise the Italian Centre; and those who do are mainly older men who live nearby and meet for a game of cards (Table 15). The Centre is a monument to Italian identity but the Exchange, a living symbol of Lettesi community.

The other important landmark having significance to community is Highfields Azzuri Club where most of the men attend frequently (Table 16). The Highfields Club is situated near Charlestown in a middle class area about five km. from Hamilton. When the original Highfields Bowling Club encountered financial difficulty it was suggested that it combine with the Italian Azzuri Soccer Club, changing its name to Highfields Azzuri. A Lettesi was influential in the original transaction, the Lettesi President is the club's Vice President, and their membership in the club is now sufficiently high that many identify the club with the Lettesi. This feeling of belonging to the Highfields Azzuri has undermined attempts by some of the leaders to establish separate Lettesi club premises. By providing such a focus for community interaction the Exchange Hotel and

TABLE 15

ATTENDANCE SCALABRINI CENTRE, MALE RESPONDENTS

(a) Frequency

Yes	No	Frequency						
		4/wk	1/wk	1/2wk	1/mth	1/yr	Some times	Not often
27	59	1	4	1	1	1	11	8

(b) Purpose - Church

	Yes	No	Frequency	
			Weekly	Special feastdays
	10	76	1	9

Source: Survey 1976

TABLE 16

ATTENDANCE HIGHFIELDS AZZURI CLUB, MALE RESPONDENTS

(a) Frequency

Yes	No	Frequency					
		4/wk	3/wk	2/wk	1/wk	1/2wk	Some times
56	30	4	6	6	17	2	21

(b) Main Purpose

	No.
Dance	47
Dart Club	41

Source: Survey 1976

Highfields Azzuri not only provide important symbols of identity but they also facilitate the persistence of community.

Their attachment to Highfields Azzuri Club and their frequency of attendance there (Table 16) explains very largely the residential preference of the men for Highfields, Charlestown and Kotara, suburbs within a few km. of the club (Fig.1). To the extent that there has been sectoral dispersion it has extended mainly in two directions - SW towards Highfields, Kotara and Charlestown, and W towards Mayfield, Waratah and North Lambton, North Lambton being the focus for secondary concentration. Still the territorial focus for identity is Hamilton.

THE ROLE OF 'COMMUNITY' IN RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION

I have defined the concept of residential integration as a process whereby links are created providing channels of access to the urban housing market. But before examining the role of the community in providing interpersonal channels of access I shall look at Lettesi patterns of residence and at the kind of information or assistance they required.

During the early period of resettlement in Newcastle, the Lettesi experienced a high rate of mobility, similar in pattern to Greeks in Illawarra (Robinson and Kambesis 1977). If one examines the appropriate tables (Table 17)(p.280), it is the cell representing initial residence and shortest stays which has the highest frequency, with length of stay increasing with subsequent moves. Similar patterns have been observed for other groups including Dutch and Greeks in Adelaide (Gibson 1967) and Armenians in Sydney (Kirkland 1980).

Residential needs varied during this period of high mobility,

TABLE 17

RESIDENTIAL SEQUENCE AND LENGTH OF STAY, LETTESI HOUSEHOLDS

Length of Stay	Residential Sequence									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
< 6 mnths	38	13	8	7	2	1	-	-	-	-
< 6 mnths - <1 yr	13	17	12	3	4	2	-	-	-	-
1 yr	15	19	10	7	4	2	1	-	-	-
2 yrs	5	4	9	5	3	2	-	-	-	-
3 yrs	3	6	4	9	1	1	2	-	-	1
4 yrs	1	2	5	1	3	2	2	-	-	-
5 yrs	1	4	4	3	1	1	2	-	-	-
6 - 10 yrs	3	10	5	6	3	2	2	1	-	-
11 - 15 yrs	5	4	12	5	7	5	2	2	-	-
16 - 20 yrs	1	4	4	8	3	3	2	-	-	-
20 yrs	1	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Survey 1976

depending, first, upon the mode of immigration and, secondly, the operation of primary and secondary chains. Immigrants who arrived with Assisted Passage would stay initially in government hostels and primary chain immigrants were accommodated by sponsors; but in Newcastle the pattern was different for Lettesi, many of whom came via secondary chains with Proserpine being their primary 'port of call'.

They depended, in Newcastle, first on Giovanni, son of Giacomo, the Lettesi pioneer. Giovanni had moved to Newcastle at the close of the war and from there he had assisted the migration to Proserpine. Now he was the contact for resettlement in Newcastle. Secondly, they depended on the emergence of a group of leaders from the older generation who were first to leave the canefields to establish more permanent homes for their families. Finally, as more of the settlers arrived, support was provided by a wider range of households, mainly by family or extended kin. During this period, the principal requirement was to find cheap boarding accommodation near friends.

A summary of those providing boarding accommodation is presented in Table 10. Polish refugees who had arrived a few years earlier and were struggling to pay off their initial home quickly, provided board accommodation for the earlier arrivals, especially the older men. They, in turn, were the first to purchase homes and to provide accommodation for other Lettesi. It can be seen from Table 18 that board accommodation was provided mainly by other Lettesi.

As Kirkland has indicated, residential stability was associated mainly with the trend towards home ownership (Kirkland 1980, p.175). It is significant in the Lettesi case that home ownership achieves its peak with the move to the fourth residential location (Table 19), and that four was also the modal number of moves (Fig.39 ; Table 19).

TABLE 18

RESIDENTIAL SEQUENCE AND BOARD ACCOMMODATION, LETTESI HOUSEHOLDS

Board of Providers	Residential Sequence									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Lettesi	62	51	31	10	8	2	-	-	-	-
Other Italian	6	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Polish	18	10	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	-
German	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
French	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yugoslav	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Australian	-	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Own/ Shared Home	1	20	33	41	25	19	9	3	-	1

Source: Survey 1976

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF RESIDENTIAL MOVES, LETTESI HOUSEHOLDS %

% No. of Moves										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No. of Households	1	13	21	23	16	14	7	3	0	1

Percentages are rounded off to nearest whole number.

Source: Survey 1976

TABLE 20

MAJOR INTERPERSONAL CHANNELS (LETTESI) FOR HOUSING INFORMATION, AND AGE

Interpersonal Channel	Age	No. of Households
Joe	47	26 (Agent)
Corrado	61	13
Donato	63	11
Giovanni	70	9
Guido	58	9
Frangesco	61	9

Source: Survey 1976
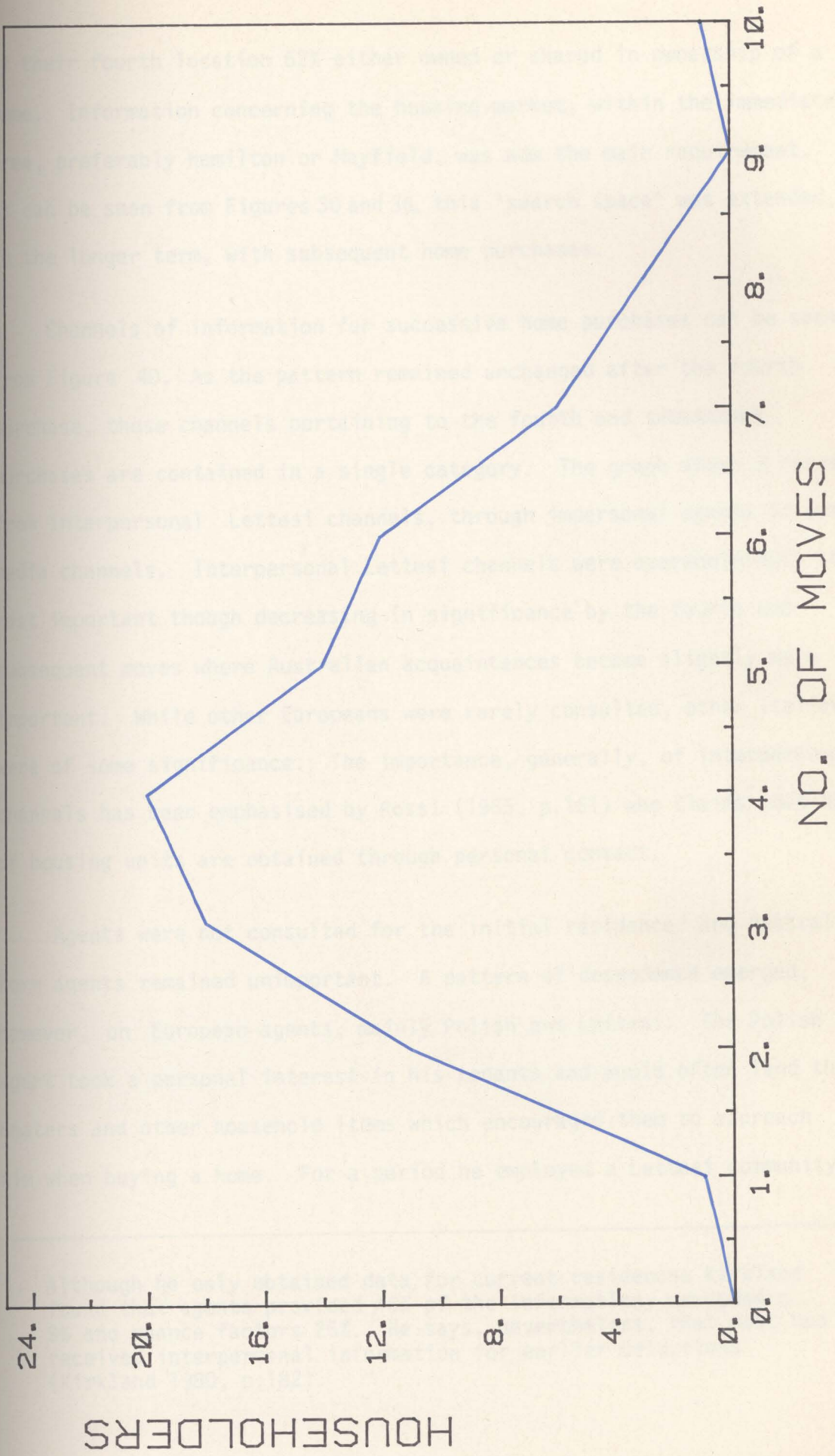
Figure 39: Residential Moves, Linear Graph

By their fourth location 62% either owned or shared in ownership of a home. Information concerning the housing market, within the immediate area, preferably Hamilton or Mayfield, was now the main requirement. As can be seen from Figures 30 and 36, this 'search space' was extended, in the longer term, with subsequent home purchases.

Channels of information for successive home purchases can be seen from Figure 40. As the pattern remained unchanged after the fourth purchase, those channels pertaining to the fourth and subsequent purchases are contained in a single category. The graph shows a range from interpersonal Lettesi channels, through impersonal agents to mass media channels. Interpersonal Lettesi channels were overwhelmingly the most important though decreasing in significance by the fourth and subsequent moves where Australian acquaintances became slightly more important. While other Europeans were rarely consulted, other Italians were of some significance. The importance, generally, of interpersonal channels has been emphasised by Rossi (1955, p.161) who claims that 50% of housing units are obtained through personal contact.

Agents were not consulted for the initial residence[1] and Australian-born agents remained unimportant. A pattern of dependence emerged, however, on European agents, mainly Polish and Lettesi. The Polish agent took a personal interest in his tenants and would often lend them heaters and other household items which encouraged them to approach him when buying a home. For a period he employed a Lettesi community

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1. Although he only obtained data for current residences Kirkland found that agents provided 46% of the information, newspapers 9% and chance factors 25%. He says, nevertheless, that most had received interpersonal information for earlier selections (Kirkland 1980, p.182).
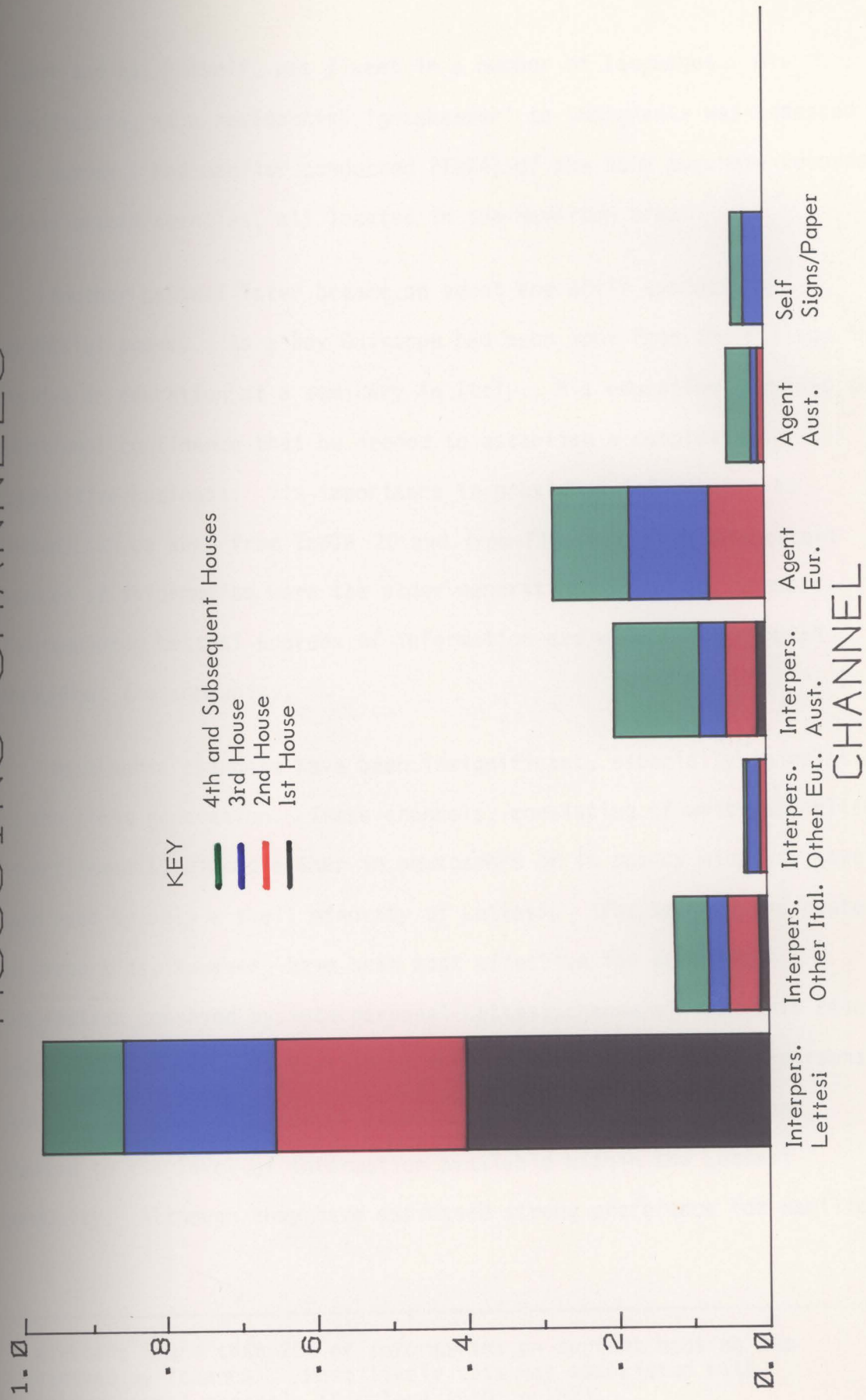
Figure 40: Information Channels, Housing

leader and he, himself, was fluent in a number of languages. His significance, as a residential 'gatekeeper' to immigrants was assessed in a survey I had earlier conducted (1974) of the home purchase records of six estate agencies, all located in the Hamilton area.

Another Lettesi later became an agent and still conducts a successful agency. As a boy Guiseppe had been sent from the village to receive an education at a seminary in Italy. His education provided the additional confidence that he needed to establish a complex and competitive business. His importance in providing information to Lettesi can be seen from Table 20 and from Fig. 41. Other important sources of information were the older generation of Lettesi leaders. The remaining Lettesi sources of information are widely distributed throughout the community.

Mass media channels have been insignificant, especially in relation to the first generation. These channels, consisting of written English advertisements, placed either in newspapers or in agency windows, have been used by only a small minority of Lettesi. 'For sale' signs posted on properties, however, have been most effective for providing information conveyed by interpersonal Lettesi channels.[1] In this case, however, information is limited to the activity spaces of interpersonal sources. Access to the urban housing market, generally, has been limited to the level of information available within the Lettesi community. Although they have expressed strong preference for Hamilton,

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1. Kirkland found that 25% of information on current housing was derived by 'chance'. Most likely this was associated with interpersonal channels (Kirkland 1980, p.182).

RECEIVERS
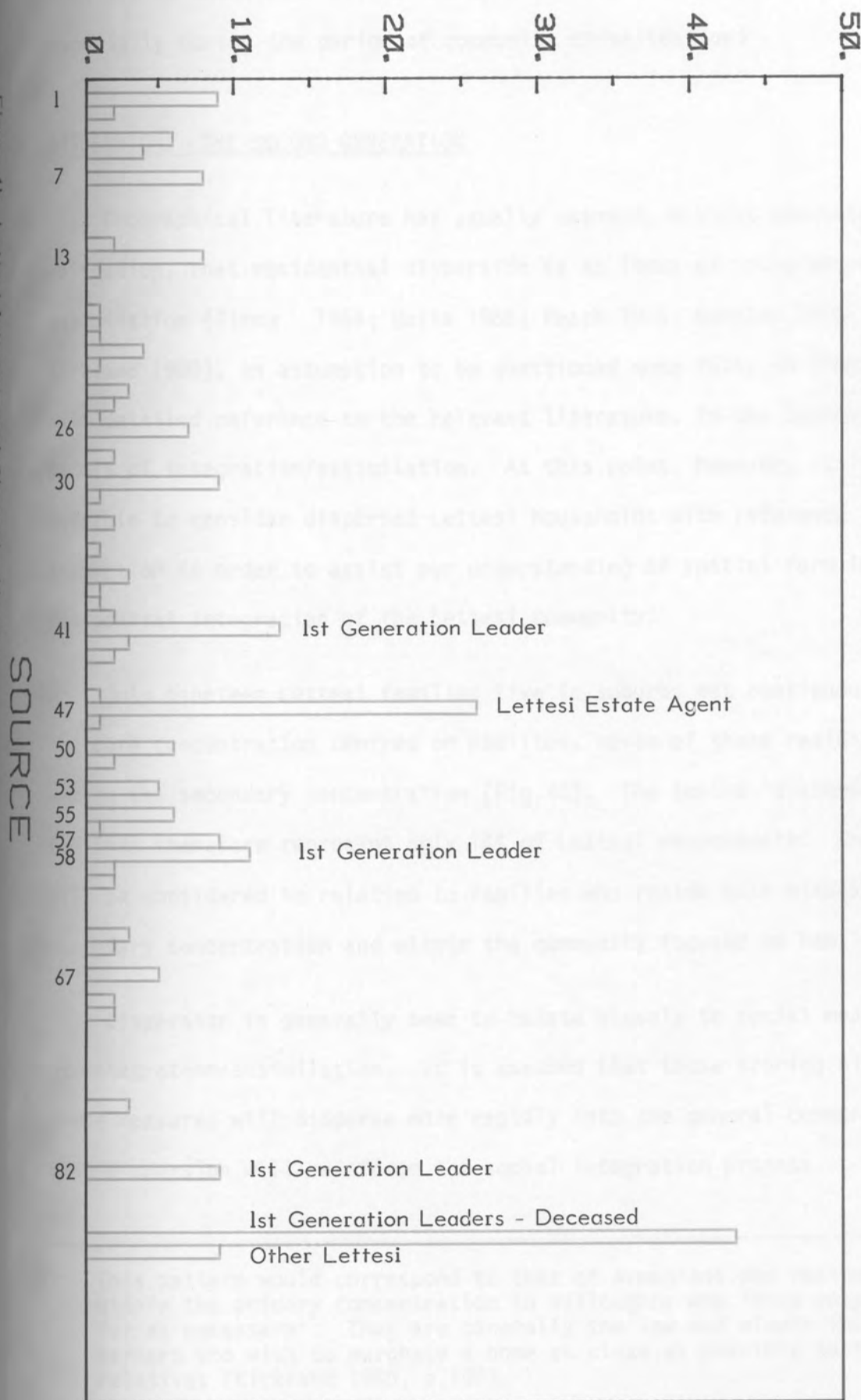
Figure 4: Lettesi Interpersonal Channels, Housing

this has no doubt been influenced by their limited information, especially during the period of community consolidation.[1]

DISPERSION: THE SECOND GENERATION

Geographical literature has usually assumed, without adequate validation, that residential dispersion is an index of integration/ assimilation (Timms 1964; Heiss 1966; Peach 1974; Burnley 1976; Kirkland 1980), an assumption to be questioned more fully in Chapter 5, with detailed reference to the relevant literature, in the context of models of integration/assimilation. At this point, however, it is possible to consider dispersed Lettesi households with reference to this assumption in order to assist our understanding of spatial form in the residential integration of the Lettesi community.

Only nineteen Lettesi families live in suburbs not contiguous to the core concentration centred on Hamilton, seven of these residing within the secondary concentration (Fig.42). The twelve 'dispersed' families therefore represent only 14% of Lettesi respondents. These will be considered in relation to families who reside both within the secondary concentration and within the community focused on Hamilton.

Dispersion is generally seen to relate closely to social measures of integration/assimilation. It is assumed that those scoring high on these measures will disperse more rapidly into the general community and that dispersion will reinforce the social integration process

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1. This pattern would correspond to that of Armenians who reside within the primary concentration in Willoughby who 'move only as far as necessary'. They are generally the low and middle income earners who wish to purchase a home as close as possible to their relatives (Kirkland 1980, p.190).
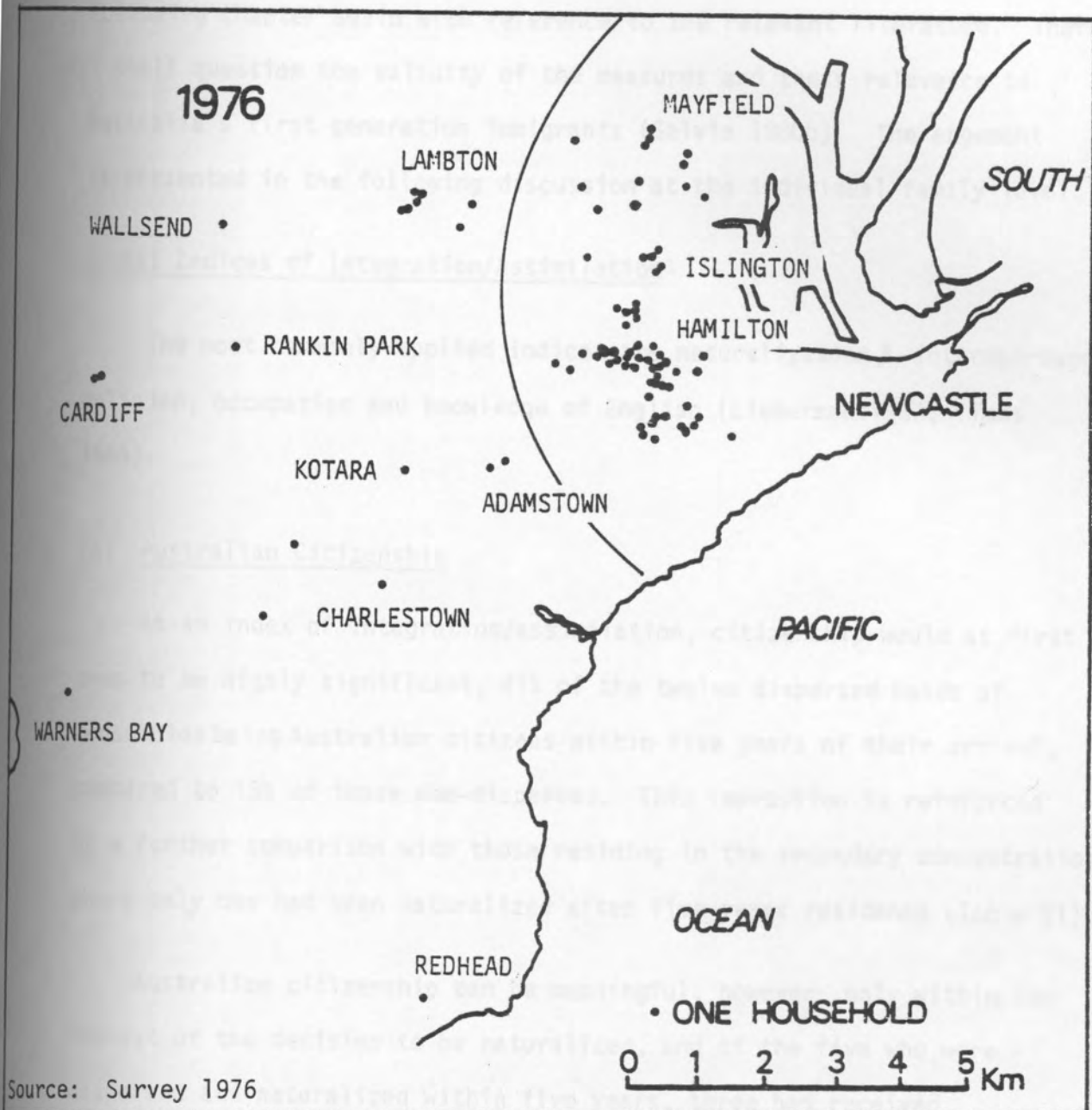
Figure 42: Dispersed Lettesi Households

(Lieberson 1963, p.6; Timms 1969, p.43; Kirkland 1980, p.142). These
social measures of integration/assimilation will also be examined in the
following chapter again with reference to the relevant literature. There
I shall question the validity of the measures and their relevance to
Australia's first generation immigrants (Galvin 1980b). The argument
is presented in the following discussion at the individual family level.

Social Indices of Integration/Assimilation[1]

The most commonly applied indices are naturalization,[2] intermarriage,
religion, occupation and knowledge of English (Lieberson 1963; Timms
1965).

(a) Australian Citizenship

As an index of integration/assimilation, citizenship would at first
seem to be highly significant, 41% of the twelve dispersed heads of
households being Australian citizens within five years of their arrival,
compared to 13% of those non-dispersed. This impression is reinforced
by a further comparison with those residing in the secondary concentration
where only one had been naturalized after five years residence (Table 21).

Australian citizenship can be meaningful, however, only within the
context of the decision to be naturalized, and of the five who were
dispersed and naturalized within five years, three had received
citizenship as part of the family group. It was their father's decision

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1. Again, 'assimilation/integration' is used here as the concepts have
   been applied in other research. Often, in the context of social
   and spatial indices, the terms are used interchangeably.
2. Officially, 'naturalization' is now referred to as 'Australian
   Citizenship'. These terms are used here interchangeably.

TABLE 21

AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP - CUMULATIVE %,

DISPERSED AND CONCENTRATED RESPONDENTS

	% After 5 yrs	% After 10 yrs	% After 15 yrs	% After 20 yrs
Dispersed Lettesi	41	58	83	83
Secondary Concentration	14	100	100	100
Primary Concentration	13	67	94	95

Percentages rounded off to nearest whole number.

Source: Survey 1976

TABLE 22

LETTESI MARRIAGE PATTERNS

DISPERSED AND CONCENTRATED RESPONDENTS

	% Lettesi	% Lettesi Aust.-born	% Other Abruzzi	% Other Italian	% Other Euro-pean	% Austra-lian born	% Other Engl. speaking
Dispersed Lettesi	25	0	8	8	35	16	8
Secondary Concentration	43	14	14	0	0	14	14
Primary Concentration	79	2	7	7	0	3	2

Percentages rounded off to nearest whole number.

Source: Survey 1976.

for, at the time, they were children, and their fathers still reside in the core concentration. Other reasons for naturalization were the advantages offered by social security (4), to join the navy (1), and because they were established here (1).

After 15 years, 94% of the Lettesi community had received Australian citizenship and most of these still reside within the concentration. It is clear then that the index cannot be associated with Lettesi patterns of concentration or dispersion, even if citizenship was an expression of identity, and from the reasons given for naturalization, by the community generally, this was not the case.

(b) Intermarriage

Again there would seem to be a significant difference between those who are dispersed and those who remain concentrated, and again this is reinforced by the contrast in pattern between those who are dispersed and those in the secondary concentration (Table 22).

Those who have dispersed have widely intermarried. Although five are married to Italians, only three of these are Lettesi. Four of them have married other Europeans, two have married Anglo-Australians, and one is married to a New Zealander. No other Lettesi have married other Europeans.

This aspect is interesting and, again, it raises the question of 'who' decides on the relocation. It may be that the wives have chosen to live near their Ukraine, German and Polish Communities in the same way that Lettesi women chose to live in Hamilton. In this case dispersion would hardly be an index of Anglo-assimilation. This was certainly the case with two of these families.

These two men were brothers living two doors from one another in an area having a high proportion of northern and eastern Europeans (Galvin 1971; 1974); and their Polish and German wives still enjoyed participation in the social activities of their national communities. Though the brothers lived in Cardiff they both worked in Hamilton, interacting frequently with Lettesi and other Italians - Frank as the manager of an Italian bar in Beaumont Street, and Nick as a baker delivering bread to the Hamilton area. Privately they lived in Cardiff but their social life was mainly in Hamilton.

Renaldo, their younger brother, was married to an Australian and lived close by in a newer subdivision. Unlike his older brothers who arrived in Australia at the ages of twelve and thirteen, respectively, Renaldo had arrived at the age of five, had fully completed his education in Australia, and later gained a Trade Certificate. He nevertheless retained close ties with his family.

When considering intermarriage it is interesting to note those married to women of English-speaking background. Three of these are dispersed, including Renaldo, two live in Lambton in the secondary concentration, and three of them reside in the main concentration. Again, if intermarriage were a reliable index, one would expect a stronger tendency to move to the newer, outer-suburban subdivisions in the pattern characteristic of the host community. As such it is surprising that three have remained within the Lettesi concentration, and a further two within the secondary concentration. Though one of the latter is an 'isolate' family unit, there is, nevertheless, a fairly strong tendency to include the Australian spouse within the community.

Another consideration with intermarriage is the eligibility of a

population. Most adult men, on arriving in Australia, already had
wives or fiances in the homeland and many encountered hostility from
Australian women, so the choice was restricted mainly to the younger
men and to those who arrived in Australia as children. Intermarriage is,
essentially, a second generation factor. Second generation[1] is defined,
for our purposes, as those arriving in Australia at twelve years of age
or younger. Of the twelve dispersed males, seven were twelve or younger
and the remaining five ranged from thirteen to twenty-one years. The
modal class, on the other hand, for age on arrival for Lettesi generally
was 16-20 years (17), with 21-25 years (15) having the second highest
number (Table 23). The latter, particularly, had little choice to
intermarry, so the index has little relevance in measuring 'assimilation'
for the first generation Lettesi male. This was, in fact, acknowledged
by Lieberson who applied the index to the second generation (1963,
p.17, p.518).

(c) Religion

As patterns of church attendance were disrupted by the war, and
later, by the destruction of Lettopalena, it would be difficult to
establish the degree of behavioural change due to immigration and
resettlement in Australia. The women, on the whole, tend to be more
devout, attending Mass somewhat more regularly than the men, and
attaching great significance to religious rituals such as Baptisms,
First Communions, Confirmations, Weddings and Funerals. Although men
would often attend these celebrations, they did not attend Mass
regularly, except in one instance (Table 15). Apart from their pre-
migration experience, their reasons appear to be related to situations

1. This coincides with Price's 'IIa' group or second generation
   persons born in Europe and brought to Australia when children
   (Price 1963, p.256).

TABLE 23

AGE ON ARRIVAL, DISPERSED AND
CONCENTRATED RESPONDENTS

Age Class	No. Dispersed Lettesi	No. Secondary Concentration	No. Primary Concentration
1 - 5	1	0	4
6 - 10	2	1	2
11 - 15	6	0	3
16 - 20	2	5	10
21 - 25	1	1	13
26 - 30			11
31 - 35			6
36 - 40			8
41 - 45			5
46 - 50			4
51 - 55			
56 - 60			

Source: Survey 1976

arising within the Italian community rather than to forces in the wider society though this conclusion is difficult to establish, for this pattern is representative of Italian migrants generally (Price 1963, p.194; Mol 1965, p.137).

It was related, for example, by one Lettesi, how at a funeral some years ago, the priest had reproached them for not attending Mass regularly. At the time, out of regard for their friend and kin, they had crowded the church, spilling into the street. Angry that he had used the funeral of their loved one for the purpose of drawing them back to the Church, they stubbornly determined on staying away. Some of them also expressed annoyance that after having helped to build the Scalabrini Centre, they had no say on how the premises were used. The Requiem Mass which I attended with Lettesi was celebrated in a church where the celebrant was not Italian so, to some extent there was a shift towards closer integration with the Australian Catholic institutional system. It is difficult to know to what extent this behaviour is an expression of a process of 'assimilation'.

Given the complex expression of religious beliefs and the fact that Lettesi men do not attend Church regularly, there is no clear measure to draw a distinction between the two spatially differentiated groups. One can only assume that those educated in Australia would share less strongly the more traditional beliefs that are often characteristic of Italian village people (Douglas 1962). As 75% of dispersed Lettesi males arrived in Australia under fifteen years of age and the remaining three men were 21 years and under, one might expect their religious attitudes to differ. This conclusion reinforces the assertion that the index relates to the second generation.

(d)   Occupation

Here again there is a difference between those who are dispersed and those within the core and secondary concentration. The difference, however, has little to do with a process of upward occupational mobility, as an index of integration/assimilation.

The principal difference lies in the higher proportion of concreters (41%)(Table 24). In the secondary concentration there are no concreters, in the Lettesi community generally, 11% and only 6% in the primary concentration. Although concreting has become an 'ethnic' specific industry dominated by Italians, it is physically very demanding and suited only to the younger men. For them it provides the main alternative to unskilled labouring in heavy industry.

Age on arrival is the critical factor in explaining variations in the occupational pattern for dispersed male Lettesi.[1] Of the community generally, 32% of those who arrived at fifteen years or younger, have chosen to be concreters. This compares with 5% of those over fifteen years on arrival. Seventy seven per cent of these are labourers, compared to 32% of the younger group. At the stage when the latter entered the workforce, Italians had already moved into concreting and these men were young enough to manage the work. The older men were already working in heavy industry.

It will be shown in Chapter 5 that occupational mobility, as an index of integration/assimilation, has very little relevance to the

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1. In research on social indices of integration/assimilation, researchers have usually confined their interest to the *male head of the household*. They ignore the fact that individuals in the household may be differentiated in terms of the indices.

TABLE 24

LAST OCCUPATION, DISPERSED AND

CONCENTRATED RESPONDENTS

Occupation	% Dispersed Lettesi	% Secondary Concentration	% Primary Concentration
Labourer	33	71	61
Concreter	41	0	6
Other	26	29	33

Percentages rounded off to nearest whole number.
Source: Survey 1976.

first generation, either for those who arrived as adults or for those who were partially educated in Australia (Table 28). Occupational mobility has generally been a reality only for those fully educated in Australia (Galvin 1980b).

Occupation, nevertheless, does throw some light on the residential choice of dispersed Lettesi. Concreting provided the opportunity to work throughout the newer residential subdivisions and to increase their spatial field of activity. Their choice of location was partially determined by their higher level of information, their general familiarity with the Newcastle urban area and by their relative upward socioeconomic mobility.

(e) Knowledge of English

Because knowledge of English is the key to information and access to the resources of the wider social system, it does provide an index of integration. However, individual households and their spatial distribution still cannot provide a suitable basis for comparison due to marked variations within family units, both between the generations and between the sexes (Table 29). It is only in relation to the second generation that one would not expect such differentiation, and as the twelve dispersed families are mostly second generation their English is consequently more proficient. This argument concerning the differential rate of integration/assimilation of household members has general application to the social indices.

Otherwise some of the social indices appear to differentiate between those who are dispersed and those who are concentrated. They are, nevertheless, unreliable measures of integration/assimilation if this is seen as a process of social change for first generation Lettesi

immigrants. Length of residence[1] is not a factor in dispersion; the
critical factor is age on arrival. Those of the first generation
Lettesi who have become 'assimilated' in terms of the indices have
remained, almost without exception, within the core or secondary
concentration. Those who have dispersed are mainly second generation.

This tendency of the second generation Lettesi to disperse more
widely through the general community should be seen as a tendency rather
than the norm for many, in fact, have followed a pattern of patrilocal
residence within the primary concentration. In the longer term, however,
this may prove to be a stage in a process of dispersion of the second
generation for patrilocal residence, in the cheaper residential zones,
as well as maintaining closer family bonds, provides an opportunity to
consolidate financially. Some have already used this opportunity to
purchase land in more distant suburbs.

Personality Factors in Dispersion

However, age on arrival is not the only factor responsible for the
pattern of residential dispersion. Personality (Daw 1962; Taft 1967),
too, must be taken into account. Guiseppe, for example, chose to live
at Kotara on a memorable occasion, long before he moved there, when he
and Lettesi friends had a party in Kotara Park after finishing their
shift at the Bradford Cotton Mills. Guiseppe had so enjoyed himself
that he made the decision that one day he would live there. I met

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1. For the Armenians, length of residence was a factor in dispersion.
   However, Kirkland (1980) studied Armenians from many countries
   the majority of whom were from cities, were well educated and
   spoke English. He was not dealing with a single coherent
   community. As well, the persistence of the concentration in
   Willoughby suggests that length of residence was not always
   directly associated with dispersion.

Guiseppe on a number of evenings at the homes of Lettesi friends during the period of interviewing. While he and his family have resided in Kotara, their social life has been centred on Hamilton.

Domenico had remembered, long ago in the village, one of the men returning from a journey to Pescara, a seaside resort on the Adriatic Coast. His description of the sea had made such an immense impression that it left Domenico with a burning ambition that one day he would make his home beside the sea. He now lives in Redhead only a block away from the ocean. Domenico is independent with an out-going personality. Married to an Australian, he chose Australian Citizenship mainly because he planned to join the navy. Personality has been a factor transgressing generation, with Guiseppe who arrived in Australia when twenty, and for Domenico who came at the age of eleven.

Social Interaction and Residential Dispersion

Arguments which support the use of spatial indices to measure the extent of 'assimilation', usually refer to social interaction as the principal means of reinforcing the values, norms and behaviour of cultural groups. The argument is that social interaction is mainly dependent on residential propinquity (Lancaster Jones 1967, p.412; Timms 1969, pp.41-43; Kirkland 1980, pp.141-143). Kirkland, for example, refers to the barrier to interaction presented by the Sydney Harbour Bridge, between the main concentration of Armenians on the North Shore and those less concentrated south of the harbour. The argument has been extended in literature relating residential propinquity to marriage selection, though not always in the context of changing communications (Bossard 1932; Davie and Reeves 1939; Abrams 1943; Clarke 1952; Katz and Hill 1962). These have been considered in concepts developed by

Webber, referring to 'interest communities' or 'community without propinquity' (Webber 1967).

Buckland (1973, p.5) refers to Greeks who appear 'assimilated', having moved to more distant, higher status suburbs. She stresses, however, that they have remained 'Greek'. Bottomley (1979, p.137) supports this by referring to networks maintained between Greeks over very great distances. Her observation is confirmed in a study by Sharma (1975), looking at social interaction in a high status suburb. The impact of distance on social interaction is, obviously, not clear-cut.

If we compare the patterns of social interaction between those who are dispersed and other Lettesi, one must conclude that they interact less frequently with other members within the community (Fig.32). From Fig.43 it is apparent that no dispersed Lettesi has held a position on the formal Committee; nor do they rank highly on Lettesi nominations of those with whom families interact most frequently. Interaction, in all but two of the twelve cases, has mostly occurred with extended family members. It will be seen more clearly in Chapter 5 that while the second generation have provided a useful function in the general process of integration, this role has been mainly confined to kin. It is peripheral to the community as a social entity. Those, on the other hand, who have facilitated integration for members of the Lettesi community, as a whole, still reside within the primary or secondary concentration. They are first generation.

In summary, for the first generation Lettesi, the spatial form of residential integration is, overwhelmingly, one of concentration. This pattern of concentration, representing the expression of Lettesi solidarity, identity and belonging, has as its basis a community structure, fashioned and strengthened by reciprocal bonds of friendship,

- HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS
- FORMAL OFFICE BEARERS ON LETTESI COMMITTEE 1969-82
- DISPERSED LETTESI

No of nominations

Rank order – Heads of households
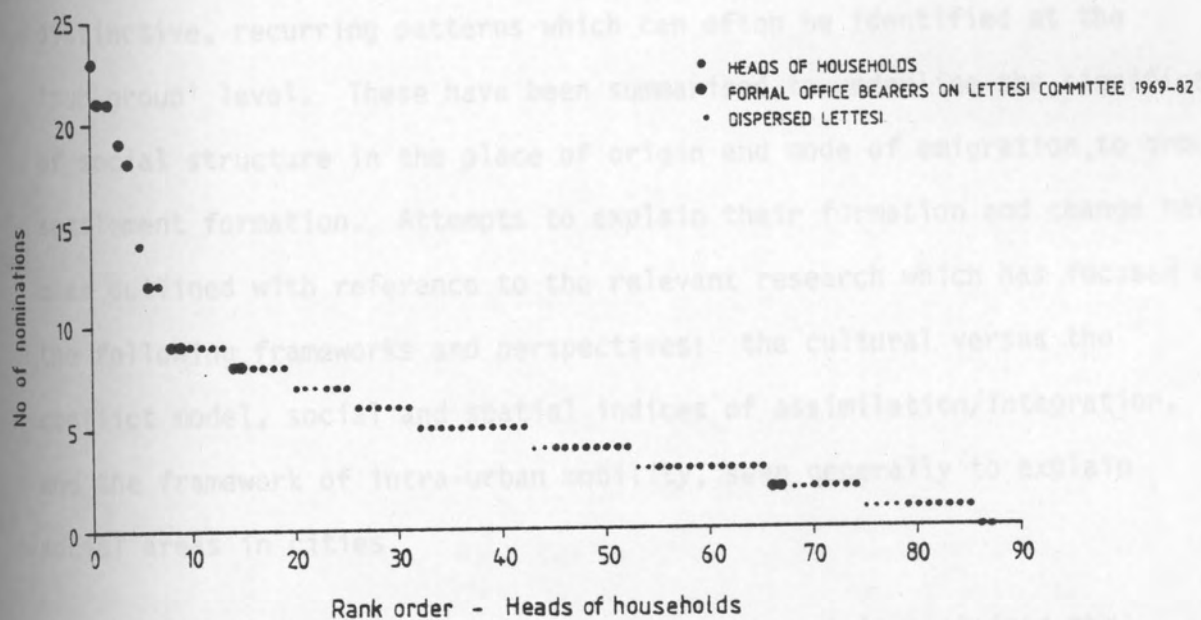
Source: Survey 1976

Figure 43: Sociometric Nomination and Relation to Committee Membership and Dispersed Residence

extended kinship and a shared village origin, bonds that have served both instrumental and expressive functions in the process of Lettesi residential integration.

. . . .

CONCLUSION

Ethnic social areas in Australian cities form complex though distinctive, recurring patterns which can often be identified at the 'sub-group' level. These have been summarised to underline the significance of social structure in the place of origin and mode of emigration, to group settlement formation. Attempts to explain their formation and change have been outlined with reference to the relevant research which has focused on the following frameworks and perspectives: the cultural versus the conflict model, social and spatial indices of assimilation/integration, and the framework of intra-urban mobility, seen generally to explain social areas in cities.

However, none of these approaches has adequately explained the dynamic spatial form of ethnic social areas, and the relation of spatial form to the process of integration. The spatial form of the Lettesi community is characterised mainly by inner-city concentration. This pattern has evolved through a process of resettlement wherein the role of community networks has been paramount in providing access to the urban housing market. This has been a process of residential integration. Any further attempt to understand integration as a process of gaining access to the wider social system, must explore the network relationships of the community and the way they are organised to function effectively. This is the purpose in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

THE INTEGRATION OF THE LETTESI COMMUNITY:

A COMMUNICATIONS MODEL

*All the friends, we talk. You pass the voice to one
another. But someone first has to fall in the mud.
Then you learn from that.*

In my account of Lettesi community formation and residential

integration in the suburb of Hamilton, I have stressed the role of

community networks in providing access to the wider social system. It

is clear that any general approach to integration must take account of

these interpersonal channels and the way they give expression to the

roles and relationships which define the structure of an ethnic

community. A communications model of integration can provide a broad

analytical framework for examining the process of integration and the

role of an ethnic community in this process. As well it can provide a

model for institutions to respond more effectively to the needs of

minorities. Its framework goes beyond the ethnic community to the social

institutions of the wider society to focus on channels of integration of

the two.

In Part A I shall examine the spatial and social indices of

integration/assimilation' to assess their relevance to first generation

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' Reference has been made to the indices in Chapter 4 though not for
the present purpose. Nevertheless, I shall avoid unnecessary
repetition.

immigrants, for, because of their spatial emphasis, they are of special interest to geographers. I shall then propose an alternative model - one which can accommodate the interpersonal social networks which may provide the principal channels of access for ethnic communities to social institutions.

In Part B, after examining the problem of needs as it relates to immigrants, and, more especially, to Lettesi, I shall consider the problems of defining community, mainly within the context of ethnicity. Finally, by reference to a communications model, I shall analyse the role of the Lettesi community in providing access to information and resources by a process of integration with the wider society. The concluding chapter will address itself to policy and its impact on the role of institutions in society in facilitating integration of ethnic minorities.

PART A.   ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF INTEGRATION/ASSIMILATION

Models and theories of integration/assimilation have already been considered in Chapter 2 and have been summarised at length in the literature (Taft 1965; Price 1969; Burnley 1970). Nevertheless, I shall examine spatial and social indices of integration/assimilation to assess their validity for first generation immigrants, for due to their spatial emphasis these indices have been adopted extensively and uncritically by geographers and others. It will be argued, by reference to the relevant literature, and to data obtained from the Lettesi community, that this aggregate level of analysis is misleading, for the findings reinforce my earlier conclusions that integration is a process that requires

understanding at a community network level of analysis. This requirement can be satisfied by a communications model.

SPATIAL AND SOCIAL INDICES OF INTEGRATION/ASSIMILATION

In ethnic research on integration/assimilation the census has provided a convenient source of data and so many have accepted, with token reservations, the ethnic categories and statistics it provides. From this aggregated data they have formulated indices to measure the extent of integration/assimilation and applied them, in Australia, to first generation immigrants. Though reservations have been expressed concerning the categories, and some of the spatial and social indices, criticism has generally been piecemeal and restrained, tending to qualify results rather than to question the use of the indices. Thus this general critique of the whole approach is necessary.

The question of the validity and relevance of these indices arose first, during the course of an earlier study of the intercensal changes in mobility patterns for southern Europeans resident in Newcastle (Galvin 1976). From the intercensal patterns it was clear that Italians had dispersed more widely through the general community, leading to the assumption that the Italian population had a higher degree of integration/assimilation. There seemed reason to doubt the validity of this assumption which was based principally on statistical association. As a result of research into Lettesi residential patterns there seemed reason to doubt, not only this assumption but this whole approach to the study of integration.

First I shall examine the national and birthplace categories to see to what extent they are meaningful social entities and through a

spatial comparison of Italians and Lettesi, I shall question, more specifically, the Italian 'birthplace' category. Then I shall examine some of the methodological problems associated with the spatial indices. Finally, with reference to both the survey (1976) and the literature, I shall question the application of social indices which are assumed to measure integration/assimilation. I shall conclude from the evidence that these indices are unreliable when applied to first generation immigrants.

The Problem of Ethnic Categories

As the indices are presented within a framework of ethnic categories it is important that we examine the relevance of such categories for if they do not define a meaningful social entity then the indices themselves are rendered somewhat meaningless. The problem centres on the important distinction between 'social category' and 'social group' - between 'ethnic category' and 'ethnic group' - a distinction which writers have frequently ignored. Gordon, for example, has defined 'ethnic group' on the one hand, in socio-demographic terms, and, on the other, in terms of a shared belonging (1964, p.24). Yet categories defined by the objective observer, in terms of socio-demographic criteria, may have limited relevance to a participant member (White 1978, p.141). Some, like White (p.143), would define the 'group' by reference to a sense of shared belonging; others point out that ethnic identification does not necessarily entail group formation. They support Stryker's statement that

> ...a group is a system of interactions. Where there is no interaction there is no group.
>
> (1973, p.526)

Although the tendency exists for those of similar 'ethnic' background

to provide a basis for a 'system of interactions', census categories tend to disguise important social and cultural differences. Where an ethnic category is internally differentiated so that sub-groups within the category tend to behave differently, the category is inappropriate as a basis for comparison of the process of integration/assimilation. Census 'nationality' and 'birthplace' categories have a high degree of internal heterogeneity which Lieberson acknowledged when referring to 'ethnic group' to denote a category based on country of birth. He said,

> The term is used solely for convenience and in no way should be construed as an effort to slur over the important fact that in some cases the ethnic composition of immigrants from a given country may be highly heterogeneous.
>
> (Lieberson 1963, p.20).

Price (1963) showed a general awareness of the problem in his differentiation of 'village', 'regional' and 'folk' communities and their impact on patterns of distinctive group settlement. He illustrated it further with examples of 'heterogeneity' arising from changing political boundaries and the containment of different ethnic groups within a boundary (1963, p.7). He refers in particular to the Yugoslav category. This example is illustrated by a Newcastle study which showed marked divergence in residential pattern between Macedonian and Serbian Yugoslavs (Gordon 1974). Seitz (1982), too, referred to regional and religious differentiation among German immigrants.

Further expression of heterogeneity within nationality and birth-place categories emerges from rural and urban differences. The most dramatic contrast in residential pattern in all the major Australian cities is that between northern and southern Europeans, who also vary markedly in terms of rural and urban origins (Galvin 1974). Similar

differences may also exist, for example, between rural and urban Italians. Indeed, one would expect marked residential differences because 'urban' migrants, generally, being socially more mobile, can disperse more rapidly into higher status suburbs. This rural/urban distinction was referred to by Krupinski (1982) in a recent paper on the mental health of migrants.

Further bases for differentiation, both within and between the birthplace categories, are length of residence and age on arrival. Different generations may behave very differently and so their behaviour must be analysed separately. This was pointed out by Price and Zubrzycki in their discussion of the use of intermarriage indices (1962, p.62). It was also indicated in Chapter 4 in reference to Lettesi settlement patterns.

The futility of applying census categories as a basis for spatial and social indices, to measure the extent of integration/assimilation, is illustrated by the divergence in spatial pattern between the Italian 'category' and the Lettesi 'community', an observation referred to in Chapter 1. The Lettesi form the largest Italian 'group' in Newcastle, comprising 12% of the Italian population. If the spatial indices for Italian-born do not apply to them, then the inference must be that the 'Italian' category is unreliable.

As the index values for Lettesi distribution are useful only in relative terms, it would provide a more adequate basis for comparison if measures were considered, not only for Italians, but for Australian-born and other southern European groups. The relevant tables are presented in Chapter 1 (Table 2). No conclusions should be drawn from the Lettesi values except in respect to trends over time. Because the

Lettesi have a population smaller than the number of collectors'
districts in Newcastle, the range of possible values is attenuated so
that values are higher than if the numbers were sufficient to spread
across the range of spatial units. Other problems emerging from the
system of sub-units have been minimised by using collectors' districts
and standardising the boundaries of sub-areas through time to conform to
the 1961 delimitation.

The matrices of dissimilarity show a very low degree of spatial
association between Lettesi and Australian-born (Table 2 (ci)-(ciii)).
This could be expected in view of the size of the community. A more
interesting point is that although the degree of dissimilarity does
decrease, little change is evident over the two intercensal periods.
Italians, on the other hand, are more similar to Australian-born than
are Greeks or Yugoslavs, and the degree of similarity increases very
markedly from 1961 to 1971. It would therefore appear that the Lettesi
community had dispersed very little in comparison to the Italian-born.
This impression would be stronger if Lettesi figures had not been
included in the Italian category.

Measures of concentration and segregation tend to reinforce the
above impression (Table 2(a), 2(b)), for Lettesi measures are relatively
high. This is not only due to the size of the group, for the indices
of concentration reflect inner city location where residential densities
are considerably greater. Again, for the Lettesi, little change is
evidenced over the intercensal periods 1961-1971. This is in contrast
to Italian-born who show a far greater tendency to residential dispersion
than Lettesi, Greeks or Yugoslavs. The Yugoslav pattern is further
complicated not only by the fact of ethnic heterogeneity but by their
later period of arrival in Australia.

Residential change for the Lettesi community can be seen more clearly from redistribution measures which are unaffected by wider population change (Table 25). The greatest change occurred between the time of initial settlement and the census recording of 1961. Since then the rate of change has been decreasing and fairly gradual. Again it would appear that the Lettesi community is relatively more stable than Italians generally.

This is further reinforced by reference to the map showing the mean centres of the same populations (Figure 9). Italian mean centres most approach the Australian-born; the Italian, Greek and Yugoslav are very close to one another; the Lettesi, however, are distinctive from the others, especially from the Australian-born and they are closer to the Greek than they are to the Italian. The location of these centres reflects relative degrees of concentration and segregation within the inner suburban area and Lettesi are obviously more centrally located and more highly concentrated and segregated than the others. All the evidence suggests that the patterns for Italian-born are not representative of the Lettesi community. Only extensive analysis at the 'micro' level would show to what extent they are meaningful at all.

The Spatial Indices: Some Methodological Problems.

Ethnic spatial patterns may have social significance but there are a number of methodological problems associated with spatial measures most commonly applied to ethnic distributions, quite apart from the problems of ethnic categories. A number of writers have focused on these - in America (Duncan and Duncan 1955; Lieberson 1963; Taeuber and Taeuber 1965), in Britain (Woods 1976; Lee 1978; Jones and McEvoy 1978, 1979; Peach 1979), and in Australia (Timms 1965; Peach 1974; Galvin 1976; Burnley 1976). They mainly refer to the dissimilarity index for other

TABLE 25

ETHNIC REDISTRIBUTION MATRIX FOR LETTESI POPULATION

	Orig.	1961	1966	1971	1976
Orig.	0.0	54.7	48.8	55.0	58.0
1961	54.7	0.0	22.6	29.5	36.7
1966	48.8	22.6	0.0	15.9	24.1
1971	55.0	29.5	15.9	0.0	13.6
1976	58.0	36.7	24.1	13.6	0.0

Source: Australian Census 1961, 1966, 1971; Survey 1976.

measures of concentration, segregation and redistribution are variations of the dissimilarity formula (Timms 1965).

One of the problems in using this measure is that the index values are not absolute but are dependent on the system, and the scale of areal sub-units. Thus inter-city comparisons cannot be made and intra-city comparisons lose comparability through time due to changes in the boundaries of the area sub-units and the redistribution of population generally. Debate has focused strongly on the problem of scale but there is general agreement, nevertheless, that the measure is sensitive to variations in scale so that the smaller the size of the areal sub-units the greater the apparent degree of segregation (Jones and McEvoy 1978, 1979; Lee 1978; Peach 1979).

A further consideration is the sizes of the groups. For comparative purposes this should not present a problem because the index is based on population percentages, and is therefore independent of group size (Peach 1974, p.220). Nevertheless, group size can distort the measure. Burnley (1976, p.241) points out that the index is useful only for sub-groups comprising no more than 10-15% of the population. Lieberson (1963, p.36-7) illustrates how various group sizes attentuate the range of theoretically possible values. Where the size of the sub-group is less than or equal to the total population of the smallest spatial unit then the maximum index will be less than 100; the minimum value is limited in a minor way when the sub-group is smaller than the number of spatial units.

It is difficult to apply any social significance to the index of ethnic dissimilarity for it does not have an absolute value. In addition, it cannot convey spatial pattern, that is, whether concentration occurs in separate clusters, or within a single, contiguous

area, and it does not provide information of pattern of distribution within sub-areas. Finally, as the index is based on proportions, and does not take account of absolute size, groups having similar index values may vary considerably in population size, an important factor when considering the impact of segregation on ethnic communities. In the light of these problems care should be taken when drawing social inferences from spatial indices, especially with regard to integration/ assimilation.

The Social Indices of Integration/Assimilation

As already stated in Chapter 4, many writers have assumed that dispersion is an index of integration/assimilation (Heiss 1966; Timms 1969; Peach 1974; Burnley 1976; Kirkland 1980). Hawley (1944, p.674) explained this by claiming that segregation heightened visibility and the awareness of group differences while at the same time allowing a group to preserve its ethnic character. Park (1952, p.177) stressed the relationship between physical and social distance and suggested that social facts may be amenable to measurement. Lieberson considered residential segregation not only as an important dimension of assimilation with respect to both voluntary and involuntary segregation, but also as an influence on other aspects of assimilation, namely knowledge of English, citizenship, intermarriage and intergenerational occupational mobility. He concluded that his patterns could best be interpreted 'on the assumption that the process of assimilation is bound up with the process of residential segregation' (Lieberson 1963, p.18).

Although some writers have referred to examples where social indices are unreliable other researchers have continued to apply them without adequate discussion of their reliability or relevance. After a general discussion of each of the indices reference will be made to the

Lettesi community for an empirical assessment regarding their validity.

The *naturalisation* index has been used, for example, as a key
parameter of assimilation despite continuous criticism of its validity.
The following views indicate an increasing degree of uncertainty concern-
ing the relevance of the index. Benyei (1965, and in Price 1960, p.69)
regarded it as a key index - 'the result of a feeling of belonging to one
nation' - the end result of integration. Fong (1965, p.270) found it
to be related to the assimilation orientation of Chinese immigrants in
America. Lieberson (1963, p.8) said he was 'inclined to attribute' a
higher degree of assimilation to an immigrant who was naturalised, though
he had earlier concluded (1961, p.53) that it was by no means a perfect
indicator. Lancaster Jones (1967, p.421) felt it was reasonable to assume
that naturalisation indicates at least a minimum degree of assimilation,
yet his study showed only a weak negative correlation between concentration
and naturalisation. Bernard (1973, p.93) regarded it as a political
integration index but added 'admittedly it carries economic and other
benefits'. Kunz (1971, p.66) spoke of 'catharsis naturalisation' and
he suggested that we should look closely at the naturalisation decision.
Zubrzycki (1964, p.282) concluded that it was not a reliable indication
of social participation in the Latrobe Valley. Jaunzems (1971, p.60)
found that it did not correlate with other measures of assimilation and
was a poor indicator of identification. Lancaster Jones (1967, p.421)
stressed that as a politico-legal action it had different implications
for each alien group. Verney-Jonker and Brackel (1957, p.17) pointed
out that Hungarian refugees whom they interviewed in the Netherlands
felt that naturalisation could not change the fact that they would
remain Hungarian. Kovacs and Cropley (1975, p.112) found a high
rate of departure among refugees who had previously stated their
intention to be naturalised. They distinguished between the *external*

legal meaning and *internal* acceptance of the norms of the host society
(p.14) and conclude that 'its validity as an indicator of assimilation
is doubtful to say the least' (p.113).

Data obtained from the Lettesi community likewise throws doubt
on the utility of the index for 95% of both women and men were
naturalised and the remainder gave no strong reason for not being so
(Table 26). Such figures would imply, from Benyei's (1960, p.85)
definition, that the integration process was virtually completed. Yet
other conventional indices like intermarriage and religion most
definitely would not support the claim. A more reliable approach would
be to look at the meaning of the naturalisation decision itself (Table
26). In responding to questions regarding this decision the most
frequent reply concerned access to welfare services. It was felt that
until one was legally naturalised one's rights were not sufficiently
clearly defined. Concern for security was an immediate problem
especially for those with family responsibilities, so that once such a
person had decided to stay, and many believed there was no real choice,
naturalisation seemed a logical necessity.

Although other factors were less important, the range of replies
does illustrate the point that naturalisation is not a reliable measure
of a specified degree of integration/assimilation. It can, in fact, as
Kunz (1971, p.65) has suggested, mean a great many things, both positive
and negative, especially when extended to different ethnic groups, for
example, non-voluntary refugees.

Intermarriage, too, may be criticised as an index on the basis of
both reliability and relevance, although arguments have been presented
to justify its use. Some see intermarriage as the key social index.

TABLE 26
AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP

(a) Australian Citizenship

	% After 5 years	% After 10 years	% After 15 years	% After 20 years
Male	19	70	94	95
Female	27	85	92	95

(b) Reasons for Accepting Australian Citizenship

Reason	Frequency
Social Security - (related to marriage and family responsibility)	33
Intention of remaining in Australia	31
No decision made (child at time)	12
Identification with Australia	8
Invitation from Immigration Dept.	8
Like Australia	6
Encouraged by others	5
About time	2
Still possible to return to Italy	2

Source: Survey 1976

Timms (1965, p.43) for example, regards it as a measure of the desirability of entering into closer relationships and therefore as implying other forms of affiliation - residential, occupational and religious. By facilitating other forms of primary interaction it is seen to provide not only a measure, but also a means, of socio-cultural change (Price 1971, p.193). An inverse relationship to residential segregation and positive correlations with other social indices have been used to support its value as an index.

Yet the issue is not as simple as it seems. Price and Zubrzycki (1962, p.59) acknowledge that intermarriage may be 'quite irrelevant' as a measure of integration but claim that it is useful in measuring assimilation, a statement which implies that the measure is not relevant to first generation immigrants in Australia. In addition they point to statistical problems, often ignored by those applying the index. One is the inconsistency between 'ethnicity' and census category; another is the problem of defining generations; and the third lies in identifying the population at risk of intermarriage. These are not simply statistical problems for they point to other questions of social relevance, some of which were discussed in relation to ethnic categories.

Another problem is that writers infer from the intermarriage index that particular groups have reached a certain stage of integration/ assimilation. Yet for first generation immigrants, again, the measure is hardly relevant. Many are already married on arrival in Australia while others marry by proxy or have fiancees in their homeland, so for them the choice just will not arise. Thus the intermarriage index will be entirely insensitive to the degree of integration reached by such persons. When intermarriage does occur it is largely dependent on other factors like residential propinquity, on the size and composition of the

ethnic group concerned, on personality and physical attributes, and on attitudes of acceptance by the host population. It is largely a function of opportunity. Also, as Bernard (1973, p.94) says, it usually occurs at an early stage of the integration process. So it can hardly be regarded as the end state of the process, or even as a measure of the extent of integration. All it can provide for the first generation is a rough indication of integration potential.

It is further misleading to compare intermarriage indices because significance can vary for different ethnic groups. Between some groups a barrier to intermarriage is presented by the exclusive character of the particular religion while for others intermarriage may tend to occur simply because these groups share the same religion. Thus intermarriage rates are generally low for the Greeks; Italians, however, have inter-married with the Irish; and Jewish immigrants have preserved religious homogeneity by marriage with Jews of different nationality (Price and Zubrzycki 1962, p.61). Protestants, on the other hand, have intermarried with each other. The importance of religion as a controlling factor was signified by Glazer and Moynihan (1963) in America when they described assimilation in terms of the triple melting-pot, based on the categories Protestant, Catholic and Jew. In Australia the categories would undoubt-edly be different (Price 1966, A27) but the impact of religion could be basically the same.

Thus the intermarriage index may say a lot about religion but very little concerning other aspects of change. It may indicate the likeli-hood of further integration and ultimately the extent of assimilation; but on the other hand groups who are very well integrated have preserved in-marriage patterns for generations in America (Marcson 1950, p.75). One can only conclude that the intermarriage index is not a relevant

measure of existing change for first generation immigrants to Australia.

On considering the high rate of Lettesi naturalisation, one might have expected high intermarriage rates as well. For Lettesi men the intermarriage rate with Australian born is only 5.7% and with other English-speaking persons it is 3.4%. In contrast, however, 71.6% have married within the Lettesi community, a further 8% with women from Abruzzi, 6.8% from other parts of Italy and 4.5% have married other Europeans (Table 27). Contrary to indications from the naturalisation rates, these figures suggest a very low degree of integration/assimilation with the host community.

Both Price (1963) and Mol (1959) have presented sound arguments linking *religion* to adjustment and integration. Nevertheless there are problems in its use as an index some of which have been outlined in Chapter 4. Glazer's and Moynihan's triple melting-pot thesis indicates the persistence of religious identity so that, like intermarriage, it may pertain more to an advanced stage of the assimilation process, in which case its relevance to first generation immigrants, again, would be highly questionable. Thus while religion may affect other aspects of integration, it may not be a useful measure in itself within the Australian ethnic context.

Further problems occur when comparing categories which are characterised by religious diversity for interaction between religion and integration is complex. Problems even arise from variations between the categories for, while some religions can easily be accommodated within the framework of the host society without the need for significant change, others survive only within their ethnic framework. It makes little sense to test the extent of Italian integration with Australian

TABLE 27

INTERMARRIAGE

(a) Origin - Wife

	%
Lettopalena	69.3
Lettopalena (born Australia)	2.3
Abruzzi (not Lettopalena)	8.0
Italy (other)	6.8
Europe (other)	4.5
Australia	5.7
English-speaking country (not Aust.)	3.4

```
                        ┌───┐
                      3 │   │ OTHER
                        │   │ ENGLISH-SP.
                    ┌───┤   │ AUSTRALIAN
                  5 │   │   │ HOST
                ┌───┤   │   │ OTHER
              4 │   │   │   │ EUROPEAN
            ┌───┤   │   │   │ OTHER
          6 │   │   │   │   │ ITALIAN
        ┌───┤   │   │   │   │ OTHER
      7 │   │   │   │   │   │ ABRUZZESI
 ┌──────┴───┴───┴───┴───┴───┤
 │ 63                       │ LETTESI
 └──────────────────────────┘
 0                        88
```
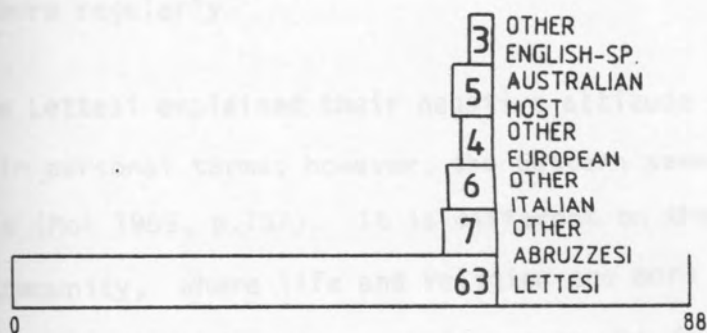
SOURCE: SURVEY 1976

(b) Place of Marriage

Italy %	Australia %	By Proxy %
40.7	53.5	5.8

Source: Survey, 1976

society by reference to the religious index.

Census data relating to religion is too limited to provide any meaningful information, for significant change in religious attitudes and practice may never be recorded in official statistics. It can only be gauged at the interpersonal level. In a personal sense there is very little doubt that the Lettesi identify strongly with Catholicism. They were intensely interested in the election of a new Pope and they celebrate the feast of the village patron saint, and other important feasts like Christmas and Easter. Yet only one man claimed to attend Mass regularly (Table 15). The rest attend only on major feastdays and for weddings, funerals, baptisms and confirmations. Women, on the other hand, do attend more regularly.

The Lettesi explained their negative attitude to the institutional church in personal terms; however, the pattern seems fairly typical for Italians (Mol 1965, p.137). It is different on the other hand for the Greek community, where life and religion are more closely intertwined, and different again for other ethnic groups who do not share a common religion. This underlines the point that change of religion holds different significance for the different ethnic groups. Thus, not only do the indices reveal very little, but the ethnic groups are not really comparable.

Occupation, as an index, is problematical, for again it is a function of generation and opportunity. Opportunities are mainly created through education, so adults who arrive with minimal qualifications will have little chance of occupational mobility. A peasant farmer from Yugoslavia, Greece or Italy will probably become and remain an unskilled labourer, and the relatively few whose position does improve

will probably move into 'ethnic' occupations. Zubrzycki's (1969) study showed that southern Europeans fill the lowest positions on the occupational hierarchy, a situation unlikely to change for those who are first generation immigrants. On the other hand an increase in mobility may occur as the second generation moves into the workforce. Recognising this, Lieberson preferred to use an inter-generational occupational index, a procedure which has not been followed in Australia.

On arrival in Australia the Lettesi were unskilled, for they came from a marginal farming area where there were no opportunities to acquire other skills. We have seen in Chapter 3 how for the first few years the Lettesi worked seasonally in the canefields of Proserpine then gradually they settled permanently in Newcastle where they mainly worked in the heavy industries.

In relation to occupational mobility three distinct patterns emerge from Table 28. One pertains to the older generation, another to those who arrived here as children and the last relates to those entirely educated in Australia. Initially, there was no alternative but to accept positions as unskilled labourers and for most of the people, 79%, their situation remains unchanged. These are mainly the older generation who have not attended school in Australia. There are a few exceptions. A few have learnt trades, but the moves have been mainly into ethnic occupations. Two have delicatessens, another is a barber, and some are self-employed in building and concreting. An interesting case is the real estate agent who, as a boy, was sent to a seminary in Italy. He alone had arrived with a secondary education.

Occupational mobility has been more apparent for those who arrived in Australia as children. Some like their fathers are unskilled

TABLE 28

OCCUPATION IN AUSTRALIA

(a) Over 15 years on arrival

1st Occupation		Last occupation	
Unskilled/Semi-skilled (mainly industry and construction)	63	Unskilled/Semi-skilled (mainly industry and construction)	50
Concreter	1	Concreter	3
Tailor	1	Tailor	1
		Builder	3
		Fitter	2
		Boilermaker	1
		Hairdresser	2
		Business (delicatessen)	2
		Business (real estate)	1

(b) 15 years and under on arrival

1st Occupation		Last Occupation	
Unskilled/Semi-skilled (mainly industry and construction)	10	Unskilled/Semi-skilled (mainly industry and construction)	6
Concreter	2	Concreter	7
Welder	1	Welder	1
Electrician	1	Electrician	1
Accountant	1	Hairdresser	1
Salesman	3	Salesman	1
		Foreman	1
		Boilermaker	1

TABLE 28 cont'd

(c) Educated fully in Australia
     Present Occupation

Male		Female	
Boilermaker	4	Clerk/Office Assistant	7
Electrician	2	Shop Assistant	5
Mechanic	2	Secretary	4
Salesman	2	Teacher	2
Engineer	2	Machinist	2
Accountant	1	Hairdresser	1
Fitter/Turner	1	Dental Therapist	1
Carpenter	1		
Bank Clerk	1		
Shop Assistant	0		

Source: Survey, 1976

TABLE 29

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH

(Spoken English, 1976)

	(a) Under 55 years		(b) 55 years and over	
	M	F	M	F
Very Good	38	19	0	0
Good	10	5	2	0
Adequate	11	8	4	1
Poor	5	11	7	6
Very Poor	0	4	6	9
Almost Nil	0	0	5	4

Source: Survey, 1976

labourers, but more have gained skills, not only in heavy industry,
but in other secondary and tertiary trades. A high proportion has moved
into concreting. A more dramatic change is evident for those who were
educated, exclusively, in Australia, the range of occupations being
increasingly more diverse with many more entering the tertiary sector.
Most have acquired skills and some are entering the professions. This
trend, however, may have declined since the onset of the current
economic recession.

These three distinct patterns of inter-generational mobility
illustrate the futility of using occupational indices based on the
birthplace census category, for in terms of opportunity the category is
arbitrary. It fails to discriminate between adult and child migrant
and fails to draw comparisons with second generations. It is only within
such inter-generational terms that the occupational index is relevant
and meaningful.

Knowledge of English, unlike the other indices, is relevant to
immigrants of any age or generation, for this is the means by which an
immigrant gains access to information and community resources. In his
study of immigrants in the Latrobe Valley Zubrzycki (1964, p.178) found
there were five main factors responsible for the extent of social
participation. All were factors of communication and the first and most
important was knowledge of English.

This index, however, is usually ignored, possibly because it is
seldom recorded except as 'language spoken in the home'. Table 29
illustrates the difficulty of assigning a reliable measure to knowledge
of English and of relating such a measure to spatial indices. Within
any single household unit, men and women may diverge significantly, men,

on the whole, speaking reasonably good English, and the women having a
wide range of English ability. The aged present a distinct pattern also,
most falling within the category of 'poor to very poor'. However, some
of the older men do speak good to adequate English.

These differences are related to need and opportunity. Men tend
to learn English from Australians at work while women, working mainly
as cleaners, or in restaurants, have little opportunity to mix with
Australians. As a result they lack confidence and prefer to speak
Italian. Some of the women speak very good English, learning it mainly
from their school age children in which case both languages are spoken
in the home. Most of the older couples, living alone, are not exposed
to the same opportunity. However two of the older men who could speak
good to adequate English were part of an extended family household,
the only two cases of such a household in the community.

In summary the degree of assimilation/integration of first
generation immigrants to Australia has been measured by social and
spatial indices from data available in the national census. The census
provides a convenient source of data which may be useful for aggregate
analysis, but only if the categories are meaningful for the purpose.
This is probably not so for the analysis of the process of integration/
assimilation where 'groups' within categories may behave very differently.
In addition, the social and spatial indices, selected largely as a
matter of convenience, are generally not relevant to first generation
immigrants. Problems with the indices, conveyed in the literature, have
been brought together as a general critique, supported by reference to
the Lettopalena community.

A COMMUNICATIONS MODEL OF INTEGRATION

Integration is a process whereby access is established by ethnic communities to the wider social system to satisfy needs in the process of adjustment. Because access is a function of communication, a communications model is a relevant framework for describing and analysing the process of integration. But before presenting an outline of the model I shall refer to comments by other researchers which serve to illustrate the central role of communication in the process of integration.

While Borrie (1959) has stressed that the key to integration is the ability to communicate (p.129), Bogardus (1958) has claimed that integration will proceed according to the degree to which communication channels are open and functioning (p.212). Though accepting the principle of cultural diversity, Brown (1970) has acknowledged the necessity of interchange (p.220), a view shared by Zubrzycki (1958, 1979) in supporting the role of the ethnic media as a vehicle for integration. He says:

> More than often the foreign language press acts as a
> bridge between two cultures and performs a unique role
> as an agency of acculturation and integration in a
> new country. (1979, p.6).

In a separate paper Zubrzycki has identified the conditions affecting immigrant participation and all of them refer to communication (1964, p.181).

Communication, and integration, are functions of community. Fitzpatrick (1966) refers to interpersonal channels as providing contacts at the primary group level, not only in relation to 'cultural assimilation', but for providing a bridge between communities and society (p.15). While Wheeler (1971) describes information flow as occurring

mainly through social interactions (p.200) and Larson and Hill (1958) see the sharing of information as an integral part of social interaction (p.497), both views subscribe to Cavelaar's (1967) belief that, although it may delay early social integration, 'group life' provides a solution to problems involving communication with the host group (p.43). Craig (1954) also viewed communities as channels for an immigrant to acquire information on Australia, seeing immigrants, themselves, as the principle source for information and advice about needs or problems (p.280).

While segregation has been seen as a physical barrier preventing the filtering of information to communities (Hyland 1970), de Fleur and Larson (1958) have nevertheless, considered the effectiveness of mass communications as being dependent on links with interpersonal networks (p.256). Katz stressed, as well, that population groups were not an atomised set of individuals and that the media should take account of interpersonal networks, not only as channels of information, but also as sources of social pressure and support (1957, p.61; 1960, p.436). Webber's (1967) concept of 'place based communities', referring to overlapping close-knit social networks of primary associations based upon residence, were characterised both by intensive interaction and by the rapid exchange of information (p.61). Wheeler (1971) saw social interaction being dependent upon spatial accessibility and social connectivity (p.202).

Communication patterns reflect feelings of identity and the social organisation of an ethnic community. Identity can be seen as a shared perspective, being derived from intensive collective transactions. These social interactions define and reinforce an immigrant's frame of reference and group affiliations (Riley and Riley 1951; Taft 1954;

Zubrzycki 1960), and collectively they reflect the leadership structure and patterns of influence within a community. Thus the structure of a group, its status organisation and its sociometric hierarchy are clearly related to predictable lines of communication in terms of the reciprocal relations of members (Larson and Hill 1958, p.497). Stycos (1952), in a study of communication patterns in a rural Greek village, found the teacher and the priest to have a key role as opinion leaders and information monopolists in a system where information was transferred either laterally, or down the scale of the social hierarchy.

Other studies have stressed the important relation between social organisation and communication patterns and the role of communications in sociocultural change. Meier (1962), for example, defined the city as a communications system with urban growth dependent upon the capacity of the system for storing and transmitting messages or information. Wheeler (1971) also conceptualized the city as a mechanism for facilitating information exchange through social communications, and he stressed the importance of social interaction in relation to the structure of social ties in cities. In their detailed analyses of organizations, Rogers and Agarwala-Rogers (1976) applied a communications model, similar to that of Meier (1962) and de Fleur and Larsen (1958) whose focus was mainly the diffusion of information. Diffusion of innovation and sociocultural change has been the primary concern of Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) whose communications model, derived from 1500 research studies, is the basis of my approach to the role of a community in the process of integration with the wider society.

In their survey into the information needs of migrants in Australia, Scott and Co. (1980) adopted a communications model, developed from the work of Marshack (1968) and Emery (1976). Prior to this I had presented

a paper (1979) entitled 'A Communications Model of Integration' based upon the survey (1976) carried out with Lettesi. The paper was later published (1980). Although there are basic similarities in the models, there are fundamental differences of concept and purpose. The purpose of the Scott report was,

> to provide a description of the channels through which information flows, what happens to it in the process and how it is received.
>
> (1980, p.4).

Although the report contains much useful information, it does not attempt to formulate a wider theoretical model, to link findings to a process of sociocultural change, nor to understand their significance in terms of sociospatial structure.

The model developed by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) was derived from analyses of a wide range of studies in sociology and anthropology, on the diffusion of innovation. Their theme that 'communication is essential to social change', with its emphasis on the structure and functions of social systems, is highly relevant to the study of integration which is concerned with both communication and diffusion.' Unlike the approach by Scott and Co. (1981), they emphasise process rather than cross-sectional analysis; they demonstrate an understanding of the interdependence in human relations rather than treating their subjects as isolated individuals; and, finally, they consider organizational structure and its interrelation with communication behaviour. I shall now present a summary of the elements of their model, but with minor modifications appropriate to the present purpose. Though

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1. *Communication is the process by which messages are transferred from a source to a receiver.*

   Diffusion is a process by which innovations spread to the members of a social system. It is concerned with messages as *new* ideas. (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971, p.39).

the model is elaborated at length in their work, I shall, nevertheless, provide sufficient clarity of detail to allow the reader an understanding of why it is appropriate as a framework for the study of integration.

The Elements of the Model (Figure 44)

The *item* may be an idea, a practice, or an object. Characteristics of the item affect clarity of communication or the decision of whether to adopt an innovation. Such characteristics would include its relative advantage as perceived by the receiver, its compatibility with existing culture, values and needs, its complexity or degree of difficulty of understanding, its trialability and its observability. The meaning of the idea, information etc. must also be encoded into appropriate symbols, for example, language.

The *sender* is the source of the item or message, or the agent of change in relation to an innovation. The sender's position in an organization or social system will largely determine the roles and relationships and the nature and extent of system effects, which may, in turn, present *barriers* to communication. Indeed structural modifications of the system may be necessary to achieve more effective communication.

The *receiver*, too, has a position in a system and is subject, also, to system effects. In this case the system is the ethnic community and the system effects are mainly sociocultural. These may present *barriers* to effective communication. In examining communications in organizations, Rogers and Agarwala-Rogers (1976) distinguish between the roles of gatekeeper, liaison, opinion leader and cosmopolite (p.140).

KEY

I	Information	SS	Social System
S	Sender	EC	Ethnic Community
R	Receiver	T	Time
C	Channel	Sp	Space
B	Barrier		

Source: Adaptation of Model by Rogers and
Shoemaker (1971)
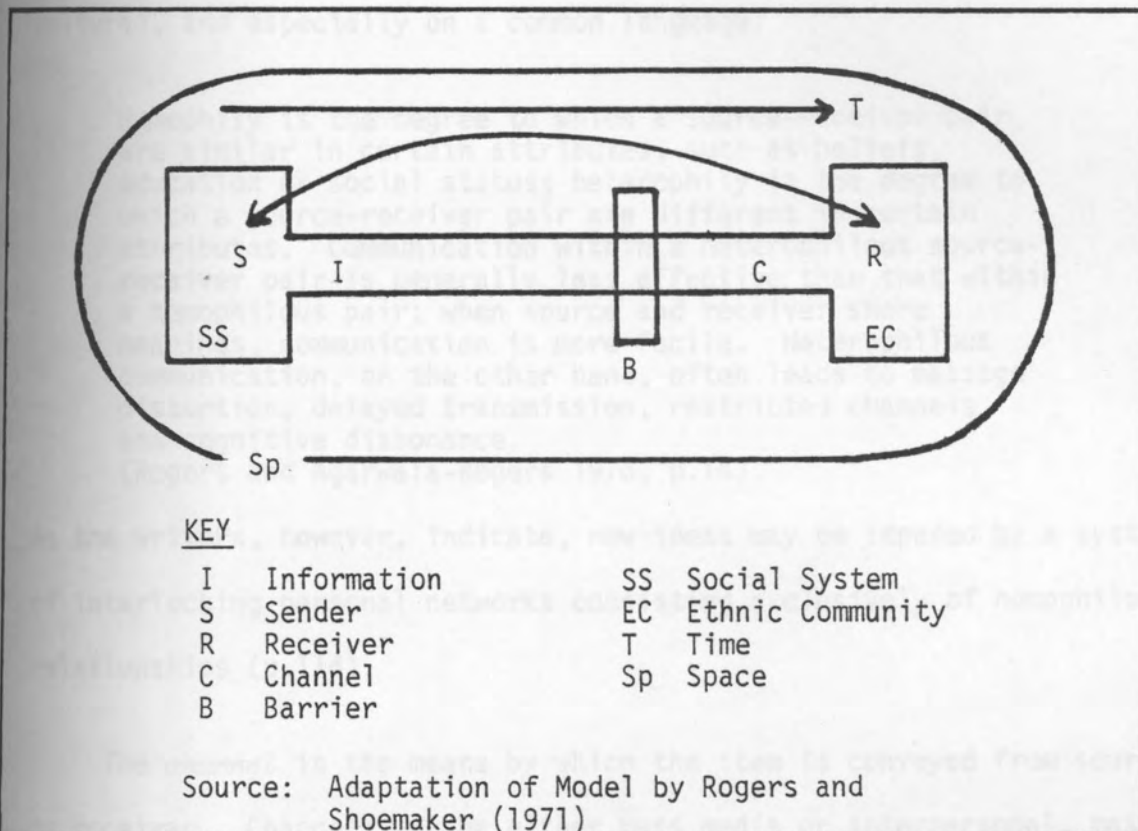
Figure 44: Communications Model

It can be seen that these roles are potentially influential (Figure 45) and that a person holding several roles is in a powerful position for facilitating the process of integration.

The *relationship* between *sender* and *receiver* is most important in respect to integration and will depend on many factors, both social and cultural, and especially on a common language.

> Homophily is the degree to which a source-receiver pair are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, education or social status; heterophily is the degree to which a source-receiver pair are different in certain attributes. Communication within a heterophilous source-receiver pair is generally less effective than that within a homophilous pair; when source and receiver share meanings, communication is more facile. Heterophilous communication, on the other hand, often leads to message distortion, delayed transmission, restricted channels and cognitive dissonance.
> (Rogers and Agarwala-Rogers 1976, p.14).

As the writers, however, indicate, new ideas may be impeded by a system of interlocking personal networks consisting exclusively of homophilous relationships (p.114).

The *channel* is the means by which the item is conveyed from source to receiver. Channels may be either mass media or interpersonal, mass media being effective in providing information to a large number of receivers; interpersonal channels, involving face-to-face contact, being more influential in attitudinal change. Where a message is complex it may be possible to reinforce it by the use of a number of different channels. Interpersonal channels, by facilitating feedback in a two-way exchange between sender and receiver, can provide a vehicle for effective integration. The interpersonal channel is therefore significant as a unit of analysis in examining the role of a community in the process of integration with society.

GATEKEEPER
— an individual who is located in a communication structure so as to control the messages flowing through a communication channel

LIAISON
— an individual who interpersonally connects two or more cliques within a system, without himself belonging to any clique

OPINION LEADERSHIP
— an individual able to informally influence other individuals' attitudes or overt behavior with relative frequency

COSMOPOLITE
an individual who has a relatively high degree of communication with the system's environment

Source: Rogers and Agarwala-Rogers (1976)

Figure 45: Community Roles

Communication effects are the changes which occur as a result of communication on the diffusion of innovations. In the context of this research they refer to integration. Rogers and Agarwala-Rogers (1976) list three types of effects - on the receiver's knowledge, attitudes and behaviour (p.13). Because of feedback, however, these changes may occur with reference to sender as well as to receiver and to their social situations. Thus modifications may be made to existing institutions to achieve more effective integration of minorities.

Time is an important consideration in the process, especially in relation to the diffusion of innovations where acceptance implies changes in norms and values, or where ideas are inconsistent with prevailing beliefs. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) identify four stages in the innovation - decision process-knowledge, persuasion, decision and confirmation; and they refer to receivers in terms of five adopter categories including innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards (pp.25-27). The rate of adoption mainly depends upon whether a social system has traditional or modern norms (p.28).

The *spatial* context is also important as communication occurs within a spatial arena, interpersonal communication having a spatial referrant which is different from that of mass media channels. Spatial analysis of communications patterns can therefore provide insight into the interrelations between interpersonal channels, their role in integration and their relation to a community and its spatial concentration.

In summary, studies of assimilation/integration have relied significantly on aggregate data, especially those concerned with spatial analyses, and so social and spatial indices have generally been accepted

as measures of the degree of assimilation/integration for first generation immigrants in Australia. However, reference to the literature and to data on the Lettesi, strongly questions the validity of the indices. As integration is dependent on access to information and resources provided by the wider social system, a communications model provides a more appropriate framework. The model proposed by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971), being derived from the findings of research on social change, is especially applicable to the area of integration. Unlike mechanistic models where sender and receiver are regarded as isolated units of analysis, this model takes account of sociocultural factors and the interrelations between participants in the process.

PART B.   THE INTEGRATION OF THE LETTESI COMMUNITY IN NEWCASTLE

ADJUSTMENT: SATISFACTION OF NEEDS

Integration occurs as links are created between individual members of an ethnic community and the social institutions of the wider society, for the purpose of gaining access to resources, to satisfy needs, in the process of adjustment. The concept of 'need' is central to adjustment, and by logical extension, to integration. Yet because the concept has generated debate, clarification is required as a preliminary to analysis. I shall consider the problem from three perspectives - the general debate on definition of 'need', on immigrant needs and locating the problem, and needs as expressed by Lettesi respondents.

The Definition of Need

Debate centres on the issue of whether there exists a 'natural' basis of primary human need to specify a system of 'natural rights' or whether the concept of basic need is determined by relative value and prescription. Fox (1982) sees the issue as being confused by the dominance of wants, wishes, desires, aspirations and utopias, over basic human needs. He claims that our pre-Neolithic ancestor knew what his needs were but that now needs are rights to be extended or withheld. He states,

> ...that all social policy should operate within human
> parameters...To deny human beings the satisfaction of human
> needs is, by definition, to cut at the roots of being human.
> (p.52).

Maslow's hierarchy[1] differentiates between basic biological needs and higher psychological motives. The latter, which are influenced

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1. See Helgard, Atkinson and Atkinson 1979, pp.315-316.

primarily by learning, are dependent on the satisfaction of basic needs and are satisfied in different ways among different cultural groups.

Some, including Malinowski (1937), have drawn the distinction between the existence of primary bodily needs and the associated 'instrumental imperative of culture' (p.627); others have been wary of the relativity of culture when defining human needs. Opinion is divided, as well, within cultures. The Henderson Report on Poverty (1975), in considering a model for welfare services, planning and delivery, commented that

> The notion of absolute, or unchanging needs is obviously untenable. (p.6).

This conclusion followed the discussion of a range of attitudes[1] considering the concept of basic need in relation to welfare, thus showing how definition could be relative to purpose, and, again, to ideological position. Nevertheless, within the Australian context, there is a considerable area of agreement which coincides with statements by writers such as Harvey (1973) who outlines areas of basic human need in relation to social justice and the city.

The premise of social justice provides the underpinning for the majority of recent works on immigrant welfare, including Lawrence's (1970) framework for 'Organised Action for Migrant Social Welfare', Martin and Zubrzycki's (1975) guidelines for social policy, the Galbally Report (1978) and 'Participation' (1978), and Staat's (1978) report, 'Priorities for Australian Social Welfare'. In one of the more recent contributions to this literature, Liffman (1981) states the prevailing assumption as,

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1. Drewnowski and Scott (1970); Raysmith (1972); A.C.O.S.S. (1973); McLeod (1970).

> ...fundamental...is the recognition that immigrants are
> a full and equal component of the nation's welfare
> constituency. (p.3).

The social consensus on the reality of social needs whether defined

in terms of 'natural need', 'minimum requirement' or 'social justice',

is reflected in the policies and institutions of society Lawrence

refers to the

> social needs recognised as basic to the well-being of the
> population and the better functioning of the social order.
> (Lawrence 1970, p.4).

The list of needs to which Lawrence refers is broadly consistent with

those in other studies. They include the following:

Income	Health
Housing	Recreation
Education	Family Well-Being
Employment	Civil and Political Rights.

Malinowski's (1937) 'instrumental imperative of culture' is in

Fox's (1982) terms 'the human social arrangements' or social institutions

serving human needs. A society based on the premise of social justice

views access to resources as a basic human right and assigns responsi-

bility for serving human needs to social institutions. Martin's (1978)

analysis of the institutional response to migrants in Australia

revealed a denial of this right.

Immigrant Needs: Locating the Problem

By defining needs as 'immigrant specific' there is a danger of

shifting institutional responsibility to individual immigrant or ethnic

groups. Problems are frequently exacerbated for the immigrant because

institutional structures are usually designed to meet the needs of only

English-speaking people. Stagoll (1980) illustrates how 'blaming the

victim' can produce a situation where services are ineffective; and

that the problem is one of structural modification. Martin (1978)
presents a similar perspective when considering how problems are located
'within migrants' and not as being derived from social institutions
(p.170).

Some writers have argued that immigrant needs are essentially no
different from other Australians. Taft (1977) concedes that there are
certain universal human needs and modes of functioning that must be
satisfied in all cultures. He says, however, that

> While these needs are universal, each culture prescribes
> different modes of satisfying them. Strangers who enter
> a new society can attempt to satisfy their needs either
> by participating in the culturally approved means of doing
> so or by belonging to sub societies within the larger one
> in which they can pursue their needs in the familiar
> manner of their original culture. (p.134).

The reality is that neither choice is fully open to the non-English
speaking immigrant. Devoid of information and understanding of the
mechanisms which serve to distribute society's resources, access is
frequently denied him; and pluralist sub-systems, referred to by
Liffman (1981), without adequate resources, are not a viable alternative.
While most immigrants do share the needs of other Australians, the
mechanisms for satisfying those needs are inappropriate and largely
inaccessible to a large proportion of immigrants. In addition, though
their needs may be similar in kind, they are greater in intensity,
incidence and complexity. The Scott and Co. survey into the infor-
mation needs of immigrants states:

> What differences there were lay in intensity of need
> not type. (Scott and Co. 1980, p.14).

The Scott and Co. report (1980) on the information needs of
immigrants showed no statistical differences in relation to type of
need between their samples of overseas-born and the Australian and

U.K.-born control groups (p.18). Although they identified ten categories of need, the following five areas accounted for 70% of all expressed needs - health, finance, employment, education/job-training and everyday matters (p.18). For information needs, health and employment accounted for 40% of the 'most important requirements', health being seen as the dominant information need (p.65). It is curious that housing has not been listed though it is referred to under problems of finance (p.71). Had Scott and Co. considered the resettlement process instead of depending on a time specific survey, they could not have ignored the significance of housing, not only in relation to basic and important need, but the implication in terms of propinquity and its effect on the information function of community.

Some argue, nevertheless, that problems do exist which are unique to immigrants. Liffman (1981) identifies the essential aspects of the immigrant circumstance which generate specific needs. They are culture, language and communication, experience and knowledge, and resettlement (p.2). He provides examples in Child Care and Social Security where there are legal constraints specific to immigrants, where attitudes and behaviour are discriminatory, and where processes of delivery are so culturally inappropriate as to create additional barriers and problems (pp.15-24). Liffman is, however, confusing need and structure. The particular cases to which he refers show structural deficiencies; they do not reveal needs which are unique to the immigrant. This distinction is important for policy and planning purposes.

For structures to be modified to meet the needs of immigrants, immigrant needs must, however, be identified. As previously stated they are similar in kind to those of the population generally, but vary in intensity, incidence and complexity. Much has been written

concerning this subject in government reports and in immigration literature - some relating to needs in general,[1] but other work focusing on specialist areas, including health[2], employment[3], education[4], the law[5], and information and communications[6]. Recommendations from reports have provided the basis for minor modifications of social institutions, but the change has been minimal. It will be shown in the conclusion that a communications model can incorporate all the relevant aspects for determining an effective policy on migrant health so that services are responsive, appropriate and accessible, and that the model can be applied to different areas of need, thus facilitating the process of integration.

Needs as Expressed by Lettesi Respondents

While formal institutions are mainly designed to satisfy basic instrumental needs, assessed on the basis of recommendations from objective reports, surveys and other research, primordial, expressive needs are met more informally, within the closer bonds of family,

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1. Examples include Aust. Gov. Com. of Inquiry into Poverty (1975), Galbally Report (1978), Participation Report (1978), National Women's Advisory Council Report (1979), and many works by authors such as Stoller (1966), Taft (1973, 1977) etc.

2. Examples include more general outlines, for example, Geraghty (1980), Lennie (1981). Other specialised areas of health include the ageing (Hearst 1981), psychiatric illness (Krupinski 1967, 1969, 1982), refugees (Lee 1980; Macdonald 1980; Chan 1982), rehabilitation (Stagoll 1980, 1980a), health professional (Porteous 1976; Phillips 1981), ethnic clients (Pasquarelli 1976; Moraitis 1980) etc. See N.S.W. Health Commission Bibliography on Health and the Migrant (1982).

3. Examples include A.C.T.U. Report (1978), Storer (1976), Krupinski and Berry (1980), etc.

4. Examples include Com. Dept.of Ed. Report (1975), Smolicz (1975, 1976), Bullivant (1977), Piperoglou (1980) etc.

5. Aust. Gov. Com. of Inquiry into Poverty (1975).

6. Dept. of Immig. (1973), Com. of Aust. (1974), Scott and Co. (1980).

friends and kin, and are expressed more subjectively. I shall now
provide, within the context of the life cycle, 'felt' needs as
expressed by Lettesi respondents during their early years of re-
settlement in Australia, for the social world that an immigrant creates
may be seen as a response both to instrumental and expressive needs.

Respondents were asked how long it had taken to 'feel at ease' in
their new situation. The responses are summarised in Table 30.
Problems of adjustment were often presented by reference to specific
needs, both expressive and instrumental. Usually, however, feelings of
alienation, loneliness, frustration, anxiety and depression resulted
from a complex combination of factors , from a general inability to
function adequately and from the need for support from family and
friends.

> Four to five years I cry every day, every night, because
> I understand nothing.

The period of adjustment was variable, however, from 'never feeling
at ease' to 'about ten years', the most frequent period mentioned being
one year.   The determining factors were often interrelated, being
stage of the life cycle, time and age on arrival, sex, personality and
social support.

Lettesi who arrived as very young children were generally not
aware till commencing school of a difficult period of 'settling in'.
Till then they were enclosed within the safe walls of community, their
external contact being minimal and voluntary. Now, at school, they
were forced, for the first time, to confront the problems of the
immigrant child, and the first six months were generally very difficult,
especially for an eldest child.

> For the first few months he cried all the time - vomited
> every morning.

TABLE 30

TIME NEEDED TO FEEL AT EASE IN AUSTRALIA

Period (Yrs)	No.	%
Never felt ill at ease	8	9.3
6 mths or less	12	13.9
1	26	30.2
2	12	13.9
3	11	12.8
4	8	9.3
5	5	5.8
6	2	2.3
7	1	1.2
10	1	1.2

Source: Survey 1976

When he wanted to go to the toilet he couldn't explain.
Didn't want to go to school.

I began school with no English - it was very hard. I'd
come home crying and need my parents to help but they
couldn't.

We couldn't help her at all.

I used to stand on our second storey verandah. I could
see the girls in the playground - all by themselves.
They just stood in a corner, all sad. I used to cry and cry
for them.

As language difficulties were gradually overcome, the child came
to focus on the feeling of being different.

I wasn't like anyone else at school. If they said,
'Get your parents to come', mine didn't, because they
couldn't speak English. We always had the uniform but
I always felt different.

Some children accommodated to both situations, being 'Italian' at
home and at other times, 'Australian'. This was often the case for an
eldest sibling where the parents arrived somewhat older than the norm,
then depended on the child as their main point of contact. The child
would have to bridge an enormous cultural gulf to meet family demands
and responsibilities, ranging from interpreter to tax consultant. The
situation at school was seldom any easier.

I was eleven. I was very unhappy, depressed and
frustrated.

They ridiculed me. I couldn't do anything because
I couldn't speak English.

There were fights nearly every day.

While the primary school child often made an adjustment, it was
difficult for those arriving as teenagers to adapt to the complex
demands of a High School. Though teachers were often kind they had no
special training for assessing the problem and dealing with it
constructively. If a child could not speak English there were generally

two alternatives - placement in a class with younger children, or in a general activity class for slower learners.

> *They thought because he couldn't speak English he knew nothing. They gave him very simple things to do - things he could do in Italy. He lost interest.*

Rather than prolonging the misery of school the child would leave on attaining the legal age to find employment in the category of 'unskilled'.

Young, 'single' men comprised most of the earlier arrivals, for in the chain migration process from Lettopalena to Australia the adult male would precede his family to ensure them security and a home on arrival. This period of prolonged separation from family was the time when they faced their most difficult adjustment. A multiplicity of problems contributed to this but underlying it all was the nagging loneliness.

> *For three years, before my wife came; but it's still hard.*
>
> *Felt better only after the wife came, after 16 months.*
>
> *It was language, a bit of everything.*

Language was the most pervasive problem, especially in the case of earlier arrivals and for those who came by Assisted Passage. Proserpine provided a temporary respite, for in the canefields there was little need to communicate in English. But once they began to establish themselves in the Newcastle urban industrial milieu, language presented a persistent barrier to attaining even the bare necessities.

> *Came here. Boss spoke Italian. Went to Proserpine and all spoke Italian. Always had friends here.*
>
> *At Bonnegilla there was no interpreter. Had to use sign language.*
>
> *Couldn't find the proper food. We lived terribly over there but still we had spaghetti and gravy.*

*For five years very hard. Australians didn't like New
Australians then. All the time trouble at the pub.
Everywhere - all the time.*

*New country is like a jungle. You have to survive.
You have to work. Is very hard...No matter what you
are in Italy, what I am here - I'm nothing. Can't even
look for a job. You think to yourself 'I never be able
to talk English'.*

Women, on the whole, being more isolated socially, not only found English more difficult to learn, but contact with Australians was more humiliating and distressing. In addition they often felt the ridicule of their children.

One mother would speak Italian to the children but they would answer her in English. Yet if she tried to speak to them in English they would laugh at her, saying,

Ah, she doesn't speak properly.

*They ridicule me. Because I can't speak English I
can't help them.*

Her husband commented,

She understand a lot but too scared to say anything.

This was a common problem. Another woman clearly recalled an experience she had in a butcher's shop when the shop assistant laughed at her attempts to ask for what she needed, in English.

*I was so ashamed. I went straight home, I was so
angry, and I cried all night.*

One husband, in referring to his wife, said

*I take her shopping. She doesn't need to learn more
English.*

Nevertheless a high proportion of women did speak English (Table 29) 28% being fluent but these were the younger ones. None of the older women had fluency in English.

Elderly Lettesi relate closely to their families and are the most

socially isolated from the general community. It would appear, as well, that some have regressed significantly to their native Italian, in the years following retirement. The observation applies to the older generation leaders who were so active in providing support for other members and who now live wholly within the confines of community.

> *My mother's quite happy now. Can manage important things, and they always call on me if they need anything.*
>
> *Has no problems really. Doesn't get upset if she can't talk to anyone because she has all her friends.*
>
> *Never really felt that bad. Was never on my own. Daughter interprets for me.*
>
> *With language he never had any problems, because there were always Lettesi or Italians boarding there. If someone come to the door they'd get someone to speak for them.*
>
> *Many now too old. He just lives Italian all the way.*

In describing their early period of adjustment Lettesi mainly referred to their feelings of loneliness, inadequacy, frustration and often, anger, at the barriers imposed by the English language and by their feelings of being different. They seldom referred to objective needs. What their words strongly underline is the expressive role of family, friendship, and their feeling of belonging to 'community'. Tony expressed it succinctly, in his own way.

> *Say I was in a place where there were lot of Italians - I'd feel confident. But if I was with Lettesi I'd feel sure...With father that's different. If friendship is sure, then father must be certainty.*

THE DEFINITION OF 'COMMUNITY'

It has generally been acknowledged that 'community' research lacks a firm, objective, theoretical basis (Bell and Newby 1974, p.xliii), the absence of consensus being demonstrated by Hillery (1955) in his

analysis of 94 definitions of the concept. He concludes that

> ...there is no complete agreement as to the nature
> of community...beyond the concept that people are
> involved. (Hillery 1955, p.119).

Even the formulations of the early sociologists - of Tönnies (1940)
distinction between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, Durkheim's (1947)
mechanical and organic solidarity and Redfield's (1961) dichotomy of
the urban/folk continuum were expressions involving both structure and
values. As Tonnies (1974) himself said when reflecting on the
tendency to idealise the notion of community,

> ...the expression bad Gemeinschaft violates the
> meaning of the word. (p.7).

In the introduction to their book *The Sociology of Community*, Bell
and Newby (1974) claim that:

> ...most definitions of community reflect not so much
> what community is but what it should be. (p.3).

It lies beyond the scope of the present research to summarise the
field of community studies. This has been attempted by other writers,
for example, by Warren (1972), Bell and Newby (1974), and by Wellman
and Whitaker (1970) who have also undertaken an extensive annotated
bibliography on the subject. Instead, I shall focus on ethnic
communities, or what Gans (1962) has described as 'urban villagers'.

Three main issues need to be addressed in respect to definition of
an ethnic 'community' - structure and ideology, form and function, and
role in relation to the wider social system. Two examples of the use
of the term Gemeinschaft will serve to illustrate how concepts like
'community' can be presented as ideology in the process of definition,
a problem well illustrated by Elias (1973) and Gusfield (1975). Boal,
in stressing the conflict model, quotes Oppenheimer as saying,

> The urban village is...a 'pseudo-Gemeinschaft' the
> inhabitants being the urban equivalent of the peasant

villager...a critical component of the rural
insurrectionary situation. (Boal 1972, p.167).

Teo (1971), on the contrary, has applied the same term to denote the
importance of culture and consensus for preserving community in
Chinatown, in Sydney. These polar positions are typical of the debate,
already referred to in Chapter 4, concerning primordial and instrumental
bases of community. It is essential to be aware of these positions
as ideology when describing the form and functions of community. The
salient characteristics will now be discussed to provide a background for
observations of the Lettesi, in an attempt to provide some control for
subjectivity.

Some agreement was apparent from Hillery's analysis of definitions
of community. He concluded that:

> ...most students...are in basic agreement that community
> consists of persons in social interaction within a
> geographic area. (Hillery 1955, p.111).

Others, too, support this inclusion of territory (Parsons 1960, p.153;
Warren 1972, p.9). Yet despite the emphasis, characteristic in ethnic
writings, on the spatial measure of segregation, which Villeneuve (1971)
sees as 'a manifestation of the close relation between ethnicity and
territory' (p.846), there still is disagreement on whether territory is
a necessary concomitant of community. Stacey (1974), for example,
states:

> A consideration of the social attributes of individuals
> living in a particular geographic area is therefore
> not sociology. (p.15).

She quotes Pahl (1966) as saying,

> ...any attempt to tie particular patterns of social
> relationships to specific geographic milieu is a
> singularly fruitless exercise. (pp.15-16).

The most rigid definition has been applied to the 'ghetto',

described as 'a geographically closed system of interaction' (Wheeler 1971, p. 200) In Wirth's (1928) historical account of the 'ghetto' he showed how boundaries were institutionalised politically, and a similar kind of process of institutionalisation has occurred for Black Belt communities in America (Rose 1969). Boal (1972) has presented a similar definition of 'a territorially bounded social system' which again, would imply community closure. Yet Connell (1970), in his discussion of the 'urban village' concept, was hesitant to apply it to ethnic communities because they often formed part of overlapping social systems (p.15). Borrie supplies a looser definition:

> A community is a group of individuals...who live in a
> more or less determined geographic area. (Borrie 1959, p.125).

While there is general agreement that localisation facilitates the process of group formation, and the maintenance of community culture and identity, there are some who argue that residential propinquity is not a necessary condition for community (Gusfield 1975; Martin 1970; Bottomley 1973; 1979).

> ...there is nothing, except the fact of propinquity
> itself, distinctive about local as compared to other
> kinds of community. (Martin 1970, p.336).

Following the work of Bott (1971), Barnes (1972) and Mitchell (1969), Martin applied a social network model to analyse patterns of social network structure as they emerged in the 'social environment' of individuals. Her 'social environment' was the same, in concept, as Bottomley's (1975, p.112) 'social field' and Shibutani's (1962, p.136) 'social world'. She defines it:

> ...not as the local area in which they live but as
> the network of actual social relations they maintain,
> regardless of whether they are confined to the local
> area or not. (Martin 1970, p.305).

Martin was able to differentiate between three aspatial, social network types - community, clustered and loose-knit. In her study of Greeks, Bottomley (1973; 1979) identified only the 'community' and 'clustered' types. In Martin's sample the wider differentiation of primary group structure was probably indicative of a higher degree of 'urbanisation' a condition which could occur for ethnic communities as members become increasingly mobile.

From her network analysis Martin was able to nominate three factors which identified 'community':

> ...the number of units in the field is large enough for
> them to be linked together in a variety of ways;...
> relationships between members are dense, either over
> the whole portion or in multi-linked clusters; and
> links exist - not necessarily directly...between each
> member and all other members (Martin 1970, p.337).

Martin's aspatial definition of community with its emphasis purely on relational aspects, could provide a more rigorous tool of analysis if time and spatial dimensions were retained. Given the significance of ethnic segregation and changes in patterns of ethnicity through time, one needs to understand how these relate to 'communities', to changing patterns of community structure and to integration with society through time. Grimes (1979), in his analysis of friendship patterns among Irish immigrants, resident in Sydney, identified two types of sociospatial pattern, confirming that spatial pattern is socially meaningful. This was also apparent in my analysis of Lettesi.

The roles and relations within a community, and implied by its social network structure, provide information on community function. Ethnic communities satisfy needs which may be expressive/cultural or instrumental, and so they provide a range of supportive functions. Although this is now widely recognised and accepted, researchers often tend to emphasise that aspect defined by their own ideological stance.

So Manderson (1981) in her work on migration as bereavement, Stoller (1966), when writing on stress and adjustment, Zubrzycki (1957), on personal disorganization, and Kovacs and Cropley (1975) when focusing on alienation, all tend to emphasise the expressive, support function. Others have seen the ethnic community as providing a system of culture maintenance - Bottomley (1973; 1979) through the socialization role of primary networks, Tsounis (1971; 1975), through the formal institutions of community, and Wheeler (1971), through intra-group communications channels. While some have considered both the cultural and instrumental roles (Martin 1972; Thompson 1973; Lee 1969), others have attended more specifically to instrumental roles - MacDonald (1964) in his work on chain migration and community, Hyland (1970) in considering access to opportunity, Taft (1973; 1977) when looking at satisfaction of needs and Herman and Schild (1961) when considering the construction of a credible 'social reality' by an ethnic community, as a means of providing a sense of security.

Discussion of the role of an ethnic community in the process of integration with the wider society has been hampered by subjective and confusing terminology, a problem explored at length in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, whether one uses the term 'adjustment', 'assimilation' or 'integration' there is widespread acknowledgement that the process has been facilitated by the supportive role of the ethnic group.

Some remain ambivalent, accepting this position, while at the same time insisting that the process has been impeded by the spatial concentration of ethnic minorities (Price 1977, p.344; Cavelaars 1967). Given the complexity of the concepts involved, and the generality of the claims being made, their statements are probably indisputable. Least in dispute is the concept of 'adjustment', where the positive role

of the community has been argued strongly, for many years, by Stoller (1966) and Zubrzycki[1] (1957; 1961; 1961(a); 1964), at a later stage by Taft (1973; 1977), and recently by Kirkland (1980). This process concerns the well-being of the immigrant and is only indirectly concerned with the relation between the ethnic community and the wider society.

To achieve a satisfactory level of adjustment immigrants' needs must be satisfied both through the expressive support of family and friends and through access to resources in the wider social system. Thus links must be created between the individual immigrant, his ethnic group and the wider society, a process essential to immigrant integration. The earlier concept of assimilation, and some interpretations given to integration, implied the destruction of the ethnic community. The present approach will focus on the role of the ethnic community in the process of integration, not simply as a buffer or cultural retreat but as an active mechanism facilitating access, for links that exist with the wider social system have mainly been formed through the networks of the group.

THE INTEGRATION OF THE LETTESI COMMUNITY

The Lettesi community, resident in Newcastle, have achieved a remarkable level of adjustment. Emigrating from a region that was economically depressed the people arrived with minimal education and virtually no industrial skills. Yet, at the time of the interviews, a

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1. Although Zubrzycki sometimes uses the term 'adjustment' (1961; 1964) and at other times 'assimilation' (1961;1968), the well-being of the immigrant has been central to his concern and has provided the guiding premise for his work.

time of high unemployment (1976)[1], no Lettesi was unemployed[2], all
lived in homes that were adequate to their needs, there was a generally
high level of intergenerational mobility, health and welfare problems
were comparatively minimal, and the people expressed a high degree of
satisfaction. This situation is all the more extraordinary when
considering that many still have difficulty with English (Table 29). The
expressive and instrumental roles of the community have been crucial to
their adjustment and to their integration.

The integration of the Lettesi community can best be explained by
reference to both the 'primordial' and the 'instrumental' perspectives.
While on the one hand the community came into being as the expression of
a past and a culture they shared, and simply from a feeling of being
comfortable among their own, their solidarity is also the expression of
a need to create a social world to deal with the problems an immigrant
faces in an alien world. While the following approach may, at first,
seem instrumental, increasingly it is clear that the functional role of
the community is sustained by primordial bonds of kinship and that
structure and function are intimately linked.

The focus of the study is mainly on the role of the community in
coping with the life situations faced by immigrants in an alien society.
The fundamental problem is communication. Through communication

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1. In 1976 the unemployment rate for the Hunter Statistical Area was
   6.3% compared with 4.8% from the whole of Australia (Australian Census,
   1976).

   With the current deepening recession, however, involving large-scale
   retrenchments at B.H.P., in associated heavy industry, and in sub-
   contracting areas such as concreting, the situation will radically change.
   These are the industries where most Lettesi work.

2. One Lettesi was unemployed but had received compensation following an
   industrial injury.

immigrants gain access to the resources necessary to satisfy their needs and the social world an immigrant creates may be seen to function as a communications system, channelling information along social networks to those who would otherwise be unable to receive it. Without such information adjustment is impeded and significant integration does not occur.

A communications model of integration provides a framework for examining the way that an immigrant gains access to the wider social system. In the present study of integration of the Lettopalena community in Newcastle, interpersonal channels assume the major focus. Their significance was also apparent in Chapter 4 when examining access to housing information. The analysis of community social networks as interpersonal channels providing access to resources, can assist our understanding of community structure and the role of the community in the process of integration.

The survey on information needs of immigrants in Australia (Scott and Co. 1980) confirmed that 'for a great majority of migrants the 'Close People" channel was the initial source of information'. In terms of understanding it was also the 'most helpful' and the most effective for transmitting information. As well, it could communicate in a person's own language and within the terms of his value system (Scott and Co. 1980, p.159). Scott and Co., however, considered immigrants in general and did not relate their findings to the roles and relationships which together imply community structure. This is an important aspect of my research.

Lettesi Interpersonal Channels

The main determinant of variations in pattern of interpersonal channels is the item of information and its specific characteristics in

relation to needs. Although areas of need, both expressive and instrumental, are closely linked to community role, I shall not attempt to outline a comprehensive list of migrant information needs. This was the purpose of the Scott Report (1980). Instead, those areas which I have selected represent a range of information categories relating both to the more objective framework I have derived from readings on basic human needs, and from discussions with Tony (70)[1], who was President at that time (1976), on areas of need experientially perceived. Tony was, in retrospect, the most appropriate informant, having provided information to fellow Lettesi on the widest range of information categories (11), an observation apparent on completion of the analysis of data provided by the 86 respondents. The categories and frequencies are presented in Appendix 4 which includes additional sociometric data and data on Committee membership. Summary tables of the principal informants and their leadership roles are provided for the categories, and should also be referred to throughout the following discussion (Table 31,(a)-(j)).

The analysis of sources of assistance and information for selected items shows clear differentiation between the roles of *gatekeeper* and *opinion leader*. While the three who have filled the position of President may be seen by the community as *opinion leaders*, only one is distinctive for his role as *gatekeeper*. As well as providing the widest range of assistance and information to other Lettesi, Tony (70) ranks third in terms of the number of information items referred to him. He has responded to almost every area of need, including those requiring a high degree of literacy, and to those demanding confidence and trust; and

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1. Identification numbers are provided for the purpose of clarifying individual roles. Members of the community wished to be referred to by their real names. They objected strongly to 'being reduced to a number' or to a pseudonym. Confidentiality is, nevertheless, maintained wherever it is considered to be desirable.

TABLE 31

LETTESI INTERPERSONAL CHANNELS, PRINCIPAL INFORMANTS

(a) Informants Providing Wide Range of Items and Their Ages

Identif. No.	Age (Yrs)	Range of Items
*70	44	11
* 1	44	9
* 7	45	8
12	50	8
*67	43	7
*26	48	7
*37	53	7
69	43	7
33	41	6
19	56	6
21	70	6

*Informants scoring highly on both range and total no. of items.

(b) Informants Providing Information on Large No. of Items and Their Ages

Identif. No.	Age (Yrs)	Range of Items
47	47	43
* 7	45	37
*70	44	34
82	61	28
35	43	26
30	58	26
* 1	44	25
50	56	19
13	60	19
41	61	18
*67	43	18
*26	48	17
*37	53	17
58	63	16
55	60	16

*Informants scoring highly on both range and no. of items. They are the Principal Gatekeepers.

TABLE 31 cont'd

310

(c) Literacy Items - Principal Informants, Their Ages and Leadership
     Roles

Identif. No.	Age	Range	Total Items
*70	44	11	34
* 1	44	9	25
*37	53	7	17
°33	41	6	8
°12	50	8	14
°69	43	7	10
14	46	5	7
72	38	3	5
66	40	4	4
83	32	5	6
49	29	1	1

* Informants scoring highly on both range and no. of items.
° Informants scoring highly on range only

(d) Health Information - Principal Informants and Leadership Roles

Med. Fund	Medibank	Baby H./ Immunis.	Doctor	Dentist
*70	*70	*70	*70	* 7
* 1	* 1	*67	* 7	*67
*37	45	*26	*67	* 1
+55	°33	*37	°21	*26
+58	+69	° 7	°19	*37
°19	#66	°33	+35	°12
	#83	°12	+82	24
		°19	+13	2
		2		20
				56
				10

* High score on both range and total no. of items.
° High score on range of items only.
+ High score on total no. of items only
# High score on literacy items but neither on range nor the total no. of
  items.

TABLE 31 cont'd

(e) Legal and Financial Information (Home Loan) - Principal Informants and Leadership Roles

Home Finance	Legal
*70	*70
* 7	°69
*37	
°21	
°12	
x47	
x30	
23	
57	
79	
31	
#83	

* High score on both range and total no. of items
° High score on range only
x High score on total no. of items
High score on literacy but neither range nor total no. of items

(f) Information on Jobs - Principal Informants and Leadership Roles

Identif. No.		
*70	x35	64
*67	x30	43
* 1	x47	14
		72
		75

* High score on both range and total no. of items
x High score on total no. of items only

TABLE 31 cont'd

(g) Example of an Entry Chain into Concreting

	No. 43	
	Job Sequence	

1. B.H.P.
2. Stewart and Lloyds
3. Cantarelli; Concreting
4. Frank de Vitis, Concreting
5. Self Employed, Concreting

Note: Frank de Vitis is also a Lettesi

(h) Information on Housing - Principal Informants and Leadership Roles

Identif. No.		
*26	x82	47 Real Estate Agent
* 7	x30	4
* 1	x50	57
	x13	
	x41	
	x55	
	x58	

* High score on both range and total no. of items
x High score on total no. of items only

TABLE 31 cont'd

(i) Accommodation Assistance - Principal Helpers and Their Ages

Identif. No.	Age
* 7	45
*37	53
x82	61
x30	58
x50	56
x55	60
°12	50
47 Estate Agent	47
5	51
38	48
4	49
34	61

Note: Ages are relatively high.
* High score on both range and total no. of items
x High score on total no. of items only
° High score on range of items only

(j) Sponsorship - Dominant Participants and Their Ages

Identif. No.	Age
* 7	45
x30	58
41	61
20	65

* High score on both range and total no. of items
x High score on total no. of items only

Source: Survey 1976

being one of the first to be fluent in English, he has filled the additional role of interpreter. His instrumental role is supported by his position as head of the largest extended family group, comprising a total of sixteen nuclear households (Table 13).

There are six people who are dominant in the role of *gatekeeper*, having satisfied a wide range of information needs, and provided information on a large number of items. Of the three who predominate, two have been committee members. All six emigrated during the early post-war phase between 1948 and 1953 and were aged between seventeen and twenty-five years. They soon emerged as community leaders. Vincenzo (37) was a brother of Antonio Rossetti, the canefarmer in Proserpine who had sponsored twenty-five Lettesi, and the son of Arcangelo, one of the two pioneers. Domenico's (65) family had bought the first Lettesi home in Islington where *paesani* gathered together to exchange information. As recounted in Chapter 4, Domenico's home was a symbol of Lettesi identity and belonging (Table 31 (a)(b)).

Frank (1) was a *gatekeeper* but never a member of the committee, for as Tony explained, *'He didn't want to be'*. He is sociable but shy, competent but non-assertive, somewhat lacking in confidence but a warm, approachable person. His English is very good and he scores relatively highly on literacy items such as medical forms and explaining the complexities of the Medibank system. He has mainly assisted in providing accommodation, information on jobs and housing opportunities. His kinship network of fifteen families was strengthened considerably by his marriage to Tony's (70) sister.

A comparison of informants for a wide range of information types with those providing information on a large number of items, reveals an interesting age differential. While the older generation leaders are

significant as *gatekeepers*, the range of information they provided was restricted to survival areas such as sponsorship, jobs, accommodation assistance and information on housing. Only one of them, Tony's father, who is now deceased, was an exception to this general pattern, having contributed advice on the more complex areas of housing finance and health matters. Tony fondly recalls how it was.

> *I remember when I was young I noticed these things. A lot of people used to go to him to ask his opinion. They'd say, 'I'm thinking of buying a house, Leone. Do you think I'm doing the right thing?' They'd come for his opinion on all sorts of things. They must have respected him. It made me feel good.*

Apart from Leone (21) who was seventy years of age (1976), those providing information on a wide range of items were of a later generation, aged between forty-one and forty-six years (1976). Most of them had arrived aged between twenty-one and twenty-five. If one, however, considers those who are significant for providing information on literacy items (Table 31(c)) the age range decreases to twenty-nine to fifty-three years. They include a number who had arrived here as children and had received at least part of their education in Australia. Some had ageing fathers who had difficulty with English. One of these was Frank (83), eldest son of Donato (58), and I recall the interview when, with Frank as interpreter, Donato shared his memories of Lettopalena.

He and a number of other Lettesi were fired upon by the Germans for their non co-operation. Donato and some friends were wounded in the incident. These memories of shared experience during periods of great duress have strengthened the bonds of community belonging and in spite of the limitations imposed by language, Donato, nevertheless has played a *gatekeeper* role, providing information on housing to eleven other families.

Younger men, like Frank[1] (83) have undertaken a *liaison* role between their families and the complex institutions of society but have not been significant either as *gatekeepers* or *opinion leaders* to the Lettesi community, in a wider sense. It is typical that Frank is one of the few married to an Australian and is living at Charlestown, in one of the newer subdivisions. Some of the younger men, however, have played the role of community *gatekeeper*, but usually in a more restricted sense to members within their own generation, creating entry chains into concreting jobs (Table 31(g)).   As already mentioned in Chapter 4, many of these men are dispersed Lettesi. This process is an interesting study in itself and is repetitive of a pattern among Italians in other cities.

As already noted there is a role differentiation between *gatekeeper* and *opinion leader*, though often a person may fill both roles. Both Nick (2) and Tony[2] (24) have been President of the community but neither are predominant in the *gatekeeper* role. This is understandable in Tony's case as he arrived in Australia in 1956, after the formative pioneering stage and when gatekeeper roles were already well established. He is President today when the Committee's responsibilities are mainly those of organising social activities. His position at the top of the sociometric scale and as head of a large extended family system (thirteen families), reinforces his position as community President.

Nick (2) is highly regarded as an *opinion leader*. He was Foundation President, is the current Treasurer, and is the only Lettesi to hold Committee positions continuously since 1969. His status in the community is independent of family for his only kin, now living in

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1. Frank di Donato (83) is a different person from Frank di Domenico (1) who married Tony's (70) sister.
2. This is not the same Tony (70), earlier mentioned. Both have served long terms as President of the Committee.

Australia, are his sister Matilde and her only son, Sergio. Nick is married to an Australian, has an excellent knowledge of English and was naturalized in 1960. In terms of these commonly accepted criteria, Nicola has achieved a high level of integration and one might expect that residentially and socially he would have moved away from the parent community. He resides, however, in the very core of the community and Maureen, his wife, is proud to be a Lettesi. She feels they are *'very lucky'* and she has tried to draw closer by attending classes to learn to speak Italian.

Nick's(2) position as *opinion leader* is paradoxically a function of his integration skills but more especially an expression of the warmth and affection with which he is regarded throughout his community. Though his *gatekeeper* role is not strongly apparent from the detailed analysis of information sources, I became aware, throughout the course of the survey, that Nicola, indeed, was someone 'special'. I asked Tony (70) to express this in his own words. He said,

> *You want one word? - Humanitarian! If someone's in trouble Nick's the first to try to help. He always try to help everybody. I call Nick 'the Untouchable'. If anyone criticise him it wouldn't be true. If I have to describe my feelings about Nick - and I've never told him how I feel, I'd have to say, like two brothers - the affection between them. With Nick, apart from my brothers and my sisters, my family - that's what I feel towards him and I know that's what he feels towards me.*

This warmth for Nick was often expressed throughout the course of my interviews with Lettesi.

Opinion leaders have been highly influential, initiating a series of chain effects through the interpersonal channels of the community. Where information implied advisory content, for example, referral to a particular doctor, medical fund or source of home finance, a person would initially seek out a friend who was perceived as having sound

knowledge and credibility, or who could liaise with the appropriate
contact people (Table 31(d)(e)). This can be seen from the graphs showing
access through community *gatekeepers* to general practitioners (Figure 46)
Here there were three main sources involved - Tony (70), his father
Leone (21) and a Committee member, Con (35), who is also the head of a
large extended family (fifteen households). Together they were
responsible for providing entry for twenty-two of the fifty-three
families who now attend an Italian-speaking doctor. Most of the other
families learnt of his availability through general discussion within the
community. Gravitation towards this bilingual professional is
illustrated in Table 32. For information on dentists the pattern is
more fragmented, showing lesser dependence on 'influence' and a greater
tendency to randomness (Table 31(d)).

Con's (35) role as *opinion leader* was evident from the fact that
thirty-six people followed his advice in selecting their accountant.
Con had met the accountant, whose practice was in Hamilton, while working
as manager of an Italian bar in Beaumont Street. As in the case of
finding a reliable doctor, the choice was not easy for the majority of
Lettesi. The areas concerned were complex, people were unaware of
alternatives, and they were not in a position to make their own
assessment. They had to be advised by someone they could trust. Con's
advice could not be based upon sufficient information for a real choice
between alternatives, but rather on the strength of his personal
judgement. His additional role as a community *gatekeeper* for infor-
mation providing job opportunity was partially due to his present key
position as a builder having a wide range of work contacts. The network
pattern (Figure 47) showing access to jobs shows the dominant
informants to include, once again, Tony (70), Frank (1) and Domenico (67),

Source: Survey 1976

Source: Survey 1976

Figure 46: Access to General Practitioners, Network Graph

Figure 47: Access to Work, Network Graph

TABLE 32

GRAVITATION TO AN ITALIAN SPEAKING DOCTOR

Doctor	Stage 1	Stage 2	Total Now (1976)
Italian-Speaking	31	22	53
A	9	10	19
B	2	7	9
C	6	4	10
D	7	1	8
E	6	-	6
F	9	1	10
G	4	-	4
H	4	-	4
I	-	3	3
J	-	2	2
K	1	-	1
L	1	-	1
M	1	-	1
N	1	-	1
O	1	-	1
P	1	-	1
Q	-	1	1
R	-	1	1
S	-	1	1
T	-	1	1
U	-	1	1
V	-	1	1
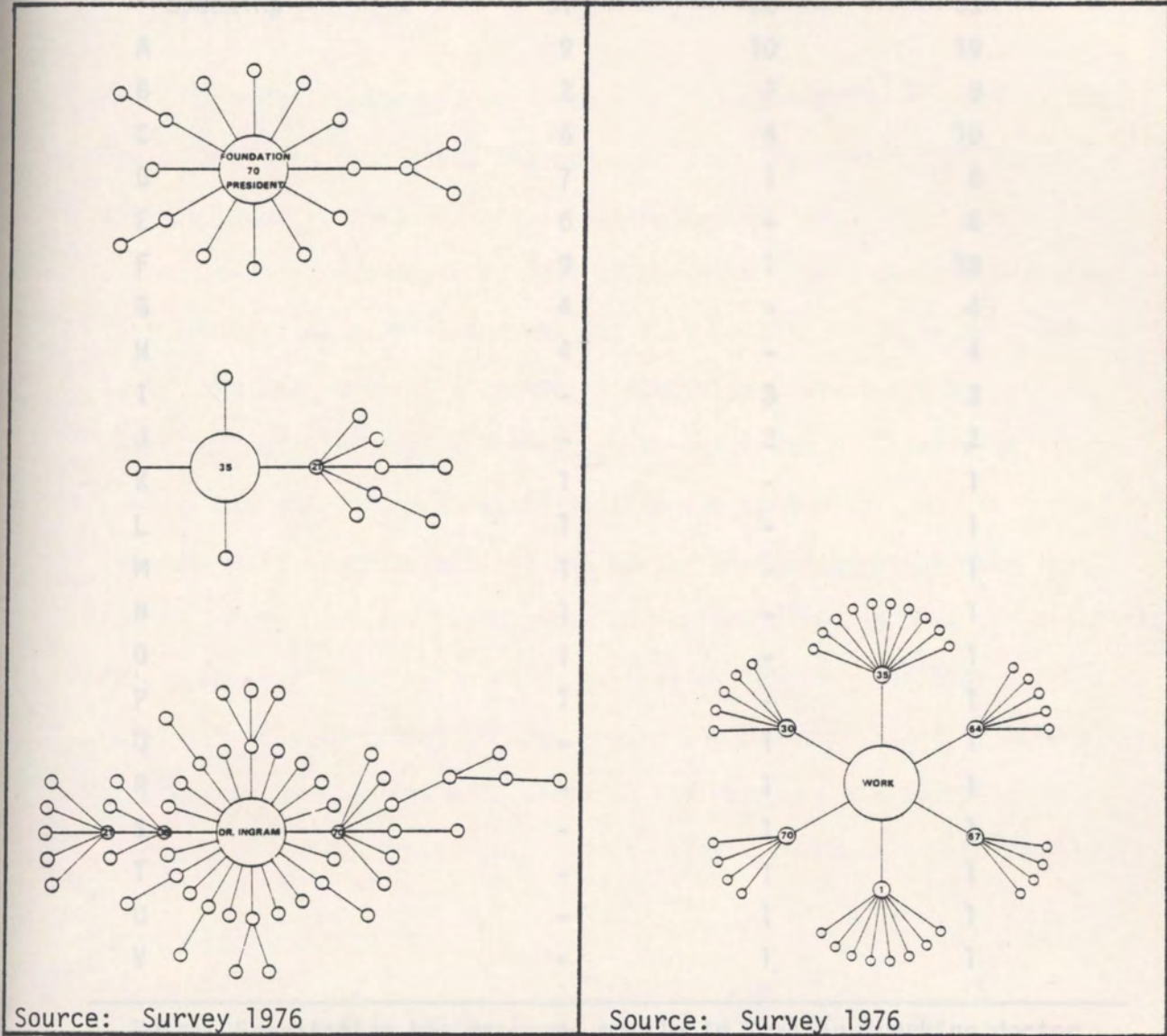
Note: Gravitation has occurred mostly to Italian-speaking doctor.
Minor gravitation has occurred to the outer suburbs
(dispersed Lettesi).

Source: Survey 1976.

and two of the older generation Lettesi (Table 31(b)). In contrast to more diffuse entry chains into concreting, the denser general pattern shows community dependence on those who have emerged as community leaders. For these there is often the dual responsibility of *opinion leader* and *gatekeeper*.

The role of *cosmopolite* is rare to this community for unlike the Greeks who have penetrated business, Lettesi are almost exclusively working class. Those who are in business are either in delicatessens or are builders and concreters. Joe is the exception. Joe had been sent to a seminary as a child and was the only Lettesi of those educated in Italy, who had received a secondary education. He is now an estate agent and entrepreneur, and although he maintains his ties with the Lettesi his networks are mainly outside the community. He was instrumental, nevertheless, in the merger that occurred between the Azzuri Soccer Club and the Highfields Bowling Club, to form the Highfields/Azzuri Bowling Club, referred to at greater length in Chapter 4. His role is highly important as *cosmopolite* and *gatekeeper* but is generally confined to housing and home finance, for which he has provided information and advice to thirty-nine Lettesi respondents (Table 31(e)(h)).

Community Structure

There is a close association between formal structure and informal role, or functioning, within community. The formal structure is clearly expressed in the composition of committees for the Lettesi Sick Fund. The Sick Fund, constituted in 1969, was a means of formalising existing practices of providing support for needy *paesani;* and although the purpose is now mainly recreational, it continues to provide community leadership and appropriate support as the need arises. It has received minor grants from government sources in official acknowledgement

of its community role. A list of committee members 1969-82 is supplied in Appendix 4b. As well, the role of committee membership, in relation to other aspects of community leadership, can be seen in Appendix 4a. In Table 13 comparisons can be drawn with sociometric rank and kinship position.

Those most prominent in the affairs of the community as *gatekeeper*, *opinion leader*, *liaison* or *cosmopolite* may not all be represented formally on the Committee, and some of those who are may not have been dominant in the leadership roles earlier discussed. A strong association, nevertheless, does exist, not only in relation to leadership role but in terms of nominations on the sociometric scale. Anomalies do exist but can frequently be explained in terms of the particular personalities involved. Some have felt comfortable in an active, informal role but have preferred to avoid more formal participation; on the other hand, there are others who have sought recognition, irrespective of their level of informal participation.

As already established in Chapter 4, there is a close association between patterns of interaction and kinship pattern as seen from the graphs (Figures 32,33). They show the high degree of solidarity based upon kinship. Nuclear and extended family relationships bind the community into a single, coherent entity so the degree of connectivity is exceedingly high (Figure 26). The importance of kinship has already been stressed in relation to chain migration and residential location (Chapters 3 and 4). It was shown, from the measures of interconnectivity, that after only three relays linkages exist between 80% of all Lettesi households. In a culture which stresses the value of family, such a degree of connectivity is a powerful bond.

There are different levels of community leadership, dependent upon the bonds and influence of kinship. Husbands are acknowledged as representatives of households and as such they are officially invited to meetings and can nominate for positions on the Lettesi committee. In this context they have a role of *liaison* between families. As the older men usually speak poorer English, the role of the eldest son is reinforced so that, informally, he is regarded as head of an extended family. Some of these men then come to be accepted in leadership roles for the community as a whole, as *gatekeeper, opinion leader, liaison* or *cosmopolite*. There is a high degree of correspondence between community leaders and representatives of families having a high degree of connectivity with other families within the community. We have seen how Tony (70), the foundation Secretary, who was President for six years and is now Vice President, has direct connections to the degree of first cousin with sixteen other families, the highest of the community. The current President's family has thirteen such connections and some other committee members score highly, as well. Nicole is an exception.

Spatially, too, the patterns, are consistent with the formal and informal structure of community. As explained in Chapter 2, respondents were asked to nominate those families, within the community, with whom they tend to interact most frequently, and a sociometric scale was derived from this data. The coded responses can be seen in Appendix 4 and are presented in Figure 43 to show how they relate to Committee members and dispersed Lettesi. As mentioned above, there is a relatively high association between those having formal representation and informal interaction with other Lettesi. For those who are dispersed there is a weaker association both with patterns of interaction and Committee nomination. In the earlier discussion of leadership role, the dispersed Lettesi, apart from their positions as *liaisons* between

their families and society, and their individual roles as *gatekeepers*
into concreting, have provided no general leadership function. Community
leaders, on the other hand, reside either within the parent or the
secondary concentration.

Patterns of leadership have changed with the generations and the
different stages of settlement in Australia. First there were the
cousins, Arcangelo and Giacomo who arrived in the twenties then
sponsored their families. A generation later, Arcangelo's sons, Antonio
and Giacomo bought the cane farm in Proserpine which, after the War,
became the focus for settlement. Giovanni, their cousin, who made the
first move to Newcastle, would meet Lettesi as they disembarked in
Sydney, then send them by train to Antonio in Proserpine. He and other
leaders of this older generation found work for Lettesi during the cane
off-season and would provide accommodation during their transfer to
Newcastle. As the new phase of permanent settlement began, a new
generation of leaders emerged and they form the core of the Committee
still today.

Patterns of leadership and social interaction, expressed at the
formal and informal levels, can be seen in microcosm on those special
days and feasts when Lettesi gather in mutual celebration, reinforcing
their symbols of Lettesi identity - their music, food and song and their
village and regional humour, uniquely embodied within the dialect of
the Abruzzi. At such times the structure of the community is apparent,
with dimensions based mainly on family patterns, leadership roles, sex
and generation. The arrangement at table is a process of sorting out
this microcosm of community structure representing the pattern of
everyday life. Spatially it finds expression in residential structure.

Other Factors Affecting Communication Patterns

External channels have also been important in providing a link to social institutions and these, and the kind of information provided, are summarised in Tables 33,34. Some items had a highly specialised content such as immunisation and baby health; others were complex, requiring a high degree of literacy, or a knowledge of legal and other matters, for example, compensation; or else they were items not commonly confronted such as issues to do with property in Italy. Where information was not accessible from within the community, then community leaders would usually liaise with an external source, or contact person. The channels they used were, again, mainly interpersonal. There was one Australian neighbour of Domenico's in Islington, Mrs. Myra Kelly, a life-line to Lettesi. She was a line of contact to government members, provided information on a wide range of matters and completed tax returns for fourteen different families. Another fellow worker at B.H.P. completed returns for thirty-six families and provided assistance on many other matters. These and other contacts like Emilio Penzo, the Italian Consular Agent, were indispensable to the Community. It was Emilio who prepared the Lettesi constitution and who provided a point of contact to government institutions through his role as official Italian interpreter.

For more general information there were a variety of sources, but the Commonwealth Bank Migrant Information Service, located centrally, in the retail heart of Hamilton, was the most successful in attracting Lettesi. Twenty-seven families had used the service, eighteen had approached an M.P. or alderman, seven, the Dept. of Immigration, seven, the Italian Scalabrini priest, and two families the Good Neighbour Council. Only ten approaches were made to the Unemployment Office and

TABLE 33

INFORMATION CHANNELS USED BY LETTESI - HEALTH AND WELFARE

(a) Information Channels on Baby Health Services.

Source	No.
Lettesi	8
Family member	6
Self	22
Other Italian	1
Australian neighbour	4
Hospital	15

n = 56

Note: Many expressed difficulty in communicating adequately.

(b) Information Channels on Immunisation.

Source	No.
Lettesi	12
Self	6
Australian neighbour	3
Media	3
Doctor	10
Baby Health Clinic	20
Hospital	22

n = 76

(c) Medical Benefits Forms Assistance.

Source	No.
Lettesi	13
Family member e.g. child	18
Other friend	2
Italian Consular Agent	
Self	36
Work Office	13
Chemist	1
Australian neighbour	2

n = 86

(d) Information Channels on Medibank

Source	No.
Lettesi	23
Family member e.g. child	15
Workplace	7
Union	1
Chemist/Dr.	2
Other	1
Media	50

Note: Multiple sources used.

Source: Survey 1976

TABLE 34

EXTERNAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND TYPE OF ASSISTANCE

(a) Use of Commonwealth Bank Migrant Information Service

Type of Assistance	No.
General Information	7
Document Assistance	6
Pension Assistance	5
Remittance to Italy	4
Sponsorship Assistance	3
Travelling Advice	1
Investment Advice	1
TOTAL	27

(d) Use of Immigration Department

Type of Assistance	No.
Sponsorship Assistance	7

(b) Use of M.P. or Alderman

Type of Assistance	No.
Sponsorship Assistance	8
Reference	3
Pension Assistance	2
Drainage Problem	2
Illness (polio)	1
J.P. Signature	1
Not specified	1
TOTAL	18

(e) Use of Italian Priest

Type of Assistance	No.
General Information	3
Reference	1
Sickness	1
School Problem	1
Not Specified	1
TOTAL	7

(c) Assistance Given by B.H.P. Contact

Type of Assistance	No.
Taxation	36
General Information	4
Italian Property Arrangement	4
Travelling Assistance	4
Sponsorship	3
Assistance with Letters	2
Will	2
Compensation	2
Naturalization	1
Documents	1
Home Purchase	1
Business	1
M.P. Contact	1
TOTAL	62

(f) Use of Good Neighbour Council

Type of Assistance	No.
Help to get Job with Australians	1
General Information	1
TOTAL	2

Source: Questionnaire Survey, 1976

eight of these by Tony (70), Vice President of the community.

From discussion of Lettesi interpersonal channels, and other sources of information to Lettesi, it is clear that significant barriers existed. Institutions themselves have imposed these barriers. Rarely have they facilitated access to services, and initiatives to provide a link to institutions have mainly been left to the people themselves. The only real initiatives for providing information on the wide range of areas covered by the survey were immunisation and baby health services and, even here, there are anomolies (Table 33 (a)(b)).There was a greater degree of awareness of immunisation needs than of baby health facilities, with institutional sources providing 55% of information needs on immunisation, compared to 26% on baby health. This would reflect a greater concern, by government agencies, about immunisation, a concern which is glaring, by its omission, in most other areas of immigrant need.[1]

Language has presented the principal barrier and many, still, especially the women and the older people, have difficulty with English (Table 29). Maria described how it felt for her in hospital:

> *I could understand a lot but couldn't speak much. After meals they asked if I had enough. I decided to look at the other ladies and if they nod, I nod too. One time a lady said 'Do you want some more?' not 'Have you had enough?' and I nodded. I felt greedy.*
>
> *One night another Italian lady asked me to go to the nursery with her. She was very distressed. She said 'They said I could go home to-day. Now they don't want me to and I can't understand why'. The doctor told me I had to be an interpreter. I said 'Me? Who's going to interpret for me?' The doctor said the baby hadn't put on any weight. The Italian lady answered - 'You tell*

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1. Since the period covered by the Survey many changes have occurred and references to these will be made in the Conclusion.

> *me how can baby get any weight if they come all the time*
> *and take milk away?' I laughed all night. It's better*
> *to laugh about these things than let them distress you.*
> *But they need interpreters.*

To-day despite the availability of interpreters, many professionals
fail to respond to the need to overcome the barrier of language. They
continue to 'locate the problem in the immigrant' and not within the
institutional system.

The type of channel usually selected by the social system for
providing information was often an influential factor. Access was
maximised at distribution points with interpersonal channels using
Italian language media, such as Italian delicatessens, the Italian-
speaking doctor, the ethnic estate agent and the Commonwealth Bank.
Problems arose and access was retarded as the channels became increas-
ingly impersonal and the English language the sole medium. For example,
the handling of medical insurance forms has remained a problem for 56%
of respondents. They manage mainly with help from older children (16%),
other Lettesi (15%) or the clerical staff at their workplace (15%)
(Table 33(c). Translation facilities are an essential mode of institu-
tional response to the barrier of language.

Knowledge of availability, relevance and distribution were other
key factors affecting patterns of access. Some would have participated
in the home tutorship scheme but were unaware of its operation. Those
who knew of it (14%) were mostly older people and had heard from the widow
of one of the older leaders who was a voluntary interpreter with Good
Neighbour Council.

Because language presented such a formidable barrier the tendency
was to be open and receptive only to information that was relevant to
needs. However, problems could arise where a person was unaware of the

potential value, or need for information. This was the case in the field
of social welfare where some Lettesi were not aware of their entitlements.
It was also the case with information on education, for although the
schools sent circulars home it was difficult to gauge if the level of
importance warranted the effort required for translation so usually the
circulars were simply discarded. This often created conflict between
parent and child. When Lettesi did attempt to understand their content
they might approach a neighbour if relations were conducive, but mostly
they came to rely on their children.

Information distribution could present further problems in that the
person had to learn where to find information as well as the formal
procedures for acquiring it. The location of information on housing and
jobs was random to a point, then highly specific. It was random in the
sense that Lettesi were aware of some of the vacancies occurring around
them and this information was passed by word of mouth. This channel was
efficient but the content was limited. To gain more information and
direct access they had to locate specific agents and employers and refer
to channels requiring a knowledge of English. As agencies were centrally
located in Hamilton, information on housing was more easily obtained,
but job information was more a matter of good fortune. For those with a
knowledge of written and spoken English, comprehensive, more impersonal
channels were available and knowledge of information distribution more
accessible. In the early years however, these people were few (Tables 33-36).

The attitudes and relationship of sender to receiver was another
factor governing communication. The Lettesi recall with a deep sense of
gratitude the help extended during the early years by some of their
neighbours and fellow-workers. Such people not only facilitated access
to satisfy important areas of need but they also generated feelings of

TABLE 35

CHANNELS OF INFORMATION - HOUSING SEQUENCE

Channel	Housing Sequence			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th & Subseq.
Interpersonal/Lettesi	35	31	23	28
Interpersonal/Other Ital.	1	5	3	11
Interpersonal/Other Europ.		1	2	1
Interpersonal/Aust.	1	5	4	28
Agent/Europ.		9	12	25
Agent/Aust.		1	1	8
Self-Sign/Paper			3	4

Source: Survey 1976

TABLE 36

INFORMATION CHANNELS FOR JOBS – LETTESI MALE RESPONDENTS

Job Sequence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Lettesi	72	26	14	11	9	3	5	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other Italian	3	5	6	7	2	3	6	4	1	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other European	3	3	3	–	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Aust/Eng Speaking	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	1	1
Unemploy. Office	–	1	1	–	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	–	1	1	1	–	–
Union	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
Self	8	28	26	18	17	15	9	6	7	4	2	3	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	86	63	49	36	32	24	22	15	11	7	3	3	1	1	1	1	1

Source: Survey 1976

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1. Lettesi have been slow to subscribe to telephones, a channel which could have increased the efficiency of their networks (Table 38).

confidence. On the other hand there were instances of discrimination and for some this led to significant regression. One woman who believed she had been unjustly fined had actually tried to defend her case in court. The experience was so intimidating that her confidence was shattered. Some women are hesitant even now to speak English because of the many times they have felt they were being ridiculed for their faulty pronunciation. Where regression did occur the Lettesi community at least provided a reassuring retreat and support in regaining the confidence and self-esteem which is so essential to personal adjustment.

However, community, itself, presents a formidable barrier and the restricted patterns of interpersonal interaction, together with limited English media usage, (Tables 35-38) have the effect of maintaining community boundaries and preventing the penetration of information to the group. The impact of this may be seen in the extent of dependence for information on community leaders, and, generally, on the heads of households. It is further apparent in the lack of information that was available concerning community resources. Many men, for example, during the early years, were unaware of their right to claim unemployment benefits and for many of the women there was a lack of understanding of the role of Community and Baby Health Centres. Given a higher degree of interaction with the general community, information of this kind may have filtered more effectively throughout the interpersonal[1] channels of the community.

Some further barriers which were generated mainly by the primary dependence on interpersonal channels were the degradation of information and the dissemination of distorted information, a tendency observed by

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1. Lettesi have been slow to subscribe to telephones, a channel which could have increased the efficiency of their networks (Table 39).

TABLE 37

ENGLISH/ITALIAN MEDIA USAGE

(a) Newspapers - Lettesi Male Respondents

	Eng. only	Eng. and Ital.	Ital. only	None	n.
No.	38	30	8	10	86
%	44.1	34.9	9.3	11.6	

Source: Survey 1976.

TABLE 38

ENGLISH MEDIA UNDERSTANDING

Rating	T.V.		Radio	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Very well	48	28	42	23
Satisfactory	26	20	19	17
With Difficulty	10	16	17	19
Almost not at all	2	12	8	17
	n = 86	n = 76	n = 86	n = 76

Source: Survey 1976.

TABLE 39

TELEPHONE - PERIOD OF SUBSCRIPTION

Phone		Period of Subscription (yrs.)											
Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	14	17
No. 51	35	11	10	11	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	1

Source: Survey 1976

Scott and Co. (1980, p.159). I observed it, as well, among the Lettesi,
in the confusion surrounding the introduction of Medibank where
information, initially conveyed by the media (Table 33(d)), totally in
English, was sometimes misinterpreted, then transferred to others via the
interpersonal networks. Another case relates to distorted messages,
conveyed by solicitors on home finance interest rates, a problem
compounded through interpersonal communication. Yet despite such
limitations the Lettesi community has learnt to cope with these problems
and frustrations which have largely been generated by our alien
institutions.

In summary, after thirty years of settlement in Newcastle, Lettesi
have achieved a high measure of adjustment through a process of
integration with the wider social system. It is through integration that
access has been possible to resources in housing, work, education, health
and welfare and recreation. It has been attained despite institutional
inertia through the courage and initiatives of community leaders via the
mechanisms of community networks. The most apparent change in the pattern
of access, except in the case of ageing Lettesi, has been one of
increasing individual self-sufficiency. This is apparent from the graphs
which illustrate decreasing dependence on interpersonal channels for
information on housing and job opportunity (Figures 40, 48; Tables 35, 36).
Yet despite this trend, and that of greater facility in English, inter-
personal channels continue to provide one of the principal sources of
information to Lettesi, mainly because of close community interaction.
So the community provides a storehouse of information containing the
accumulated wisdom of the group. As one Lettesi said,

Someone first has to fall in the mud. Then you learn from that.

. . . .
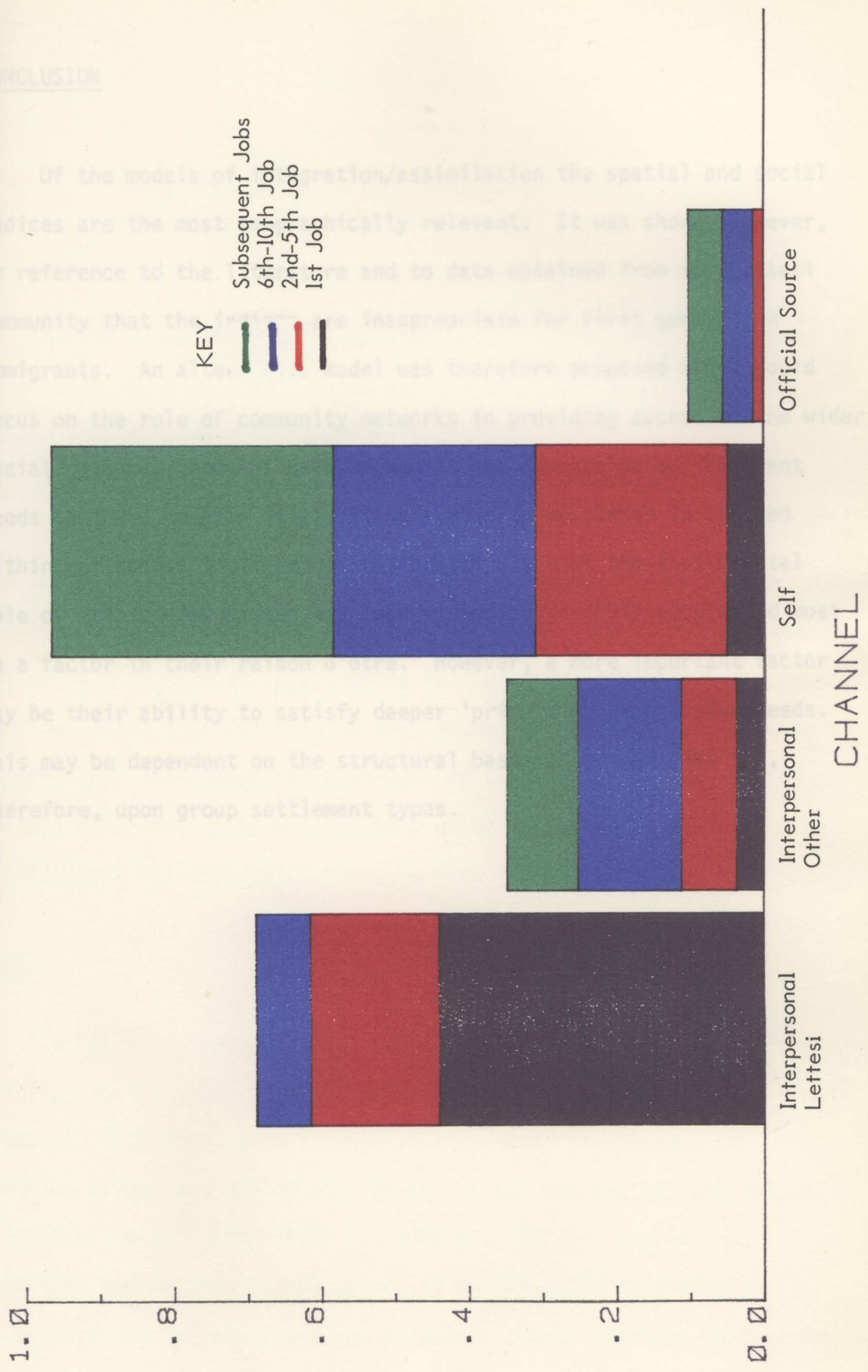
Figure 48: Information Channels, Work

CONCLUSION

Of the models of integration/assimilation the spatial and social indices are the most geographically relevant. It was shown, however, by reference to the literature and to data obtained from the Lettesi community that the indices are inappropriate for first generation immigrants. An alternative model was therefore proposed which could focus on the role of community networks in providing access to the wider social system. Though I have argued in the discussion on immigrant needs that the problem of providing access to resources is located within our social institutions the reality is that the instrumental role of ethnic communities has been essential to their people and must be a factor in their raison d'être. However, a more important factor may be their ability to satisfy deeper 'primordial' expressive needs. This may be dependent on the structural basis of communities and, therefore, upon group settlement types.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND POLICY MODEL

In this final section of the thesis I will summarise the results of my research in which I set out to explain the process by which the Lettesi have created a 'geographically' distinct community in Newcastle. These results will be further generalised in my conclusion where I will focus on the wider Australian social setting, for ethnic communities have consolidated their presence largely for the purpose of gaining access to resources in a situation which has long been characterised by the lack of an effective official policy for immigrants. This was apparent from the analysis of the role of the Lettesi community in the process of integration. The communications model of integration applied in the analysis will finally be offered as a guide for the derivation of institutional policies which could be more responsive to immigrant needs.

SUMMARY

The Lettesi community are a distinctive entity, both spatially and socially, in the urban area of Newcastle. The aim of this research was to explain this phenomenon through an account of the process of community formation, residential consolidation and social integration. An integral part of the research, however, was to resolve conceptual and methodological issues which have led to confusion and distortions of understandings of ethnic communities and their form and function within the wider multicultural setting.

In clarifying the conceptual issues I have outlined trends in conceptual orientation in post-war ethnic research in Australia and in the course of discussion I have examined the assumptions implied by the concepts which have dominated research thinking. These concepts, by implying value positions and by confusing values, structure and process, have led to distortions in the models of 'reality', developed by workers in the various disciplines. To clarify the present conceptual position and to provide a more 'realistic' framework for analysis, I have drawn clear distinctions between value premise, social structure and social process.

The value premise guiding current ethnic research is one which is based on the principle of social justice. This premise is applied, in the Australian context, to a society which is clearly multicultural, wherein immigrants constitute a special category of need. Access to resources to satisfy basic needs, through a process of integration with the wider social system, is a problem central to ethnic communities and to explaining their emergence, consolidation and persistence, a primary aim of the present research.

I have outlined my methodological position within the context of current trends in the social sciences, generally. Methodologically the theme recurrent through the thesis is one which has stressed that closer dialogue between the disciplines is dependent on a convergence in scales of methodology and that an appropriate scale for understanding ethnic groups is one where the focus is on primary social networks. In practical terms the aim was to provide a meaningful bridge between the macro and the micro, the aggregate and individuals and the 'objective' and 'subjective'. To achieve this aim, the aggregate approach was examined by reference to

community data where the unit of analysis was the individual household.[1]
In attempting to perceive the Lettesi community from the perspective of
both 'insider' and 'observer' a range of data sources and analyses were
selected. Data included the 'objective' information of official
statistics and survey data, 'subjective' observations and impressions of
the researcher, and the expressions of feelings and attitudes of
respondents. Finally, in Part A of the chapters describing
community formation, consolidation and integration I have critically
discussed the relevant literature, emphasising the need for a scale of
analysis based on individuals and their interpersonal networks. This
approach is consistent with my methodology, generally, but specifically
it refers to the communications model applied in the analysis of Lettesi
integration.[2]

In a review of the literature on chain migration and the various
types of group settlement formation, I have outlined the emergence of
the concept and the typology of chain migration derived by Price (1963).
After providing an account of the general factors affecting the emergence
and growth of group settlements, I have explored the theme of continuity
in structure from the place of origin, through the chain migration process
to the emergence of ethnic communities in Australia. Discussion has been
oriented towards community studies which have focused on social structure in
the homeland and to change and continuity in the place of destination. To
unravel the meaning of ethnic spatial patterns it is essential to examine
community networks and their role in the process of community
formation, consolidation and integration. This requires an understanding

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1. See Chapters 4 and 5.
2. See Chapter 5.

of those elements of social structure significant in the process of emigration and resettlement.

The importance of the role of community networks is apparent from the account of Lettesi emigration which shows how the process of chain migration has led to the formation of a 'village' community in Newcastle. This process was part of a wider pattern creating similar communities in the U.S.A. and Argentina, during a period spanning more than a century. In post-war[1] Australia it followed a path from the village, to the canefields in Proserpine, northern Queensland, and finally to permanent resettlement in Newcastle. Assisted immigrants, arriving independently, were drawn, as well, by the bonds of community into participating in the process of community formation. This process, begun by the pioneers, was strengthened considerably by Antonio Rossetti who facilitated and supported the sponsoring of Lettesi. The pattern of sponsorship was based mainly on kinship. Finally, by explaining changing patterns of emigration, mainly by reference to changes in the village, the theme of continuity is further reinforced, for the shape of the community, its size and its structure, are inextricably linked to the fate of the village, through the powerful bonds of kinship and social networks.

Having examined the process of community formation, I then surveyed research on ethnic distribution in Australian cities, especially Melbourne and Sydney. Ethnic social areas in Australian cities form complex, but distinctive recurring patterns consistent with those identified for Newcastle. Attempts to explain the persistence and change of ethnic social areas have followed, however, the perspectives and

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[1] This refers to post World War II.

frameworks of the various disciplines - sociologists have debated the ideological positions of the conflict and consensus models; social and spatial indices of integration/assimilation have been used by demographers, sociologists and geographers; while other geographers, less concerned with social aggregates, and exploring the basis of human decisions, have developed models of intra-urban mobility to explain the pattern of social areas in cities. However, none of these approaches has adequately explained the spatial phenomenon of ethnic concentration, nor patterns of ethnic sociospatial change. This can be explained most adequately by extending analyses from aggregates to individuals and to the social networks which define a 'community' and the form of its extension into the wider social system.

Against the background of this general discussion I have examined the pattern of Lettesi distribution within the urban area of Newcastle from the time of their initial settlement till 1976. The pattern is one of community consolidation, of secondary concentration and minimal dispersion and has evolved through a process of resettlement and adjustment wherein the role of kinship and community have been paramount. The significance of the role of social networks, in facilitating access to the urban housing market, has led to a pattern of residential integration which reflects the solidarity of community structure and which finds expression, territorially and socially, in symbols of community belonging and identity. Dispersion, on the other hand, has mainly been a pattern displayed by second generation Lettesi and cannot be used as a reliable indication of integration for the first generation. This process has occurred within the ethnic concentration.

In examining more broadly the process of integration of the Lettesi Community with the wider social system, I have referred to models of

assimilation/integration so as to bring into closer juxtaposition the aggregate and individual approaches. By reference to Lettesi community data I have questioned the validity of spatial and social indices and illustrated the need for an alternative model incorporating the role of interpersonal networks in providing links with social institutions. A communications model of integration has been outlined and presented as an appropriate alternative.

The communications model has provided a framework for examining the process of Lettesi integration. Integration has implied the creation of links providing access to resources to satisfy needs in areas such as housing, work, education, health and welfare and recreation. These needs have been defined by reference to the literature but also by expressions of individual Lettesi and with reference to the notion of institutional responsibility. Yet despite this notion of institutional responsibility, access to resources to satisfy needs has mainly occurred through the networks of 'community'. Though definitions of community in the context of ethnic research, following the consensus or conflict models, tend to refer to either expressive or instrumental functions, a theme of this research has been to stress that the existence of the Lettesi community cannot adequately be explained without reference to both these interrelated functions. The instrumental role, the mainspring for survival, has been mirrored in a pattern of community structure based mainly upon leadership roles and relationships closely related to 'primordial' bonds of kinship. These bonds are expressed in the symbols of identity associated with Lettesi community and territory.

CONCLUSION

The Lettesi have needed 'community' for survival; and more specifically they have needed their community *gatekeepers* to guarantee channels of access to resources controlled by the institutions of the wider social system. Institutions have the purpose of providing for needs which individuals in society cannot provide for themselves. Yet, as Martin (1978) suggests, Australian institutions have been unresponsive to immigrant needs. Immigrants have been left to fend for themselves.

The institutions were unresponsive because the policy of *assimilation*, current throughout most of the post-war period, was, in fact, a policy of non-response. It was more expressive of an attitude and expectation, that the migrant presence, if ignored, would disappear, and that the 'migrant problem' would resolve itself. And to a large extent it did by consolidating its presence. The 1950s and the 1960s saw the emergence of communities as visible, viable entities within the urban social context - in Marrickville, the Greeks; in Carlton, the Italians; the Lettesi in Hamilton - in a recurring pattern of ethnic social areas throughout the cities of Australia.

Assimilation had failed as it had in the United States (Glazer and Moynihan (1963) and in Britain, as illustrated in Brown's 'The Un-Melting Pot' (1970). In token resignation the name was changed to *integration* which became the official policy in 1969, in the belief, it would seem, that changing the word would automatically remove the 'migrant problem'. But it was clear two years later, when the Minister[1] stated that

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1. Mr. P. Lynch was then the Minister for Immigration

Galbally Report (1978)[1] and Participation (1978)[2]. To the extent that recommendations have since been implemented, institutions in Australia have begun to respond to an ever-increasing migrant presence.

A POLICY MODEL

I have shown how a communications model of integration can provide a framework for examining the way an ethnic community gains access to information which is essential for maintaining general well-being. Though the focus has been on the ethnic community, the model can be applied as a framework for policy with the emphasis on relevant institutions in society. Such a policy would incorporate, in the scope of its planning, all the elements comprising the communications model - the institution itself and its service providers, the target population including ethnic groups, their interrelation, channels, information, barriers, time and spatial context.

I shall illustrate this point by presenting in Appendix 5 a draft regional policy on migrant health which I derived from the same communications model that I had used in the analysis of the Lettesi community. This model has already provided the basis for a Migrant Health Unit for the Hunter Region.[3] This unit, and the draft of the regional policy, are a logical extension of my work with the Lettesi for, based on a premise of institutional responsibility, they attempt to bridge the

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1. The Galbally Report, referred to earlier, is a report of the Commonwealth Government.

2. 'Participation' was also referred to earlier and is a Report by the N.S.W. Ethnic Affairs Commission.

3. In my role, first, as Co-ordinator, Health Care Interpreter Service (May 1980 - Sept. 1981), then as Regional Migrant Health Adviser I was able to establish the model for the development of the Migrant Health Unit in the Hunter Region. The Unit was established because of a Galbally recommendation and the earlier initiatives (1976) from the N.S.W. Health Commission.

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gap between institution and community in a process of integration between immigrant and society.

The aim of this research was to explain the pattern of Lettesi residential concentration in Newcastle. This problem was approached through an analysis of processes of community formation, consolidation and integration and of how these reflect community structure. Before proceeding with the analysis, however, it was necessary to clarify conceptual issues and methodological problems which have hindered research and the development of models and theories on ethnicity. The communications model, applied in the analysis, is an attempt to present an alternative framework, not only for research, but also for policy.

Further research on ethnic integration can apply this framework in a number of ways. It can be used, for example, in comparative studies of the diverse types of ethnic group settlements to see to what extent the 'village to village' type is indicative of ethnic communities, generally. It can be used in the analysis of social institutions to examine their response to immigrant needs and to examine the way that institutions interact with ethnic communities to effect social change. Finally, it can be used for more effective evaluation and monitoring of policies to facilitate integration.

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APPENDIX 1

(a) Letter of Introduction from the Department of Geography, University of Newcastle, undersigned by the President of the Lettesi Community and the Italian Consular Agent, Mr. Emilio Penzo.

(b) Letter of Introduction from Mr. Tony D'Accioni, President of the Lettesi Community in Newcastle, to the Mayor of Lettopalena, Mr. Gasperini Orsini.

(c) Letter of Introduction from the Italian Consular Agent, Mr. Emilio Penzo to the Mayor of Lettopalena.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
NEW SOUTH WALES, 2308

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

TELEPHONE 68 0401

EXT. 714

TO THE LETTESI COMMUNITY of NEWCASTLE

Mrs. Galvin is a tutor in Geography at the University of Newcastle. She is doing research on the community from Lettopalena to see how it functions as a support system, providing help for its members and access to information and institutions of the wider social system.

She is particularly interested in the areas of housing, education, health and legal care and recreation. As well, she is interested in the general migration background, the family network and communications.

Information provided by the people of Lettopalena will be strictly confidential. No names will be published. It is hoped that the work will be completed by the end of 1977, after a visit to Lettopalena to collect additional data.

We ask for the help and cooperation of the Lettesi people to ensure that this research will be a success and of benefit to the community itself.

A Della Grotto

L'AGENTE CONSOLARE d'ITALIA
(EMILIO PENZO)

Emilio Penzo

161 Everton Street,
Broadmeadow. N.S.W. 2292
Australia.

28-6-77

Caro Compagno Gasperini,

In occasione della venuta della Signora Judith Galvin,
scrivo questa breve lettera a nome di tutti i membri della
nostra piccola associazione Lettopalenese qui a Newcastle,
anche perche per presentare a voi e tutti i paesani a
Lettopalena questa nostra amica, e per descrivere in breve
lo scopo della sua breve permanenza al nostro paesello.
Lei, la Signora Galvin e una professoressa in storia
come pure suo marito il quale verra a Lettopalena in un
secondo tempo per riunirsi con la sua famiglia. Lui e
professore di matematica, Lei la Signora Judith Galvin e
interessata e attualmente fara come meglio puo delle
ricerche di come e cominciato l'Emigrazione dal nostro
paese e come ci siamo riuniti cosi tanti paesani a Newcastle
fara delle intagini riguardo il nostro paese e credo
anche a riguardo dei nostri costumi. Per questo, caro
Gasperini, mi rivolgo a voi come "Sindaco di Lettopalena"
di essere di aiuto come meglio puo per assistere alle sue
ricerche comprendo che chiedo un compito difficile datosi
la differenza della lingua, ma penso che Pasquale Martinelli
potra essere di aiuto per la traduzione in Italiano e in
Inglese. Riguardo alla nostra Associazione Lettese qui a
Newcastle non e altro che un Fondo Malattie Lettese.
Con questo organizziamo quattro o piu balli all'anno,
dando l'opportunita a tutti i paesani di riunirci e
mantenere le nostre belle tradizioni in questa lontana
terra con la speranza che anche i nostri figli continueranno
a mantenere queste nostre tradizioni e passarle ai loro
figli. Questa e una nostra desiderata ambizione che ci
fa sentire veramente orgogliosi di essere figli d'Italia
e in modo speciale cittadini di Lettopalena.

Salutandovi Cordialmente,

Vostro Compagno

ANTONIO D'ACCIONE

AGENZIA CONSOLARE D'ITALIA

NEWCASTLE

Phone: 61-6338

Prot..........................

Rif. No.........................

Del.........................

Islington 14 Giugno 1977

113 Maitland Road,
Islington, N.S.W., 2296.
Australia.

AGLI ILLUSTRISSIMI SIGNORI SINDACI DI   LETTOPALENA
PALENA

    La Signora Galvin, latrice della presente, e' docente della Universita' di Newcastlw per le discipline sociali.

    Essa sta raccogliendo materiale per uno studio sociale-storico sui cittadini di Lettopalena, che in gran numero risiedono qui a Newcastle e che sono riuniti in associazione mutualistica (il FONDO MALATTIE LETTESI).

    Cio' premesso, prego le LL.SS di prestare la massima assistenza alla Sig.ra Galvin, che con i suoi studi, che verranno pubblicati, sapra' valorizzare e rendere note negli atenei australiani le virtu' e le tradizioni dei Lettopalenesi di Newcastle.

    Ringrazio sentitamente e invio distinti saluti.

L'AGENTE CONSOLARE d'ITALIA
(EMILIO PENZO).

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE DIRECTED TO MALE HEADS OF
HOUSEHOLDS FROM LETTOPALENA, ITALY 1976.

COMMENTS:

The questionnaire has been condensed here to conserve space, as the field copy covered 30 pages.

The questionnaire was administered and recorded by the author.

The assistance of an interpreter was engaged on five occasions.

PART A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Where were you born?
    Husband ....
    Wife ....

2. When did you arrive in Australia?

    Husband [Yr.]   Record Length of Residence   [Yrs.]

    Wife [ ]   [ ]

3. How old were you then?

    Husband [Yrs.]   Record Present Age   [Yrs.]

    Wife [ ]   [ ]

4. How was your passage to Australia arranged?

	Gov. Assistance	Sponsorship	Other
Husband			
Wife			

5. If sponsored, then who was your sponsor and where did he live then?

	Sponsor	Residence
Husband		
Wife		

6. Did you receive financial assistance for your passage from any source? If so, from whom?

	Source
Husband	
Wife	

7. Have you sponsored anyone?   Yes/No

If so, then record name, relation, residence and arrival date?

Name	Relation	Residence	Arrival Date

8. Have you helped another Lettesi with his fare and job or accommodation? If so record name and relation.

Fare

Name	Relation

Job

Name	Relation

Accommodation

Name	Relation

9. Why did you immigrate

to Australia ....

to Newcastle ....

10. Where did you live and what work did you do after arriving in Australia and before settling in Newcastle, and for how long?

Residence	Period	Occupation	Period

11. What was your father's occupation?

Husband ....

Wife   ....

12. Have you provided financial support to family in Lettopalena?

                                                 Yes/No

Comment ....

6. Does anyone else live at this address? If so, record name and relation.

Name	Relation	

7. Have you any relatives in Lettopalena? If so, record name and relation.

Name	Relation	Name	Relation

8. Have any of these people returned there from Australia?

Yes/No

If so, why?

Name   ....

Reason   ....

9. Do any of them intend immigrating to Australia?

Yes/No

Name   ....

Yes/No

If so, will you sponsor them?

10. Do you know of anybody else who has returned to Lettopalena or who intends immigrating to Australia? If so, who?

Returned   ....

Emmigrant   ....

PART C. COMMUNICATIONS.

1. Who, in your family, drives a car?

Husband	
Wife	
Children	

How many cars does your family own?

No.

2. Do you have a telephone?

Yes/No

For how long have you had one?

Yrs.

6. Does anyone else live at this address? If so, record name and relation.

Name	Relation	

7. Have you any relatives in Lettopalena? If so, record name and relation.

Name	Relation	Name	Relation

8. Have any of these people returned there from Australia?

Yes/No

If so, why?

Name   ....

Reason ....

9. Do any of them intend immigrating to Australia?

Yes/No

Name   ....

Yes/No

If so, will you sponsor them?

10. Do you know of anybody else who has returned to Lettopalena or who intends immigrating to Australia? If so, who?

Returned   ....

Emmigrant ....

PART C. COMMUNICATIONS.

1. Who, in your family, drives a car?

Husband	
Wife	
Children	

How many cars does your family own?

No.

2. Do you have a telephone?

Yes/No

For how long have you had one?

Yrs.

3. Does your family buy any newspapers or magazines? If so record name of paper, reader, whether it is in English or Italian and frequency

Name of Paper/Magazine	Reader	E/I	f

4. Do you have a radio?   Yes/No

If so what programmes do you most prefer?

Husband	Wife

5 Do you have a television?   Yes/No

If so, what programmes do you prefer?

Husband	Wife

6. Knowledge of English. Interviewers estimate.

	Nil	Poor	Adequate	V. Good
Husband				
Wife				

7. Do you feel at ease speaking to Australians? e.g. Neighbours, shop assistants, office staff. Record appropriate response.

	Neighbours	Shop Assistants	Office staff
Husband			
Wife			

8. How important were the following in helping you to learn English?

	Husband	Wife
Pre or On-Arrival Course		
At School in Australia		
Language Course at Evening School etc.		
Home Tutor Course		
Correspondence Course		
Language Course Radio		

	Husband	Wife
Listening to Radio		
Watching T.V.		
Through children		
Working with Australians		
Mixing with Australians		
Reading papers, signs etc.		
Other		

Rank as follows:

Very important	VI
Important	I
Some Assistance	SA
No Assistance	NA

9. To wife. Do you know about the programme of teaching migrant women English in their own home?

Yes/No

If so, how did you learn about it?

....

Have you taken part in the programme? Yes/No

If not, would you like to take part? Yes/No

PART D. EDUCATION.

1. What age were you when you finished school?

Husband	Wife	Children

2. How many years were spent at the following levels of education?

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Husband			
Wife			
Children			

3. Do you intend to further your own training?

Yes/No

Comment ....

4. What would you like your children to do when they leave school?
Comment ....

5. What problem if any have faced your children at school as a result of their being Italian? e.g. language problems, adjustment, discrimination.
Comment ....

6. If there were problems, did anyone help you to deal with them?
Comment ....

7. Do you consider that the education of any of your children has suffered as a result of their being a migrant?
Comment ....

8. Have you yourself had difficulty in understanding information or activities connected with school? e.g. school notices, meetings etc.
Comment ....

9. If so, who helped you the most to deal with these problems?
....

10. Have you attended school activities such as Parents Meetings, tuckshop duty, concerts etc.

Yes/No

If so, who, if anybody, went along with you and how often did you go?

	Activity	Contact	f
Husband			
Wife			

11. Have any of your children attended Italian language classes?

Yes/No

If so, did they want to go?

Yes/No

Comment ....

PART E. HOUSING.

1. Where have you lived since arriving in Newcastle? Did you board with relatives, friends, other people, rent or purchase a dwelling? For how long were you there?

Address	Type of Accom.	With Whom	Period

2. What was your source of information that each of the above was available? Was the source Lettesi, Italian, Other European, Australian? Record as appropriate.

	Source (name)	Ethnic Group
Relative		
Friend		
Acquaintance		
Ethnic Estate Agent		
Other Estate Agent		
Sign (house or agent)		
Newspaper		
Other		

3. From whom/where, did you receive home finance?

....

Who advised you on where to go?

....

4. What suburbs did you consider when you moved to

your first address ....

your present address ....

5. If you had a choice, in which three suburbs would you most like to live, in order of preference?

Husband	Wife
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

Comment ....

6. In what 3 suburbs would you least like to live?

Husband	Wife
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

Comment ....

7. How important were the following reasons for your choosing to live at each of your addresses?

	Residence Sequence							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	etc.
The price was cheap								
House size								
Liked the house								
Pleasant area								
Close to work								
Close to Schools								
Close to Transport								
Close to Shopping								
Close to Italian Shops etc.								
Close to Friends								
Close to Lettesi Friends								
Close to Relatives								
Other Reasons								

Rank as follows:

Most Important Reason	MI
Very Important	VI
Some Importance	SI
Not Important	NI

Comments ....

8. When you think about Newcastle what are the
    (a) buildings
    (b) streets
    (c) suburbs or areas
    which stand out most vividly in your mind

Buildings	Streets	Areas

9. Do you own any other business or property besides your home?
    Comment ....

PART F. OCCUPATION.

1. Where have you worked since arriving in Newcastle?
    What jobs have you had?
    What was the period of employment for each job?
    How many workmates were Lettesi/Italian?

Place of work	Occupation	Period	No. L/I.

2. How did you know about these jobs?

Source	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	etc.
Relative									
Friend									
Sign									
Newspaper									
Employment Office									
Other									

If your source is a person indicate name, relation and whether
Lettesi/Italian/Other?

Name	Relation	L/I/O

If employment office, who told you where to go?

....

3. Does your wife work?   Yes/No

If so, what is her occupation, where does she work and does she work F/T or P/T?

Occupation	Place of Work	F/T or P/T

How did she find this job?

Comment ....

4. What transport do you use for travelling to work?

Husband	
Wife	

5. Within which income bracket do you fall? This question is addressed only if occupation provides insufficient indication.

Range	Husband	Wife	Combined
Under $6,000			
$6000 - $7999			
$8000 - $9999			
$10000 - $14999			
$15000 - $19999			
$20000 and over			

7. What particular problems have you faced in employment as a direct result of your being a migrant? e.g. language problems, safety problems, problems of adjustment, discrimination, non-recognition of training etc.

Comment ....

7. Did anyone assist you to manage these problems? If so who?

....

8. Has your wife faced particular problems in respect to employment?

Comment ....

9. Did anyone assist her? If so who?

....

10. How do you feel about the trade unions in relation to migrant workers and their problems?

Comment ....

11. How do you feel about management in relation to migrant workers and their problems?

Comment ....

12. Do you feel at ease now with Australian workers?

Yes/No

13. Would you prefer to work with Lettesi, other Italians, other Europeans, or Australian-born workers.

L.	OI.	OE.	A

PART G. HEALTH/WELFARE.

1. Who is your doctor? ....
   Who, if anyone, advised you to go to him?
   ....

2. Who is your dentist? ....
   Who, if anyone, advised you to go to him?
   ....

3. Do you remember the first time you needed to see a doctor in Newcastle? Did someone help you to communicate with him? If so, who?
   Husband ....
   Wife ....

4. Do either you or your wife still need someone to help you to describe your symptoms to the doctor and to understand his diagnosis and prescription?

   Yes/No

   Husband

   Wife

   Who would you ask for help? ....

5. What particular problems have you or your family had in regard to health which have been worsened by the fact that you are migrants or have had difficulty communicating?
   Comment ....

6. How much do you know about Medibank?
   Comment ....
   Where did you find out this information?

	Name if appropriate
Television	
Newspaper	
Other written material	
Friend L/I/O	
Relative	
Other	

Does someone assist you to fill out the claim form? If so, who?

....

7. Before Medibank was introduced did you pay into a Health Insurance Fund?

Yes/No

Who advised you to join the fund? ....

Did someone assist you to fill out the claim form? If so, who?

....

8. To Wife.

Have you any children born in Australia?

No.

If so, have you attended a Baby Health Centre?

Yes/No

Did you find the people very helpful (V.H.) sometimes helpful (S.H.) or not very helpful (N.H.).
How frequently did you attend?

V.H.	S.H.	N.H.	frequency

9. Have your children been immunised?

Yes/No

For what have they been immunised?

Comment ....

Where were they immunised? ....

Who advised you about immunisation? ....

10. From which of the following sources have you received assistance or information on health and welfare matters?
If a person provide name.
What was the nature of the problem or information?
Who advised you where to go?

Source	Name	Problem	Contact
Written Gen.			
Newspaper			
Telephone Dir.			
Sign			

Radio/T.V.			
Dept of Immig.			
Comm Bank M.I.S.			
Good Neighbour C.			
M.P.			
Italian Priest			
Friend L/I/O			
Relative			
Other			

11. Have you ever required legal advice?

Yes/No

If so, what was the nature of the problem?

Comment ....

Whom did you see? ....

Who advised you to go there? ....

12. What do you know about the Legal Aid Service?

Comment ....

13. How long did it take for you to feel at ease in Australia?

....

Would you tell me what it was like being a migrant in Australia?

Comment ....

PART H. SOCIAL ACTIVITY/RECREATION.

1. Are you a member of the Lettesi Sick Fund?

Yes/No

2. Do you usually attend the following functions organised by the Lettesi Committee?

Activity	Yes	No
New years Eve		
Easter		
San Vincenzo Feast		

August Celebration		
Mothers Day Social		
Dart Club Picnic		

3. Do you attend the Highfields - Azzuri Club?
   If so, how often do you attend?
   Do you belong to the Dart Club at Highfields?
   Do you attend the dances? If so, how often?

Highfields Club	f	Dart Club		Dances	f

4. Do you hold membership of any other club? If so which ones and how often do you attend?

Name of Club	f

5. How frequently, if at all, do you attend the Scalabrini Centre and for what purpose?

Frequency	Purpose

6. Do you attend a church? Which church and how frequently?

Name of Church	f

7. Where do you mainly shop? ....
   Do you shop at Italian food shops?   Yes/No

   With whom, if anyone, do you shop most frequently?
   ....

8. Which Lettesi families do you see most frequently? (Limit 10)

1	2
3	etc.

9. Does anyone in your family visit Australians in their homes? If so record who visits, how often and where.

	Yes/No	Suburb	f
Husband			
Wife			
Children			

APPENDIX 3

STATISTICAL DEFINITIONS AND FORMULAS[1]

(a) <u>The Index of Concentration</u> is a measure of the degree of correspondence between population units and area. x_i is the percentage of a population living in the i'th areal sub-unit (C.D.) and y_i becomes the percentage of city area contained in that unit. If the population is distributed evenly through the city, each territorial division will contain a proportion of population equal to its proportion of total area. In this case the index of concentration will be o. Conversely, if all the population is concentrated into one small area, the index of concentration will equal almost 100.

$$I_c = \tfrac{1}{2} \sum \left| x_i - y_i \right|$$

(b) <u>The Index of Segregation</u> shows the extent to which the specified sub-group is residentially separated from the rest of the population. In the formula I_d represents the index of dissimilarity between the sub-group and the total population, x_{ai} represents the total number of the sub-group in the city, and x_{ni} represents the total population of the city.

$$I_s = \frac{I_d}{1 - \dfrac{\sum x_{ai}}{\sum x_{ni}}}$$

(c) <u>The Indices of Dissimilarity and Redistribution</u> are measures of net displacement, showing the percentage of the one population which would have to move into other areas in order to reproduce the percentage distribution of the other population. In the formula

---

1. Timms (1965).

x_i represents the percentage of the "x" population in the i'th areal sub-unit, y_i represents the percentage of the "y" population in the i'th areal sub-unit, and the summation being over all the K sub-units (C.Ds of the city).

$$I_d = \tfrac{1}{2} \sum \left| x_i - y_i \right|$$

(d) The Representation Index is a measure of the relative concentration of a population within any one of the sub-areas (C.D.'s) of a city. It is the ratio between the percentage of one population occurring in a given area and the percentage of another population in that area. In the formula x_i is the percentage of the total "x" population occurring in the 'ith area and y_i is the percentage of the total population in the i'th area.

$$Lq = \frac{x_i}{y_i}$$

(e) The Mean Centre of Population is its balancing point or centre of gravity. This is calculated by first assigning co-ordinates (x_i, y_i) to the i'th unit (household), and then computing the following

$$(\bar{x}, \bar{y}) = \left(\sum_{1}^{n} \frac{x_i}{n} , \sum_{1}^{n} , \frac{y_i}{n} \right)$$

(f) Connectivity Relays are based upon the pattern of relationships among a population, expressed in the form of a connectivity matrix. This is a symmetric square matrix in which a value of 1 in a particular cell indicates a link (in this case a relationship to the order of 1st cousin) between the individuals identified respectively with the row and column of the matrix which intersect at that cell. All other elements in the matrix, including the leading diagonal, are set to zero.

The incidence of indirect relationships can be found by taking successive powers of the original matrix (relays). Thus, for example, the matrix $Q = P^2$, where P is the original connectivity matrix, gives the number of cases where two individuals are linked through an intermediate mutual relative. Similarly, the matrix $R = QP = P^3$ gives the incidence of relationships involving two intermediaries. Reflexive relationships, which are indicated by the elements in the leading diagonals of these higher order matrices, are ignored in counting the number of linked, or unlinked, pairs of individuals.

Ident. No.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	Range No.	Total Items
35	6	18	1		3	10	1		12									4	26
70	10	19	1	1	1	4	2	1	17		1		2	1		1	3	11	34
7	1	21	2	4	9		8	1	11	2	1	1						8	37
24	12	23	2		2	1	2			2								4	7
47		3			7	3	26	6				1						5	43
2	14	12	3		1	2	2		1		1							5	7
1		9	1	1	3	9	7		1	1			1		1	1		9	25
82		7			11	2	9	6										4	28
45	6	21	3		1	2							1					3	4
30		8		4	7	5	9	1										5	26
50		9	2	1	10	2	6											4	19
21		14		1	1	1	1	2	8									6	14
33	7	9	1		1		2					1		1		1	2	6	8
13		6		3	5		8		3									4	19
67		5	1	2	2	4	5		3	1		1						7	18
26		7		3	2	2	7		1	1		1						7	17
37		4	1		6		3	1	2			1			3	1		7	17
43		12			4	3	2											3	9
41		3		4	1		13											3	18
55		5			8	1	6							1				4	16
5		9	1		6	1	4											3	11
20		9		4	1	1	4		1									5	11
38		7		3	7	2	1											4	13
4		6		2	6		6											3	14
12	3	2		1	6	1	2	1	1		1						1	8	14
23		5	1	2	5	2	3	1										5	13
57		4		3	1		9	1										4	14
77		7		3	4		3											3	10
58		1		2	2		11											4	16
19		6			1		1		5		1	1		1				6	10
60		7	1	3	3		2											3	8
64		4		1	1	5	3											4	10
56	2	7	2			1	1		1									3	3
59		5	6		1		2											2	3
40		5		3	2	1	2											4	8
42		6			4		3											2	7
3	2	9	1	1														1	1
36	1	5	2	2	2													2	4
14		5		1	1	3	1								1			5	7
69		2			2	2	2					1	1		1	1		7	10
34		1		2	6		3											3	11
28		3		2	4	1	2											4	9
53		1		3	3		5											3	11
32	2	8	1				1											1	1
10		9		1					1									2	2
16		8		1	1	1												3	3
79		8				1		1										2	2
18		6	1		1	1	1											3	3
68	1	2	1	1	3		1											3	5
72		3				3									1	1		3	5
54		5		1	2													2	3
31		4		1	1	1	1											4	4
39		5		1	1	1												3	3
66		3									1		1		1	1		4	4
62		5			1								1					2	2
51		5			1		1											2	2
65		4			1		2											2	3
63		4		3														1	3
83		1				2		1					1		1	1		5	6
75		3			1	3												2	4
25		5			1													1	1
27		4		1	1													2	2
17		1		1	3		1											3	5
52		3			1		1											2	2
8		4			1													1	1
80		4				1												1	1
46		2		1	1		1											3	3
6		3		1														1	1
44		2		1		1												2	2
15		3				1												1	1
48		1		1	1	1												3	3
76		2				1	1											2	2
29		2		1	1													2	2
49		3														1		1	1
84		2			2													1	2
85		1				2												1	2
78		1				1												1	1

KEY

A Committee Membership
B Nomination - Sociometric Scale
C Close Relationship to Family
D Sponsorship Assistance
E Accommodation Assistance
F Job Assistance/Information
G Housing Information
H Home Finance Information
I Doctor
J Dentist
K Baby Health
L Immunisation
M Legal Aid Service/Solicitor
N Medibank
O Medical Fund
P Medical Forms
Q Taxation Return

NOTE: 1. Ranking is based on frequency totals for all cells including influence and interaction, information and assistance.

2. Those who were not mentioned as sources of information are not included in the table.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP - LETTESI SICK FUND

Committee of 1969
President: N. DeVitis
Vice President: D. Palmieri
Secretary: A. Della Grotta
Treasurer: S. Di Stefano

Committee of 1970
President: A. Della Grotta
Vice President: D. Palmieri
Secretary: N. DeVitis
Treasurer: A. D'Accione

Committee of 1971
President: A. Della Grotta
Vice President: D. Palmieri
Secretary: N. DeVitis
Treasurer: A. D'Accione

Committee of 1972
President: A. Della Grotta
Vice President: D. Palmieri
Secretary: N. DeVitis
Treasurer: A. D'Accione

Committee of 1973
President: A. Della Grotta
Vice President: D. Palmieri
Secretary: N. DeVitis
Treasurer: A. D'Accione

Committee of 1974
President: A. Della Grotta
Vice President: A. Candian
Secretary: R. Della Grotta
Treasurer: N. DeVitis

Committee of 1975
President: A. Della Grotta
Vice President: A. D'Accione
Secretary: R. Della Grotta
Treasurer: N. DeVitis

Committee of 1976
President: A. D'Accione
Vice President: D. Tempesta
Secretary: R. Della Grotta
Treasurer: N. De Vitis
Committee Members: C. Tarantini
                   D. Palmieri

Committee of 1977
President: A. D'Accione
Vice-President: G. D'Amico
Secretary: R. Della Grotta
Treasurer: N. DeVitis
Committee Members: D. Palmieri
                   A. Della Grotta

Committee of 1978
President: A. D'Accione
Vice President: A. Candian
Secretary: R. Della Grotta
Treasurer: N. DeVitis
Committee Members: C. Tarantini
                   A. Della Grotta

Committee of 1979
President: A. D'Accione
Vice President: A. Candian
Secretary: R. Della Grotta
Treasurer: N. DeVitis
Committee Members: C. Tarantini
                   G. D'Amico

Committee of 1980
President: A. D'Accione
Vice President: G. Gizzi
Secretary: G. DiClaudio
Treasurer: N. DeVitis
Committee Members: C. Tarantini
                   G. Terenzini

Committee of 1981
President: A. D'Accione
Vice President: G. Gizzi
Secretary: G. DiClaudio
Treasurer: N. DeVitis
Committee Members: C. Tarantini
                   G. Terenzini

Committee of 1982
President: A. D'Accione
Vice President: A. Della Grotta
Secretary: G. DiClaudio
Treasurer: N. DeVitis
Committee Members: C. Tarantini
                   U. di Stefano

DRAFT REGIONAL POLICY ON MIGRANT HEALTH

HUNTER REGION

> * It is stressed that the following is a skeletal draft only, its purpose being to illustrate how policy goals and objectives can be guided by elements of a communications model so as to achieve more effective access for immigrants to health care services and health information.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES. A premise of social justice implies the following principles as guidelines for a policy on migrant health:

The right of equality of opportunity for access to health care services, for every individual, regardless of cultural origin or linguistic skill.

The responsibility of the health system, generally, to respond appropriately to its target population, including people of non English-speaking background.

THE GENERAL AIM. These two principles of rights and responsibilities lead logically to a general aim of integration, integration being defined, for the purpose of the policy, as a process whereby channels are created providing access for migrants to health care services.

SET OF GOALS. The general aim implies a set of specific goals which are essential for migrants to attain real access. These goals are derived from careful consideration of each of the elements of the communications model.

(a) Source/The Health System. That health system planners, administrators and service providers be responsive to clients of different cultural/ linguistic backgrounds.

(b) Receiver/Clients. That client/client groups are consulted concerning health needs and made fully aware of services and the means of attaining access.

(c) Information. That information be responsive to migrant needs, appropriate in its cultural and technical content, and accessible to people of non English-speaking background.

(d) Channels. That channels be the most appropriate in regard to the information, to the nature of the service, and to the target population.

(e) Communications System/Planning Perspective. That planning incorporate all relevant data for defining target groups and priorities for service. That target dates be set for attaining goals. That integration should occur with other regional systems in the planning and provision of services to migrants.

MIGRANT DATA BASE. The primary purpose of a data base would be to identify health needs and target groups. It should therefore incorporate all relevant information including the basic demographic data, morbidity statistics, social welfare information, data available on service provision and information gathered through client consultation. Data available on the local region should be supported by relevant research information.

CRITERIA FOR ASSESSMENT OF NEED PRIORITIES. Decisions which determine need priorities should consider not only the standard information but additional criteria including the following - recency of arrival, standard of English, cultural/ linguistic distance, degree of isolation, ethnic support structures, socioeconomic status, employment status and emigration background. In determining priorities

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Note: The term 'migrant' is used here in a restricted sense to apply to people of non English-speaking background, whether born in Australia or elsewhere. It would usually refer to first and second generation.

it is necessary, however, to consider the constraints on existing resources.

OBJECTIVES FOR ACHIEVING GOALS. Objectives are derived from the specified goals and are outlined below with their appropriate strategies. It should be noted, however, that this draft though indicative of a more comprehensive plan, is in no way exhaustive. The objectives, and the strategies designed to achieve those objectives, would emerge from decisions concerning target groups and priorities.

STRATEGIES AND PROGRAMMES FOR ACHIEVING OBJECTIVES. Appropriate strategies need to be selected for the purpose of achieving the goals and objectives. Examples include a range of policies, procedures, services and programmes for specific target groups. An example of a particular health education programme will be outlined to show how its objectives were derived from those of the general plan, within a communications model.

Goal 1 - Information. That it be responsive to needs, appropriate in cultural content, and accessible.

Objectives	Strategies
(a) That information needs be established.	Consideration of Target Groups.
	Consultations with clients/client groups, e.g. Ethnic Advisory Committee, Ethnic Communities Council.
	Analysis of information requested from Interpreters etc.
	Pilot programmes, surveys etc.
	Evaluation of programmes to test effectiveness re information.
	Consultation with other planning bodies and information services e.g. Ethnic Inter-agency Committee, Government Departments, Hunter Regional Information Service, Neighbourhood Centres.
(b) That information be consistent with cultural beliefs and practices to the extent possible.	Consultation with clients, ethnic professionals etc.
	Collation of relevant research information.
	Pilot programmes, surveys etc.
	Library of cultural information and materials.
(c) That information be available in appropriate form.	Liaison with health professionals to ensure provision of adequate information, for example where gaps are indicated by clients through Interpreters.
	Development of health education programmes designed for specific linguistic/cultural groups etc.
(d) That information be accessible.	Translation of written materials by the Translation Unit.
	Establishment of a network of interpersonal and media contacts and physical locations for distribution of information.
	Efficient indexing/library system of available information both in English and other languages.
	Promotion of the Regional Migrant Health Unit as an information service providing Interpreters by telephone or on location.

Goal 2 - Channels. That channels be the most appropriate in regard to the information, to the nature of the service, and to the target group.

Objectives	Strategies
(a) Accurate communication between professionals and clients for direct service delivery.	Use of Interpreters, Ethnic Health Workers, other bilingual professionals, for direct service delivery.

Objectives	Strategies
	Appropriate training in interpreting and communication skills, medical terminology etc.
	Monitoring the adequacy of communication through case reviews.
(b) Effective delivery of health care programmes.	Appropriate choice of channels should be made in relation to the degree of complexity of the programme. e.g. interpersonal, written materials, audio visual, other media etc.
	That multilingual programmes using written material, films, audio visual media, video cassettes etc. be developed for appropriate purposes.
	Regional Ethnic Health Education Officers to co-ordinate the rational development and delivery of programmes, in dialogue with other health promotion units through special committees.
(c) That channels be appropriate to different target groups.	Assessment of cultural/educational/demographic profile of target groups to establish most appropriate channels.
	Evaluation of programmes to assess effectiveness of channels.

Goal 3 - Health System/Service Providers. That the Health System, generally, be responsive to clients of different cultural/linguistic background.

Objectives	Strategies
(a) That staffing reflect the cultural/linguistic origins of the target population.	Adequate staffing of Interpreter Service, Migrant Health Unit, to provide a link to health services.
	Implementation of relevant sections of the Affirmative Action Plan of the N.S.W. Health Department regarding staffing.
	Implementation of Guidelines provided to Hospitals/ Community Health and Specialist Teams in regard to bilingual staffing policy.
	Compilation of lists of bilingual resources within the Department of Health, New South Wales.
	Appropriate use of bilingual professionals.
	Assistance with submissions for Grant-in-Aids etc. for ethnic organisations.
(b) That practices be modified to make services more appropriate, responsive and available to migrants.	Programmes with health professionals and personnel on 'How to Use an Interpreter'.
	Implementation of relevant sections of Hospital/ Community Health Guidelines.
	Liaison with hospital management and health professionals to encourage greater flexibility and responsiveness to migrant needs, through interpersonal contact, workshops, lectures, etc.

Objectives	Strategies
	Flexibility in organisation of health programmes in respect to time and location.
	Liaison with other services to provide necessary back-up. e.g. child-minding, etc.
(c) That service providers be culturally sensitive to the needs of client groups.	Cultural Awareness programmes to be directed to health professionals, administrative and counter staff; trainees in nursing, social welfare, medicine, etc.
	Availability of cultural information etc. to health professionals on request.
	Encouragement of inclusion of cultural content in training course curricula.

Goal 4 - Client Groups. That client groups are made fully aware of the services provided and of the means of attaining access.

Objectives	Strategies
(a) That migrants be informed of health services available and in particular those of the Interpreter Service.	Information and referral as part of the Health Care Interpreter role.
	Advertisement of the Interpreter Service, e.g. hospital signs, telephone directory, directories of welfare services, community networks, media etc.
	Personal cards in appropriate languages, requesting Interpreters.
(b) Effective use by migrants of Interpreters.	Input into 'on arrival' programmes, language classes, etc., on health services, generally, and Interpreter Services specifically.
	Programmes involving 'Calling an Interpreter' etc. Role plays as part of health education programmes.

Goal 5 - Planning. That all the relevant data be collated and considered in defining target groups and priorities for service. That target dates be set for attaining goals. That all the above factors be fully considered to ensure the integration of migrants with the health system.

Objectives	Strategies
(a) To obtain a comprehensive overview of the health needs of migrants.	Organisation of Census Data, Morbidity Data etc. into a usable form for identifying target groups.
(b) To establish priorities for service provision.	Identify target groups in relation to need.
	Assess available resources for meeting these needs.
	Establish priorities in relation to the above.
(c) To set appropriate target dates for achieving goals and objectives.	This will depend upon the nature of the service and on resources.

Objectives	Strategies
(d) To monitor and evaluate services and programmes in terms of the above guidelines, aim, goals and objectives.	Development of a standardised, efficient system for recording statistics of services provided. Development of a standardised system of evaluation of health education programmes. Development of feedback mechanisms for the ethnic communities to effectively monitor health services to migrants, e.g. Ethnic Advisory Committee.

ANTE-NATAL CARE PROGRAMME FOR VIETNAMESE WOMEN.

The programme[1] comprises eight discrete sessions supported by a set of eight audio-visual tapes and a professional booklet with a transcript of the sessions presented both in English and Vietnamese. As well as the transcripts the booklet contains illustrative material to be copied for handout to individual persons to reinforce the sessions. It is intended to be used by a bilingual professional or by an English-speaking professional with the assistance of an interpreter to maximise the opportunity for client feedback.

Background to the Programme. Although, demographically, the Vietnamese community is small in the Hunter Region by comparison with Sydney[2], their need is more acute than for other ethnic groups due to their recency of origin, their cultural/linguistic distance, pre-emigration trauma and low socioeconomic position. In the Hunter Region, too, their numbers are insufficient to provide a range of institutional supports which could facilitate access to the health care system.

In relation to baby health and ante-natal care we found that Vietnamese women, in the Hunter Region, were not using baby health centres appropriately, but that, instead, they would use them for medical emergencies. It was apparent, as well, that baby health centres were not responding adequately to the needs of Vietnamese. Anglo-Saxon, middle class packages, providing information on ante-natal care, were not appropriate for Vietnamese women, and for a variety of reasons, services and programmes were not effectively accessible to them.

Programme Aim and Objectives. The general aim was to facilitate integration by establishing links for providing access to the health care system for the Vietnamese community. The objectives were as follows:-

(a) Source/The Health Care System and Service Providers. To promote the general concept of culturally sensitive health education programmes.

To generate sensitivity and cultural awareness among health professionals involved in ante-natal care.

To encourage flexibility and structural modification to minimise stress and anxiety for patients, e.g. hospital routine.

(b) Receiver/Vietnamese Clients and Community. To encourage self-confidence and self-reliance among clients, and trust in professionals involved in ante-natal care.

To facilitate the diffusion of the relevant information and more general information on access to health services through the inter-personal networks of the Vietnamese community.

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[1] This programme was initiated in 1981. It was later directed by Ann Roche, Health Education Officer, with assistance from the Medical Communications Unit, Faculty of Medicine, University of Newcastle.

[2] Of Vietnamese who were resident in Australia for less than five years at the 1981 Census, there were 14275 in Sydney and only 102 in the Hunter Region though many more have arrived in both regions since 1981. An important consideration was that the programme could be used in areas other than the Hunter Region.

(c) Relationship between Source and Receiver i.e. Service Providers and Vietnamese Clients. To minimise the cultural and linguistic barriers and interpersonal barriers generated by attitudes, between service providers and the Vietnamese women.

(d) Information. To present information with clarity and simplicity.

To provide information to meet special needs e.g. lack of knowledge of the hospital system etc.

To ensure that information is culturally appropriate.

(e) Channels. To facilitate accessibility of ante-natal care programmes by providing the most effective channels of access.

Given the complexity and scope of the information it was decided that audio visual media would be appropriate, but that written materials should be used for reinforcement and interpersonal channels to maximise feedback.

(f) Time and Spatial Considerations. To promote flexibility regarding time and location to encourage and facilitate maximum participation.

Preparation for the Programme. Enquiries were made through the Vietnamese interpreter, through workers from other agencies and through the Vietnamese community, to establish contact with Vietnamese women who were pregnant and in need of ante-natal care. Given limited resources in materials and personnel, we decided to deal with the immediate problem through a pilot programme designed to provide information for input to a programme in the longer term.

The objectives derived for the pilot programme were more limited by comparison to those of the main programme. They were to provide information on ante-natal care, to gauge the participants' information levels, to assess their specific information needs, to learn about Vietnamese perceptions and practices, and to generate trust and to increase their self-confidence. The resources to develop the final programme were provided through a grant from Hospitals' Health Promotion funding for innovative programmes of health education.

The pilot programme was conducted in the homes of Vietnamese, to encourage informaility and ease of discussion. Transport was provided and assistance with child care. Because two of the women in an advanced stage of pregnancy, lived at Morisset, an hour's drive from the city, some of the later sessions were held there. This problem highlighted the implications of dispersion of refugees from the main concentration. A community nurse presented the programme with the assistance and support of the Vietnamese interpreter. She was selected on the basis of her interest and sensitivity. A health education student from Canberra C.A.E. undertook to transcribe the tapes of the sessions as part of his 'placement' experience with the Unit. The programme proceeded smoothly and met its limited objectives. Several months after the termination of the programme there was a follow-up meeting which led to a series of individual sessions on aspects of child care. One of the women from the initial programme later participated in the audio visual production.

Further preparation for the final programme involved a search for research information. Work carried out with Vietnamese women by Manderson and Mathews at Sydney University provided information on Vietnamese beliefs, perceptions and practices in relation to pregnancy, childbirth and child care. Meagan Mathews was

consulted on the content of the programme and participated in part of the field preparation.

Field preparation was directed mainly to health institutions and service providers and to observing the existing patterns of interaction between the health system and its Vietnamese clients. This involved a comparison of hospital systems, individual and group discussions with hospital staff, participating in a tour, with Vietnamese women, of the maternity and labour wards of a large Sydney hospital, and general observation of existing practices. The aim was to assess to what extent it would be possible to retain or modify the behaviours and beliefs of both health professionals and Vietnamese clients to achieve a closer integration of the two.

Following the completion of the programme preparation, the planning and direction of the audio visual tapes and the production of the manual were able to proceed. Although the programme was recently completed, it has not yet been delivered, nor has it been evaluated. Until an evaulation has been completed we cannot know the extent to which it satisfies the aim and objectives. Nevertheless, it is one of a number of initiatives which have had the effect of creating closer links between ethnic communities and the health system, generally.

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