Day Two Session One

Professor Michael J Osborne
Vice Chancellor and President, Latrobe University VIC

Emeritus Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki
AO, CBE, Canberra ACT

Mr. Elio Guarnuccio
Publisher and Former Chairman of the Centre For Italian Studies

Professor Flavio Lucchesi
Istituto di Geografia Umana, Università Degli Studi di Milano, Italy

Dr. James Jupp
Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, The Australian
National University, Canberra ACT

Professor Roslyn Pesman
Pro-Vice Chancellor, University of Sydney NSW

The Future of the Past
Professor Michael J Osborne

As will be evident, I am not a specialist in any branch of Italian Studies and I should explain immediately that I agreed to give this address as an advocate for the importance of the continued pursuit of Humanities, and under that general heading Italian Studies at the tertiary level. This should not, of course, be taken to mean that I advocate the presence of Italian Studies in every institution of higher learning, where Humanities are offered - rather, I take Italian Studies to be a paradigm for many culturally significant fields of study, whose contributions to society are no longer matched by student demand or public interest, and I would (and do) advocate for them the security of a permanent place in universities through the medium of a National Agenda for Humanities. In practice such an overall agenda is ostentatiously lacking and slogans like the "clever country" and the "knowledge-based society" have largely been revealed as vapid rhetoric by the realities of declining funding, and such attention as has been devoted to higher education has been desperately utilitarian and has scarcely ever encompassed the Humanities. This represents a disturbing myopia towards the cultural benefits that universities can and do confer and it seems very much out of place in a country where the cultural and intellectual tradition has been so distinctively and so directly shaped by a diversity of cultures. On any analysis Italian is a major contributor to our culture and as such its role in universities ought to be secure. If only this were so! For, with others, I fear that its future, like that of some other European Studies, is not entirely assured - indeed could hardly be so in the face of market-driven government policies towards higher education which see it as a cost rather than an investment - and my essential theme today is to suggest that some means of security should be afforded, although in the words of Maxim Gorky success is unlikely "in the carriages of the past".

Which brings me to my title, which will undoubtedly have already struck many of you as curious, if not bizarre. It was in fact stimulated by two considerations.

Firstly, the study of Italian, like that of any other language and culture, cannot reasonably be divorced from the past. For, leaving aside the acquisition of the language, which is simply an instrument (albeit

one to which tertiary institutions necessarily must devote much of their attention), the study of Italian surely encompasses the study of a cumulative cultural and intellectual tradition. Indeed it is very substantially a study of past achievement, whether in literature, art, philosophy or whatever - and, if I may interpose an observation, it should ideally include the contribution of Latin antiquity. After all, Virgil was Dante's guide.

Secondly, and perhaps less obviously, in the past (at least the recent past) the study of languages and the contributions of the civilizations for which they are the media, has not needed a defence but has been regarded as a normal, if not indispensable, feature of higher education. It must, of course, be acknowledged that until relatively recently, and perniciously, a few dead languages were regarded as exclusively significant in universities. I refer, of course, to Latin and Greek which, along with Theology and Mathematics, dominated such universities as Oxford and Cambridge for many centuries - indeed as late as the 1960s, when I was a student at Oxford, Classics ("Greats", as the course was known) was still regarded as the pre-eminent program in Oxford, and Humanities accounted for the majority of all students then. Humanities by this time had fortunately lost its shackles to antiquity and included a rather greater number of fields of study, including Italian. The struggle for such diversity had begun long before. Thus in 1880, giving the foundation address at Mason College [which later became the University of Birmingham] the great scientist and polymath Thomas Huxley spoke bitterly (if eloquently) on the narrowness of university learning and alluded to the rationale:

"Whatever there was of higher intellectual aspiration or dominant capacity in Italy, France, Germany and England spent itself for centuries in taking possession of the rich inheritance left by the dead civilizations of Greece and Rome. Marvellously aided by the invention of printing, classical learning spread and flourished. Those who preserved it prided themselves on having attained the highest culture then within the reach of mankind."

"And justly. For, saving Dante on his solitary pinnacle, there was no figure in modern literature at the time of the Renaissance to compare with the men of antiquity…"

Huxley went on to argue for a greater diversity in the Humanities to bring them up to date and to take account of later contributions, although it must be admitted that his real objective was to gain for science an appropriate role in universities. But Huxley was certainly not hostile to the Humanities - quite the reverse (he anticipated C.P. Snow as

a supporter of the two cultures) - and he certainly gave a wake-up call to the Humanities in two ways that are relevant now: ie the need for diversification and relevance. To use his own words:

"The representatives of the humanists in the nineteenth century take their stand upon classical education as the sole avenue to culture, as firmly as if we were still in the age of the Renaissance. Yet, surely, the present intellectual relations of the modern and ancient worlds are profoundly different from those which obtained three centuries ago."

This comment strikes a chord which needs to be taken seriously in the current debate over Humanities. It is that Humanities must be projected (and appreciated) in a way that is relevant to the current age, and that advocating the study of the past is very different from supporting the narrow attitudes and obsolete practices of the past.

The practices of yesteryear presuppose accepting an alien environment where a wealthy elite acquired an education (or at least a social experience) in circumstances that could assuredly be styled "ivory towered", as readers of (say) Trollope will know only too well. And it is surely amazing that in this current day and age the precepts of (say) John Henry Newman or (later) the dreams of Michael Oakeshott should be kept alive as models for universities and hence as stimulants for the revival of Humanities. For both were advocates of highly exclusive programs of learning and hostile to the introduction of vocational courses into universities. They were also, like their peers, implacably hostile to research and held firmly to the dictum of Matthew Arnold that the role of universities was not to advance knowledge but to know and to disseminate "the best that is known throughout the world". It is surely paradoxical that so many current advocates of funding for research in the Humanities should find succour in heroes quite so hostile to the idea of research. It is as well not to mention the other repugnant features of those supposedly Elysian days, described (e.g.) in the 1750s by the historian Edward Gibbon, who stigmatized the dons as "stupefied by their dull and deep potations, whilst supinely enjoying the gifts of the [College] founder" and a little later (more sedately) by the poet Wordsworth in his Prelude, relating to his time at St John's Cambridge from 1787-1791, contrasting the present staff unfavourably with those of old who ... "led in abstemiousness a studious life / when in forlorn and naked chambers cooped / and crowded, over the ponderous books they hung / like caterpillars eating out their way / in silence or with keen devouring noise ... ".Readers of C.P. Snow, not to mention Malcolm Bradbury, will find a similar tale of ivory-towered

venues for intrigue, feasting and drinking, bereft of mentions of academic activity, never mind the inconvenience of students.

This is a world apart and one that needs to be left in the past - and at their peril do advocates of the Humanities enthuse over it. With Huxley we must demand that the Humanities be kept up to date, be inclusive and innovative, and relevant to the modern age. In practice universities have always built on the past, and we need to continue this process now, accepting the novelties of our age, and [what is going to be very difficult] adapting to different sets of expectations from different clienteles and moulding ourselves to new forms of communication, which are not only alien but in many cases *prima facie* threatening. Unless we can effect this transformation, the fate of the Humanities is grim.

Major differences, which render ancient models for universities quite obsolete and which need attention, are firstly that nowadays higher education is (temporarily at any rate) publicly supported and hence subject in large measure to the wishes of government. The days of full funding are, of course, long gone but that is not surprising, since no country could afford such a cost as well as encouraging massive participation, which is the second difference. What is disappointing is that the government role has tended to be almost entirely utilitarian and has tended to envisage universities almost exclusively as training enterprises to the exclusion of broader cultural roles. The future of the Humanities is in part at least dependent on a major change in attitude in this regard.

We need to develop a model that accepts the realities of the current age and thus pays attention to two issues in particular - firstly, that public support means acknowledging that Humanities cannot plausibly claim pre-eminence in current circumstances and that universities have as a major role the provision of a qualified workforce; and secondly, that universities are now (and appropriately) very much "student centred", in contrast to the selfishly staff-centred institutions of old, so that their programs must reflect in substantial measure what students want. The advent of mass participation, which is widely agreed to be an improvement, has brought about a considerable change in this regard - notably a strong thrust, and from very well qualified students, towards vocational programs which hold out (seemingly) good career prospects. This thrust has not meant a total flight from the Humanities - far from it [Humanities still constitute the largest Faculties in many universities] - but it has detruded Humanities from its erstwhile pre-eminence and it has tended [though it is not the only reason] to diminish interest in some

areas, notably some languages. It has to be admitted that Italian would fall *prima facie* into this category - not that it lacks prestigious companions ... for Greek, French, German and others are not exactly prospering. In such circumstances, as I have said, it is futile to call for the return of the older model of a university - and to those who advocate this I suggest that they establish a private, fee-paying institution offering only Humanities subjects and see how well they fare in supporting themselves. And herein, of course, lies the key issue - the fact that modern universities are funded essentially on the basis of enrolments. Whatever the overt or latent expectations may be, they are not funded to promote Humanities or traditional science. So long as the nexus between funding and enrolments remains the threat to many areas of Humanities, including Italian, will persist. And it can only become acute if successive governments insist on treating universities like industrial enterprises and forcing efficiencies and "productivity" within existing funding bases. For the simple fact is that under the pressures already mentioned universities are finding it hard to justify small student-staff ratios in areas of cultural significance whilst "popular" subjects have massively unfavourable ratios, to the detriment of the students enrolled in them.

The obvious conclusion which I would draw from this and put before you is that, if the Humanities in their full diversity are to continue in universities, then in at least some of them the funding must be detached from student enrolments. Otherwise they will struggle to survive. Such a suggestion, of course, flies in the very teeth of a tide of economic rationalism on the part of government and sundry others in relation to universities, but I put it to you that the cultivation and enhancement and nurturing of regard for the Humanities in the broadest sense is - or certainly ought to be - a defining feature of a civilized country; further that in such a context the role of the universities is all-important ... as custodians of the national heritage, as discoverers and promoters of new knowledge and new ideas, and as disseminators of both.

All the world may well be a stage, but without the Humanities there will be no players, only technicians and technocrats looking at an empty stage. Australian universities have had a good record hitherto - and that in part at least accounts for their current ability to offer education to others in our region - and like other countries we must face up to the need to preserve our heritage and accept the role of universities in promoting cultural benefits. Older established countries like France (say) have always seen this as a national priority; and in strongly

developing countries like China it is noteworthy that, despite their urgent practical desiderata, humanities are being supported. As a general observation I would add that, historically, few, if any, societies live long in the memory for their efficiency, or even for their repulsiveness - but the cultural contributions tend to persist. In the case of ancient societies, for example, most are shrouded in obscurity - but Greece and Rome are clearly remembered - and for their mighty contributions to literature, art, and philosophy, which have been allowed to expunge, and for some excuse, their fearful callousness as slave-based societies.

All of which brings me finally to the particular situation of Italian Studies as a component of Humanities. It cannot be denied, of course, that there are few, if any, countries outside of Italy where Italian is a component of every university (even of every university that offers programs in Humanities). Australia is thus not alone, and certainly not reprehensible, in having a limited number of such university departments. What would be singularly reprehensible, however, would be a failure to ensure for Italian a strong university presence nationwide. For Australia is a highly diversified, multicultural country and it has a clear responsibility to preserve and enhance and promote the local development of the components of that society. In such a context Italian has a very high priority. How best to do this is no doubt a contentious matter, but, as I have said already, an appropriate funding detached from the vagaries of student enrolment is highly desirable - and surely as easily defensible as the provision of (say) libraries or museums at public expense as public amenities. Naturally, the quid pro quo for this will be that university recipients should be required to provide a comprehensive plan for the development of such a facility and exhibit a clear commitment and plan to interact with the community. But there are already good examples. If I may be just for a moment immodest and speak of my own institution, there exists there a National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research which houses, amongst other items, a comprehensive archive of materials relating to the Greek diaspora and which serves as a focal point for links between the University and schools and the community at large. This sits alongside the academic Department and links it directly to the community. We also plan further links in a Mediterranean Precinct for Italian, Spanish and sundry others.

But I come to a contentious issue, the enunciation of which has caused me to be vilified hitherto. Clearly there is a limit to the capacity to fund Departments of Italian and quality and critical mass must be assured if they are not to be mere language centres. In such

circumstances the question at least needs to be asked whether it is sensible to have a multiplicity of small Departments each of them permanently quivering beneath a sword of Damokles in the shape of impending cuts. Or whether it would be preferable to ensure a few strong Departments with a critical mass of staff, solid infrastructure, excellent library facilities and (very importantly) the capacity to provide coverage at other interested institutions within their city. Such a scheme already operates in Melbourne in relation to Spanish and Modern Greek (and to a lesser degree French and German). It surely deserves consideration for Italian in the interests of securing a guaranteed focal point.

Whatever the answer here, and it is it is an emotive issue, I will argue that there needs to be a clear commitment to Italian firstly as a paradigm for Humanities generally and secondly, and more importantly, as an integral component of the heritage of our society. I have suggested here that such a commitment may call for a re-thinking of the way in which universities are funded. Current debate (if it may be dignified with such a description) has tended to be cast exclusively in terms of enrolments as the key source of funding, and in terms of arguments about de-regulation and fee-paying. Sadly this bickering will continue until some clear and new thinking is devoted to the key question of the age, which is the nature and role of universities today. Hopefully such a debate may take place and hopefully it will make explicit a responsibility for universities to build on the past (as they have always done) as well as to meet the starker demands of the current generation. Hopefully too it will bring about a realization [that has already dawned on many of our neighbouring countries] that the price of ignorance in the modern world is likely to be much higher than that of investing in higher education.

Multiculturalism, Ethnic Diversity and Italian Australian Ethnic Heritage
Emeritus Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki, AO, CBE

Semantics of ethnic heritage

There are many intriguing words and concepts in the titles of today's Session and of this particular workshop. The theme of the Session is "Educating for new horizons" while the workshop is supposed to be about "Cultural diversity and globalization" with that polysyllabic 'M' word – multiculturalism – tucked at the end.

How am I to relate these words into a coherent whole? Am I to concentrate on 'new horizons' bearing in mind that the theme of the Conference is about Italian Australians (no hyphen!) in the new millennium? Should I take it for granted that my audience is fully conversant with the meaning of such descriptive phrases and concepts as multiculturalism and cultural diversity?

Faced with these choices I propose to reverse the order in which certain words/concepts are printed in the program. I shall, therefore, refrain from looking into the crystal ball called 'the next millennium' with its enticing dictionary definition "period of good government, great happiness and prosperity". Nor will I bother my audience with the semantics of 'cultural diversity' and 'globalization'. My starting point will be Australia's unique and original contribution to the theory and practice of pluralism in liberal democratic politics – in short, Australian multiculturalism and the part this policy plays in supporting cultural diversity with its specific focus on ethnic heritage.

The logic of this treatment of my subject, given the semantic constraints of specific themes and titles, will enable me to highlight what I judge to be the central theme of this Conference, namely consideration of a particular cultural heritage that Italian Australians bring into the new millennium. For, as I shall presently demonstrate, it is the multicultural ideology and corresponding policy of Australian governments that should safeguard the heritage of distinct cultures in our society which in most other respects is firmly integrated in the highly sophisticated economic system we call globalization.

What do we mean by heritage, that ill-defined 'something' which according to the dictionary represents "what is or may be inherited". In

the context of this workshop heritage stands for the total cultural heritage brought to Australia by ethnic communities – institutions, language, customs, religious beliefs and rituals, and the reflection of all these things in material culture, traditional practices, documents and items of folklore. Such a wide definition of ethnic heritage demonstrates that it is more than the colourful costumes, jewellery or devotional objects included in Judy Winternitz' album Australia's Hidden Heritage (1990). In this paper the term has a wider meaning as it stands for those culturally defined values and ideas together with their reflections in a person's material culture all of which determine who we are and in what community we find affinity, security and attachment. Defined in this way the heritage of immigrant groups represents what anthropologists and sociologists see as culture or socially inherited elements in the life of a people, material and spiritual. Included in this definition are items that are tangible, like dress, utensils, styles of domestic architecture, ornaments, to mention a few obvious examples, together with the intangibles of custom, speech, gesture and other inherited patterns of behaviour and social practice. All of these intangibles are regularly and continuously repeated, are sanctioned and maintained by social norms and are at the foundation of the community's social structure.

Preservation of ethnic identity in a multicultural Australia

The preservation of ethnic identity and heritage is in the very centre of Australian multiculturalism. For in Australia, unlike most ethnic immigrant receiving countries, multiculturalism is based on a controversial principle that it is appropriate to use the authority of the state actively to encourage diversity and to link the mainstream of cultural values and the preservation of heritage, with the recognition of the right of equality of treatment and opportunity regardless of the individual's race or ethnic origin.

As a public policy Australian multiculturalism promotes diversity and equality. In practice this means the use of public funds to foster cultural identity or the sense of belonging and attachment to a particular way of living associated with the historical experiences of a particular group of people. In short, cultural maintenance becomes one of the principal planks of multicultural policies, the other being the principle of equality of opportunity. The crux of the argument advanced by the architects of multicultural policies in the late 1970s is that "Australia is a society of multiple cultural identities or a multicultural society and that equality can best be promotes (perhaps can only be promoted) through policies that harness it to cultural identity. Both are means and both are

ends: equality depends on and strengthens multiculturalism, multiculturalism depends on and strengthens equality." (Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, *Australia as a Multicultural Society,* 1977)

The management of cultural diversity in Australia has had a chequered history since Arthur Calwell unveiled his program of planned migration in August 1945. In the period up to the mid 1960s the policy of assimilation was based on a belief in the benefits of cultural homogeneity linked with a vision of Australia as a racially pure white nation. Consequently immigrants from other than the British Isles were accepted on the understanding that they would shed their cultures and languages and be assimilated into the host population.

The policy of integration – from the mid 1960s to mid 1970s – represented a transitional stage from the policy of assimilation to the policy of multiculturalism which acknowledged that cultural diversity is not only acceptable but a positive force in Australia. As evidenced in the speeches made by successive Minister for Immigration (Hubert Opperman, Philip Lynch) the policy of integration did not imply minority cultures giving way totally to the dominant culture of the host society. The argument was that minority cultures influence the dominant culture which is modified to some extent by the new cultures. Integration, however, does not encourage cultural diversity since everyone is expected to adapt to the integrated culture.

The adoption of the philosophy of multiculturalism and its gradual elaboration in a series of reports published in the late 1970s and through the 1980s reached a climax in the report titled *The National Agenda for a multicultural Australia* presented by the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs chaired by Sir James Gobbo in 1989. The report again spelled out the fundamental principles of multiculturalism expressed in three dimensions: equality of treatment and opportunity, the removal of barriers of race and the right to cultural identity defined as expressing one's individual cultural heritage including language and religion.

In announcing the government's acceptance of the principles of the National Agenda the then Prime Minister announced a number of measures to assist collecting institutions, libraries, galleries, museums and archives to respond to their responsibilities in a multicultural Australia and "to reflect the cultural diversity of the Australian heritage in their collections".

The most recent report by the National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC) *Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness* (1999) incorporates the goals and principles of the 1989

National Agenda but is even more explicit in its focus on the need for the strong promotion of Australia's cultural diversity in all its aspects. The report speaks of "significant cultural, social and economic dividends which arise from the diversity of our population [which] should be maximized for the benefit of all Australians".

The NMAC Report was formally accepted and endorsed by the Government in December 1999. In a document tabled in Parliament and titled *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*, the Prime Minister said, "[…] We are an open and tolerant society that promotes the celebration of diversity within the context of unifying commitment to Australia. Our diversity is a source of competitive advantage, cultural enrichment and social stability."

The celebration of cultural diversity – a challenge to Italian Australians

How should Italian Australians respond to the twofold summons that follows from the Prime Minister's call for celebration of cultural diversity and the wish of the organizers of this Conference that it be concerned with "educating for new horizons" within the main theme which invites us to contemplate the place of Italian Australians in the future ("In Search of the Italian Australian into the New Millennium")? May I, as a sympathetic outsider, be so bold as to suggest that the response to these calls might be to see "the new horizons" in terms of the immigrant's personal account of the pain, joy and loss of the migratory journey that traverses the boundaries of time, space and generation and lies at the core of Australia's history. For the pain, joy and loss are the defining features of our collective experience as migrants, children and grandchildren of migrants. This is the theme that pervades much of our literature and one which is pertinent to our lives as something that can never be eradicated from our collective memory.

Many possible approaches come to mind when one considers the "pain, joy and loss" of the human experience of the community the size of Italian Australians with its rich history, vitality and its splendid contribution to Australia in so many dimensions. My approach is of necessity coloured by my background in the social sciences and for this reason must be complemented by the insights of other disciplines such as history, the humanities and economics, to mention only a few branches of learning.

Given this limitation, however, I would urge that, in the first instance, the task of documenting the human experience of Italian Australians already promoted by existing foundations and research institutes be stepped up. For example more research is needed into the

history and dynamics of the major "migration chains" which began to grow as early as 1900 and reached their climax during the decade that followed the signing of the assisted passage agreement in 1951. Several examples come to mind: the settlers from the Lipari Islands off Sicily settling in Newtown and later Leichhardt in Sydney; migrants from Lettopalena in Abruzzo (the "Lettesi") in Newcastle; the paesani from San Marco in Lamis (Puglia) in Brunswick (Melbourne); the fishermen from Molfetta (Bari) settling in Giles and Market Streets near the centre of Adelaide. These examples could be multiplied many times.

The second task which has barely begun is the collection of documents, tape recordings, life history material and artefacts at present largely confined to the National and State Libraries, the two museums of migration in Adelaide and Melbourne and the National Museum of Australia (NMA). The collection of such items is of vital importance in the task of documenting how a transplanted Italian minority culture strives to keep its links with the homeland and produces an impact on Australian society and polity.

Only a small proportion of any library or museum collection can fully assist in the task of documenting the process of transplantation and subsequent transformation of Italian culture, let alone its impact on the host society and policy. But this limitation should not blind us to the need of upholding a wider anthropological view of a multicultural Australia and the impact of Italian Australians on the receiving society. This is the view foreshadowed by one of the founders of modern anthropology the Frenchman Levi-Strauss, who reminded us that every social system – or 'civilisation' in his terminology – constitutes a universe whose members form a society with customs which impose their own rhythm on birth, growth and decline. But this society also constitutes a universe in itself with its divisions, apportionments, hierarchies and laws. And it gives birth to works which reflect it and influence its evolution.

The ethnic heritage collections in libraries and museums of Australia should consequently reflect and portray the key dimension of the "divisions, apportionments, hierarchies and laws" which characterize Australian civilisation. This should be done by incorporating in the total picture the "works which reflect" Australian civilisation and the place of Italian Australians in its multicultural dimension.

I have selected three examples from the National Museum of Australia's ethnic heritage collections which illustrate the process conceptualized by Levi-Strauss. Each of these collections is identified by the name of the donor (all were gifts to the Museum) and the unique

collection (or accession) number. I quote from Glen Cook and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Migrant Heritage: a Guide to the Collections, National Museum of Australia*, AGPS, 1992)

1988.116 Picone, Giuseppe

- carpenter's workbench similar to that displayed on the annual feast of St Joseph
- tools, nails, screws and other items which would normally be scattered around the surface of a typical carpenter's bench; some have been made especially for the National Museum of Australia to resemble tools in the style 'of the time of St Giuseppe and his (Giuseppe Picone's) grandfather in Filicudi'
- kerosene lamp and terracotta lamp (the bowl has a floating wick and is similar to those used by the people of Filicudi before the war)
- painted plaster statue of St Stephen, the patron saint of Filicudi, made by Giuseppe Picone 'from memory' of a similar statue in Filicudi
- oil painting of a Filicudi scene entitled 'Valle di Chiesa' painted from memory by Giuseppe Picone

Giuseppe Picone was born in 1907 on Filicudi, one of the seven Aeolian or Lipari islands off the north coast of Sicily. His family owned a small plot of land but it was necessary for his father to supplement their resources by working in Marseilles as a diver. Giuseppe Picone worked in Algiers as a diver between 1930 and 1943; during this time he was interned by the Free French as an Italian national, spending two years in internment camps on the edge of the Sahara before returning to Filicudi in 1946. He emigrated to Australia in 1949 and was joined in 1952 by his wife and three children. For the next 20 years Giuseppe Picone was variously employed as a fruit picker, market gardener, textile worker, timber yard hand, roofing tile maker, carpenter and in other jobs; he played a major part in the group of laymen who built St Anthony's Shrine, Hawthorn (see also the Father Luciano Rocchi collection 1988.10). Each year tools made or collected by Giuseppe Picone were displayed there on the feast of St Joseph, 19 March. Giuseppe Picone, who died in 1989, proudly wore his habit as a member of the third order (lay member) of Capuchines and assisted in the liturgy whenever possible.

Despite his lack of formal education, Giuseppe Picone wrote poetry in his Aeolian dialect and in Italian. He also wrote a history of his village, the Church of St Stephen and of his family. He painted in oils,

particularly scenes of Filicudi as he remembered it, made small painted statues of St Stephen, the patron saint of Filicudi, and made the set of wooden tools in this collection.

1988.10(P) Rocchi, Father Luciano

- Father Luciano's habit, made in 1950 by a closed order of Capuchine nuns in Correggio, Italy
- pair of sandals, made by a friar of Father Luciano's monastery in Italy
- red silk cincture, made by a novice in Fidenza, Italy rosary with metal crucifix; the beads are made from seeds imported from South America for their hardness
- metal crucifix with wooden inlay given to Father Rocchi by the Bishop of Pontremoli, Italy, when Father Rocchi left for Australia; this crucifix was special as it was only given to missionaries

Father Luciano Rocchi, a Capuchine Franciscan monk, was sent to Australia in 1951 from Italy aboard the Toscana to help the ministry of the Franciscan Order at St Anthony's Shrine, Hawthorn, Victoria.

1987.83 Del Pin, Olivio Eustachio

- three woodcarvings made in World War Two internment camps by Eustachio Del Pin

Eustachio Del Pin was interned in Orange and Hay (New South Wales) and Loveday (South Australia) internment camps between 1940 and 1943. He carved many wooden artefacts during the period of his internment, as well as writing poetry and newspaper articles. He also corresponded on behalf of fellow Italian internees, many of whom could neither speak nor write English. Eustachio Del Pin migrated to Australia from Italy in 1924, at the age of 33, and served as secretary to the Italian Vice-consul in Perth until 1928 when he moved to Sydney to become editor of the Italian newspaper, *Corriere Degli Italiani.* After he was released from internment he worked for an Italian importer and continued to assist Italian immigrants. In 1957, with 235 foundation members, the Club Marconi was formed and Eustachio Del Pin was appointed temporary secretary. He suggested the club's title and when the club was officially opened on 2 August 1958, he was made the first life member. In 1960 he became an immigration and travel agent and was made a Cavaliere (Order of Merit of the Italian Republic) by the Italian government. He retired in the early 1970s and died in 1977 at the age of 86.

The third task awaiting Italian Australians in the new millennium is that of portraying and articulating the contribution of Italian artists,

writers and academics with special reference to those who as migrants or children of immigrants are now rising into prominence in Australian life. Out of ignorance I cannot give an example from the area of my academic subject. But I was able to find a suitable example of an artist, Salvatore Zofrea, born in 1946 in Borgia, a small town in the hills of Calabria. My characterization of this person relies heavily on an article by Benjamin Genocchio, "Woodcutting edge", *The Weekend Australian*, April 1, 2000, Review, p.19.

Salvatore Zofrea practices an art of woodblock printing which is distinctly out of vogue these days. He was trained in Italy to which he returned after a childhood spent in Australia and later re-emigrated to this country. Now as a mature and established artist, he donated a series of 100 woodblock prints titled Appasionata to the Art Gallery of NSW, together with all the preparatory drawings and woodblocks from which the prints were made. This is described as a "work of immense beauty, size and design". It is also Zofrea's autobiographical work tracing his life from Calabria to Australia – an artistic account of pain, joy and loss of his migratory journey. I quote from Genocchio's article.

"Zofrea's life story is told warts and all for everyone to see. Coloured heavily by emotion, it is a story of suffering and moral fortitude, of peasant farmers struck from their native soil and subsequent search for a better life in a distant, alien land. But it is also a story of optimism and hope, of the affirmation of life, of a love of food, of friendship and the importance of family and religion, themes which, though largely forgotten these days, served for millenniums to bind communities together.

Tempered by time and the vagaries of memory, other prints show delightful images of the annual harvest in Borgia, opening Christmas presents from a relative in the US, catching the Manly ferry or, my favourite, the blessing of farm animals, a practice common in southern Italy. [This] is a contemporary Australian artist drawing on the threads of history and tradition to create images of profound and moving beauty."

In conclusion may I suggest that the examples of four Italian Australians given in this paper might be understood as a paradigm of the kind of cultural heritage that Italian Australians should bring into the new millennium. We could search for other museum collections or art gallery exhibits. But the cases described here give sufficient indication of the vitality of the contemporary Italian culture in Australia.

"In the period before 1914", writes Robert Pascoe in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (James

Jupp, ed., Angus and Robertson, 1988), "Garibaldi [who had actually sailed through Bass Strait in 1852], Puccini and Marconi represented for Australians the strong points of contemporary Italian society – its democratic impulse, its cultural traditions and its scientific prowess". In the new millennium the strong points of contemporary Italian society are represented by people of humble origin whose hard work, spirit of adventure and creativity contributed greatly to the strength and vitality of multicultural Australia.

Notes

• All references refer to slides obtained from the Ethnic Heritage Collection at the National Museum of Australia, in Canberra.

Taking Advantage of the Italian-Australian Connection
Elio Guarnuccio

The scope of this conference is certainly broad. When I sat down to prepare my contribution, at first, I was at a loss as to what I would talk about. I then thought about the reason I had been asked to speak; my personal experience of having studied and worked in both Italy and Australia. It seemed to me that perhaps what would be most appropriate was to relate my own story. So please take what follows as a personal account together with observations that come from experience rather than any in depth research.

When I completed my high school at a boarding college in country Victoria, I told my parents I wanted to continue my studies at a university in Italy; a strange request from an Australian born teenager who had barely spent two months in Italy when he was ten. But after living in an extremely bigoted environment for two years I needed to search for my identity.

I cannot say that I found what I was searching for in the overcrowded highly politicized environment of Rome University in the early 70s, but I did lose my Sicilian brogue (although I still happily parade it at parties and social gatherings) and I learnt standard Italian. In looking back, it was a defining period in my life. It opened up new possibilities and taught me the value of having an authentic language learning experience.

It is a lesson that multilingual Europe has learnt well. An ever-increasing number of children spend time, often during summer, on home exchange programs in other European countries. Exchange programs between universities are multiplying. Even the once reluctant British have numerous options for tertiary students to spend a full year studying at a non-English speaking university.

Australia's geographic position means that we cannot travel with the nonchalance of the Europeans; there are other ways of creating authentic language environments. I believe that the idea of establishing an international or Italian school is one option that should be seriously considered.

Why is it that, we do not have here in Australia an Italian high school with an Italian curriculum? The French have a French school, yet they have one of the smaller ethnic communities in Australia. The Greeks

have a Greek school, not to mention all the Saturday morning schools with a full Greek syllabus. So why not establish an Italian school, or perhaps a bilingual school geared to the international baccalaureat. I see this as a separate issue to the teaching of Italian as a LOTE.

If we are serious about maintaining and developing our cultural and economic links with Italy, we must be serious about creating some educational environment in Australia that encourages true bilingualism. The concept of an Italian or bilingual school is one possible answer.

After my period in Italy, I returned to a different Australia riding the new wave of multiculturalism. Schools were being encouraged to teach so called Community Languages. Italian was in high demand. It was an exciting time in the 70s. Enthusiasm was high, numbers were growing, but there was a desperate need for appropriate teaching materials. I decided to follow my entrepreneurial instincts and set up a commercial venture primarily to publish materials for the teaching of Italian.

In 1978, I travelled to Italy to establish contacts with Italian publishers. I was a shy, young looking 25 year old at the time. When I fronted up to the offices of Mondadori, in an attempt to make my first appointment, I discovered that seeing the right person was not going to be as easy as I had imagined. I introduced myself as a publisher but could see that I was not taken seriously. The breakthrough came when I mentioned that I was from Australia. Suddenly attitudes changed and I was soon ushered into the director's office. I learnt the lesson quickly. For some reason being Australian (or American, or English) gives you greater credibility in Italy, than if you are a local. This is something that I have had confirmed many times. And in business where you are constantly looking for a competitive edge, it is certainly a card worth playing in Italy.

Some of those initial contacts grew to become strategic alliances and certainly helped our company develop in a way that other Australian publishers could not. Over the years we co-published titles with Italian companies, distributed Italian publications particularly in Asian countries and used Italian distribution networks to sell our books into Europe. In 1990 we formed a joint venture with an Italian company in the U.K. Our English language background and the Italian company's European status was a good formula for entry into the British market.

By this stage CIS was not only publishing Italian titles but also French, German, Japanese, Spanish and Indonesian. And in English we published children's books, biographies, travel guides and Australiana.

Our relationship with a number of medium sized Italian companies flourished as we got to know each other better. People smirk at the idea of executives needing to meet over lunch, but believe me, it certainly cements personal relationships. I have lost count of the number of times I have acted as a translator over dinner between English speaking people and Italians. The number of Italian business people who speak good English is growing rapidly, but they are well behind the Germans and the Scandinavians. So an Italian-Australian has a decided advantage. The ability to form a strong relationship rather than an acquaintance is everything in business, and nothing facilitates friendship more than speaking the same language.

In 1991 CIS, our publishing company, set up a recording studio, called Headroom Creative Audio. We produced audiocassettes and CDs for the teaching of languages. One of our Italian partners who published monthly magazines in 6 languages, liked our cassettes and the original songs we wrote, so they commissioned us to produce cassettes for each of their magazines. To some people it sounded bizarre, but we were working on French, German, Spanish, English and even some Italian recordings, here in Melbourne. These recordings were then branded as Italian and sold to the European and American markets. I remember the fun we used to have with the English. Sometimes we had to hunt for American voices, sometimes British, but occasionally we were allowed to throw in a bit of strine. At Headroom we also produced the recording of the Australian national anthem, which incorporates the sound of the didgeridoo. It is a rendition used in may schools today.

On my many trips to Italy, I would often be invited to act as a consultant on publishing projects. This sometimes resulted in co-production deals and occasionally proved to be fruitless. The experience I gained, however, was invaluable. It helped me understand Italian and European markets much better, as well as give me an insight into the how other companies operate. As a result of this positive experience, I decided to encourage a temporary exchange of employees between my organization and Italian companies.

Over the years, a five of our editors (only one was of Italian origin), spent periods of time up to a year working in Italy. They mainly worked on English language courses, computer software projects or translation. In turn we had Italian editors in our company for short periods of time working on Italian publications. The benefits of such a program were invaluable to our company. We became much better at exporting, we improved our working practices by incorporating new ideas, and we strengthened our ties with our strategic partners.

There is no doubt in my mind that employees' exchange should be encouraged in many industries. Because of immigration laws, often one needs to be creative in getting working permits. I strongly believe that the Australian government should be conscious of the benefits of international work exchange opportunities, and facilitate rather than discourage the practice.

An issue that the Australian government needs to consider if it genuinely wants to encourage closer working links with Italy is dual citizenship. To say that the current situation is full of anomalies is an understatement. Currently people from certain countries are permitted to keep their dual citizenship and other not. What logic is there in allowing, for example people of British and French origins and not Italian, to hold two passports.

If business people of my generation, born in Australia of Italian parents, were allowed dual citizenship, they would be able to operate in Italy (which means the whole of Europe now) with much greater facility. And surely this would only help Australian commerce.

As part of the CIS group of companies, I should make special mention of our Italian language school, Centre of Italian studies. Since its establishment in 1979 we have had close enough to 20,000 enrolments. These are mainly adults some, probably no more than 25%, of Italian origin. Many of these students travel to Italy to study for brief periods of time. We discovered early on that the experiences of Australian students in Italy were not always positive ones; either because the location or accommodation were not what they were after or the teaching approach was not appropriate. Consequently, we established alliances with a number of schools in Italy. We chose them for their approach to teaching and their general attention to the needs of our Australian students. And, as well, we encouraged exchange of teachers. My brother Claudio, who now runs the school, taught at one of these schools in Italy for 6 months. From my experience, the opportunity for Australian schools teaching ESL/EFL, with Italian schools has a huge potential. As far as I know very little has been done in this area.

Three years ago, I sold CIS Publishers, to a multinational company. I felt I needed a new challenge. I was particularly interested in film and in cartoon animation. One of the Italian publishing companies with whom I had worked, was developing a 26 part cartoon series that it had sold to RAI TV. I was asked to become its CEO for at least a year and to oversee the completion of the series on time and the sale of the series to as many different countries as possible. So I spent all of 1999 working in Italy.

Apart from my Italian receiving a much-needed upgrade, it was an enriching experience in many ways. I saw first hand how European commerce in Italy has developed. The Euro was introduced for all bank transactions, for example, and I learnt a lot about funding of joint ventures for new projects within the EU.

I was working mainly in the Marche. A very entrepreneurial region of Italy, rich in small and medium sized businesses. I was able to appreciate the Italian work ethic. The notion that Italians have long lunches and a relaxed approach to work is certainly a myth in private enterprise. The people in all the companies I was involved with worked long hours. I learnt a lot and made valuable contacts.

I must say that I was surprised at what I was also able to offer. I went there with a certain amount of trepidation. I had never worked in Italy. Could I live up to their expectations?

The advantage I had was not that I had run a similar sized company before. (Italian industry is well up with world's best practices)… It was my English language background and my contacts particularly in Asia; in other words it was that fact that I was Australian with an Australian perspective on business.

We sold the cartoon series to 22 countries, including, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand. Through my contacts, I was also able to set up a studio of illustrators in the Philippines where we had over a hundred illustrators working around the clock. Animation is still very labour intensive, despite the advent of computers. We fed work to Australian companies as well; translations, advertising, recordings.

My greatest regret was that we were unable to sell the series to a major TV station in Australia, the US or UK. The reason for this was that the cartoons were considered too European. This was something that my Italian colleagues found difficult to grasp but which was easy for an Australian to see. I arrived in Italy after the series had been written. I am sure that we could have avoided the pitfalls had I had an early input. Conversely, I now have an awareness of the European markets that I hope to take advantage of as I work on my current project, an Australian feature film.

That in a nutshell, is the story of my working life. I was fortunate enough to be born in Australia of Italian parents and to fit comfortably into two different cultures. I am sure that there are many stories like mine; people who have made the most of their Italian Australian identity in their work. The future is even brighter. For many Australian businesses, Italy can be the gateway to Europe. For Italy, Australia can be the gateway to the English-speaking world and to our Asia Pacific

region. The challenge is to give the next generation of Italian-Australians the same or an even better linguistic and cultural advantage that many of us have enjoyed.

Italian Geographers and Australia: a Century and a Half of Studies, Relations, Scientific and Cultural Initiatives

Professor Flavio Lucchesi, Italy

Introduction

Economic interests tie together or separate the diverse human groups that inhabit the earth. However, religious and cultural ideals often have a stronger impact in the process of separating or uniting people, because of their ethnic and historical backgrounds consolidated over the centuries (Corna Pellegrini, 1998).

This thought sufficiently clarifies the value and the role of human geography, a discipline that in its evolution has seen the development of three successive and complementary objectives: description, explanation and comprehension, corresponding to currents of thought which evolved between the end of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Claval, 1992).

The twists and turns of the epistemologic path undertaken by the different streams of geography, particularly in recent decades are above all due to rapid changes not only in the methodologies and tools adopted, but also in the investigated subjects themselves. This clearly testifies to the vitality and creativity of the discipline in all its various forms with its direct and concrete participation in the unravelling of time and to the progress of thought and culture in its wider sense. It is a fact that geography has witnessed moments of great favour, especially during wars for its use together with cartography for strategic reasons and/or intelligence gathering with imperialistic and expansionistic connotations. It is also a fact that the need for an exclusively cultural knowledge of the "other" and "elsewhere", has always been present in geography itself, and has been one of its constant and specific common themes.

Acquiring consciousness of the environment we live in, allows us to comprehend the coordinates of our being based on progressively chancing spatial scales, from the very close to the very distant. Therefore greater self-consciousness and one's interaction within or with the surrounding reality, prepares us for the encounters with the others and prepares us to understand and respect differences. "Geography which has always been used to wage war, can become within this context an

important tool in fostering human growth and peace –internal and personal peace above all- or in developing self-confidence in relating to a better known and understood outside world". (Corna Pellegrini, 1988, p.36).

This is all the more relevant today, when the spread of new means of communication sustaining ever greater flows of material and immaterial goods have created the concept of "globalisation". It is, however, just as true that this increase in physical mobility and communications has engendered a tendency towards the levelling of individual identities, and today this has made all the more salient –sometimes in disquieting and dramatic terms- the reawakening of regional ideologies, that ascribe vital political and cultural values to the territory and regional identity (Mainardi,1994; Vallega, 1995). In an epoch in which everything seems to tend to delocalisation, here in fact strong impulses are reviving to re-evaluate and preserve past traditions, or group consciousness: "people's roots in places and regions weaken. But in the valueless world which we have entered, having roots (which are chosen and asserted, but no longer imposed) becomes a fashion and allows us to identify with a group and claim its traditions as our own. The traditional region has been emptied of part of its real content, but it rises again as a spectre and as an object for cultural consumption. This constitutes one of the most important features of the political geography of the current world" (Claval, 1996, p.246).

The above, acquires a more concrete significance if applied to a tangible reality, such as the knowledge of a given region which is inherent in another country. This comprehension involves the many types of human geographies (political, economic, cultural, historic) which interact to create varied anthropo-physical representations of other nations and the people who live there. Nor should we forget that many scientific disciplines work together in this sense, producing vast complementary and useful literature expressing "trans" and "meta" disciplinarity. However, on this occasion I would like to highlight the role played by geography, in terms of its particular characteristic of acting as a bridge between scientific and humanistic subjects, that is between the environmental and social sciences.

Thus, we have said, geography becomes a means of knowing and understanding, of widening horizons out from the narrow existence of what we know all too well, to the distant unknown, allowing us to gather and appreciate the diversities of other people and other places. It can hence serve to reaffirm our consciousness and our personal and group identity in a world whose borders are becoming in some respects

ever more indistinct and in others more impenetrable. Hence it therefore becomes easy to appreciate the interest generated by an investigation into the evolution of over a century and a half of research in Italy in geographic studies, relations of exchange, and scientific-cultural initiatives on a particular theme, or with regard to one specific area of the planet. Finally, if we consider valid (even with some caution) the axiom proposed by the so-called "geography of perception"[1] according to which ignorance of a location and information concerning a territory increases with distance (Gould, White, 1974), I believe I have mostly reconstructed and justified the reasons behind the writing of this paper. At this point it both becomes possible and necessary for us to pose a series of questions: what have been the scientific contributions of Italian geographers to knowledge and comprehension in Italy of such a physically and psychologically distant country like Australia? What research has been carried out, and by whom? What public were they intended for? Where were they published? What themes and problems were faced? Have there been any other cultural initiatives where Italian university geographers have participated in weaving together a dialectical relationship between the two countries? Does the current situation afford interesting perspectives? We will try to answer these and other questions in the following pages.

To better organise and structure our investigation, it was decided that the time span could be subdivided into three periods: from the unification of Italy to the First World War, from the nineteen-twenties to the nineteen-seventies; and the last two decades of the century. I believe this subdivision to be justified, as we shall see, for reasons of homogeneity in the approaches taken towards the study of the country and its presentation to the Italian reader.

From the unification of Italy to the First World War

To draw a concise but the most comprehensive picture of what Italian geographers produced in terms of scientific research on Australia from the second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenties, it seems appropriate to examine the contributions published in the main Italian geographic journals of the period. Indeed, it was here that articles of varying content and quantity were published regarding the so-called "Fifth Continent". Therefore, a description of this production would be useful, if not indispensable, to "get a feel' for the image that in those years was projected of Australia to the educated Italian reader. It should also be emphasised that Italian geographic journals are particularly representative in terms of the impact that they

had in Italian scientific, public and political circles not to mention abroad, given the importance and prestige of some of their editors and contributors and also in consideration of the numerous articles published over the years which we are considering here (or at least for a large uninterrupted stretch of them).

In Italy there were no long standing geographic associations before national unification. The Italian Geographic Society was in fact founded in 1867 and the Society of Geographical Studies in 1896. In the same years, a number of other magazines – aimed at an educated readership – came into being. In regard to the era which we are discussing in this paragraph, scrutiny of the most important magazines[2] on the topic of "Australia" reveals that interest was continuous for the period considered. While some articles contained a fair amount of information, mostly they offered scarce, very brief data, not rarely limited to short notices. In spite of this, the material is quantitatively abundant and, adequately collated and organised, it allows us to reconstruct an articulated picture, in which it becomes possible to single out a few coherent themes.

In the first place, attention was focused on geographic discoveries and the successive colonization of previously unknown territories, expressing sincere admiration for those explorers who courageously ventured out in the discovery of the island/continent (Cora, 1880-81). One of the express purposes of the many expeditions was to establish connections between Australian regions: with each newly discovered locality in turn becoming a "bridge head" for new ventures. Moreover, the explorers, to assist in the colonisation of the discovered areas, sought to measure distances and geographic coordinates (Negri, 1872) providing those who were to follow with ever more detailed and exact maps.[3]

A subject attracting great interest was economics: "Public and private banks seethe with monetary exchange and while capital from the metallurgical industry is already joining mineral, agricultural and pastoral capital, Australia is preparing to take a well deserved part in the future political and commercial greatness of the Great Ocean" (Grasso, 1903, p.217). Remarkable attention was dedicated to mineral, agricultural and pastoral production both on regional and national levels. The themes of geographic discovery and the evolution of the economy found focal points in the development of communications, both within Australia and with other continents. Interest was turned to railway, sea and telegraphic links (Blunno 1906; Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana, 1912 and 1914)[4]. Connected with and resulting from

this, was the interest devoted to trade, considered both in relation to the rest of the world, and more specifically (in actual and above all, potential terms) with Italy (Blunno, 1906)[5].

The most consistent material in the Italian geographic journals over this period, however involves another set of subjects which we could generally define as the characteristics of the Australian social and political environment, whose salient features are portrayed in quite clear and complete terms. Right from the beginning, careful attention is paid to the relationship between Australia and Great Britain. In this context, there is frequent news of political contrasts between the two countries. While the interpretations offered to explain these differences are often contradictory, all place them within the context of Australia's progressive emancipation from the Motherland (*Geografia per Tutti,* 1891; *L'Esplorazione Commerciale,* 1895).

From the very first issues of our journals (hence going back to before Australia's Federation), one can see detailed descriptions given on Australia's political framework. Among the subjects followed with a certain continuity, we can mention the members and powers of the national parliament and that of every single state, headed by the somewhat enigmatic and frequently incompetent figure of the royally appointed governor, including the geographic and political problems connected with the decision of where to locate the future capital[6]. The greatest interest is however reserved for the peculiar characteristics of this nascent democracy which was certainly in the vanguard of its time. Much respect was shown for Australia's simple yet strict laws, the integrity and discipline shown by its parties and members of Parliament, the substantial rights enjoyed by workers. Prominence was given to Australia's advanced social legislation, which favourably impressed our scholars (also because it appeared that no features explicitly derived from Communism) (Zunini, 1911, p.913).

Much information dealt with the Australian lifestyle: the cultural interests of the population and the presence of reputable scientific associations were described; emphasis was placed on the value of education, together with the importance and the ample circulation of the press (*L'Esploratore,* 1887; *Geografia per tutti,* 1891). The moral and religious characteristics of the population were not neglected: the continuous proliferation of all types of religious congregations is noted, as is the relative freedom of social life (*L'Esplorazione Commerciale*, 1887; Monticone, 1913).

Intense interest was focused on the life led in the rural areas of the continent or in the big towns on the coast. These subjects fired the

imagination of Italian readers and were useful sources of information for those thinking of emigrating there. The hard existence and pioneering lifestyle of the courageous inhabitants of the Australian countryside was accurately enough described (Ugolini 1889; Boyd, 1897; Monticone, 1913). Instead the situation was seen as very different in the towns, where the great majority of the population was concentrated. Several articles exhault their "miraculous development" (Annoni 1891, p.387) and they are described as being lively and modern (Smith, 1870; Pini, 1898).

However, in those years the principal concern of Italian geographic journals regarding Australia was the burning problem of emigration, in all its various contradictory aspects. Some articles mentioned the strict laws limiting the entry of Asians (the feared "Yellow Peril'), passed in an attempt to avoid the unwelcome political, economic and social upheaval caused by influxes of different ethnic groups (BdSGI, 1905; Monticone, 1913). The articles reminded readers that, except for brief periods of openness to a wider immigration, Australian governments were generally not well disposed towards settlement by non–British migrants. Despite these policies, other contributions extolled the wealth and potential of Australia, emphasising that there was no lack of space or opportunity for all those who "endowed with strong arms and the willingness to work, want to chance fate and create the opportunity to honestly attain economic well–being within a short time" (*L'Esplorazione Commerciale*, 1887, p.360).

Nonetheless, fundamental contradictions emerge in the range of news concerning Italians. Official reports continued to emphasise the contribution of Italians to Australia, highlighting the general respect with which they were held, thus inducing (also by providing practical advice) many Italians to emigrate to these new lands (*BdSGI*, 1895; Boyd, 1897; *Geografia per tutti,* 1898; Pini, 1898). In contrast, the information deriving directly from those who had actually lived through the experience of emigration are much more cautious in proclaiming the opportunities to find good jobs in the newest continent. Indeed, tragic words are not lacking in describing the often unhappy plight of Italian migrants, frequently considered (sometimes with reason) beggars or criminals, and often employed in unpleasant jobs, or used as strike breakers (*Geografia per Tutti ,* 1892)[7].

Finally, among the social problems analysed, the issue of the Aborigines was not neglected by Italian geographers. The Aborigines were portrayed from a fundamentally "external" or superficial perspective and while information was not lacking on Aboriginal

languages, customs, or social organisation, many stereotypes were reiterated (reassuring readers about these "savages", whose "very ugly features with their waxen black colour, resembled more the apes than humankind" (*Cosmos*, 1877, p.386), and whose "hardly rudimentary intelligence" (BdSG, 1906, p.156) meant that "from civilisation they were incapable of learning anything except its vices" (*L'Esploratore*, 1887, p.61).

What we have said till now, confirms the fact that in the time period considered the lack of specific monographs on Australia was somewhat supplemented by information and studies published in Italian geographic journals. In addition to these, there was another kind of publication generally written by Italian academics and relatively well known to the educated public. These were the universal geographic dictionaries, which during the nineteenth century were to find popularity in Italy as well.

A significant example of such works is certainly *La Terra. Trattato popolare di Geografia universale,* by G. Marinelli and other Italian scientists, published in 1885 by Vallardi of Milan. It is a significant work bridging seven volumes, involving the cooperation of some of the most important Italian geographers of the period, among them Marinelli, Ricchieri, Mori, Porena, Bertacchi and Biasutti. After a wide ranging dissertation on mathematical, physical arid biological geography, the so-called "special geography" is dealt with: the continents are presented, and within, the individual countries that composed them. The fourth book, divided into two volumes, is entirely dedicated to Italy. Each volume, containing over a thousand pages, is illustrated by precious engravings and tables, and is subdivided into sections.

In the seventh and last volume, called *Le Americhe, I'Oceania e le regioni polari,* P. Sensini gives us an extensive picture of Australia covering about seventy pages. An introduction dealing with the seas surrounding Australia, the country's surface and dimensions, is followed by an historical background. This began with the earliest glimmerings of the continent, went on to its discovery by Europeans in the seventeenth century, including initial exploration of the interior, and reached up to the first crossings of the continent. Particular attention is then dedicated to the presentation of its physical appearance (orography, hydrography, climate, flora, fauna). A section dedicated to anthropic geography follows, dedicating some space to the native inhabitants (also giving a few specific considerations on the Tasmanians, who had already completely disappeared by this time). Regarding the Australian economy, the main products such as livestock, mineral ores

and industrial products were examined. The endeavour of the Australian people for commercial enterprise is highlighted, but their interest in agriculture is also praised. Some notes on political and administrative conditions lead us to the last part of the work, presenting the single colonies, each of which is examined with particular attention to the development of the principal towns.

As we can see, what emerges is a comprehensively diachronic and varied portrait. The work presents a methodology and approach to content clearly reflecting the period it was written in. For this reason, when placed next to and compared with the material offered by the previously analysed geographic journals, it allows us to accurately appreciate the Italian image of Australia then current.

From the nineteen-twenties to the nineteen-seventies

I have decided to deal with this sixty-year period in one piece for a number of reasons: a) firstly, it covers the period of the heaviest Italian emigration to Australia, with its biggest waves in the 1920s and 1950s–1960s. So for this period it is interesting to follow Italian geographic publications regarding a continent which in some respects had become "closer" and more present, if for no other reason than the information flows between those who had remained in Italy or were about to depart; b) the historical evolution of political events, and more particularly the development of economic and bilateral ties between the two countries, seem not to have substantially changed the view held in the collective imagination of Italians of Australia as a remote land; c) the sources for the material we are interested in are more or less the same; scientific journals or magazines aimed at an educated public and encyclopedias which included the work of some Italian academics. We need to wait until the last two decades of the century before seeing the publication of monographs on Australia by Italian geographers.

Hence, also for the period considered in this paragraph, our investigation must principally refer to the literature published in specialised periodicals. Of those examined in the previous epoch some continued to publish, others were folding (or had already folded). At the same time, new periodicals were being founded, with varying degrees of success.[8]

Articles principally concerned with the exploration and colonization of the new territories of the continent were typical in the 1920s. The era of great expeditions to explore unknown areas was beginning to draw to a close. Consequently, places were not so much described, as in the past, from a purely physical viewpoint, but particularly in consideration of

the opportunities they offered for economic development. In this context, much space was dedicated to descriptions of the resources contained in the subsoil, with illustrations, often supported by statistics, of their characteristics and rates of production. The alternating fortunes of gold, coal and iron mining were followed – without neglecting zinc, copper, lead and silver, etc. both at a national level and for the single States of the Federation. The same can be said for developments in the discovery of bauxite and petroleum deposits, and for uranium prospecting.[9] As a rule, ore deposits were described as being both of good quality and plentiful. Therefore, to be profitable the development of transport links was considered to be vital, as they often constituted an indispensable condition for the exploitation of these resources (*BdSGI,* 1924, p.200).

A fair amount of attention was dedicated to the conditions of primary industry, and in particular agriculture. Over the sixty-year period under consideration, many articles illustrate the production of foodstuffs, methods of cultivation and the regions involved. For example, mention is made of cotton cultivation, which "after the war, in British possessions was growing constantly" (*BdSGI*, 1924, p.314), particularly in Queensland (*BdSGI*, 1924). Other crops included bananas (*L'Universo,* 1957) and sugar cane, which in Australia could boast of a long tradition in which the Italians had distinguished themselves for their effort and skill (Di Marsciano, 1960; Gentilli 1962). The development of rice growing was also described (L'Universo, 1956) as was the cultivation of citrus fruits, which had benefited from "studies carried out by some experimental laboratories and from government funding which encouraged improvements to methods of cultivation and the standardisation of production by limiting the number of cultivated varieties to reduce the types selected" (*BdSGI*,1939, p.772). More recently, both grapevine and wine production was highlighted: as "from the beginning of the century [it] had increased considerably and Australian wines can absolutely compete in terms of quality with wines from other countries" (Ruggieri, 1977, p.241). The great problems of the boundless Australian countryside were not however forgotten: from rabbits, which for decades had threatened to virtually wreck the economy (*BdSGI*, 1939; Mac Lennan, 1961), to drought, which afflicted wide stretches of the continent. Here much interest was generated by the big irrigation works to recover desert areas (*Le Vie del Mondo,* 1955), and the futuristic projects of river diversion, generally located in the hydrographic basin of the Murray, the "Nile of Australia" (Gentilli, 1951; Mucci, 1962). Some news looked at sheep (*BdSGI*, 1928; Pedreschi 1956)

and cattle breeding (Gentilli, 1955), and a whole article was dedicated to fishery resources (Gentilli, 1961).

Another aspect of the Australian economy often dealt with over this period – especially and significantly in the 1950s – was secondary industry, with a particular emphasis on the refrigeration industry (*L'Universo,* 1956), paper manufacturing (Gentilli, 1957), cement production (Gentilli, 1958; Di Marsciano, 1961), iron and steel (*Le Vie del Mondo,* 1958; Wills, 1959; Romano, 1959; Gamna, 1975), automobiles (*L'Universo,* 1959), and aluminium (Langella, 1962). One article pointed out that "the Second World War had given an extraordinary impulse to Australian industrial development. Defence needs, together with imports being completely cut off for the second time in 25 years, constituted the incentives; Australia reached a high level of self-sufficiency" (Wills, 1953, p.219). Generally speaking, over all this period the dominant view was: "Australia has proved to be a region rich in the most diverse industrial resources, allowing the country to gain rapid emancipation from European and American products" (*L'Universo,* 1923, p.407). Moreover, developments in exports were also noted, and supported with a wealth of precise statistical data (*BdSGI,* 1920 and 1924; Gentilli 1958; Monaco, 1959). Some attention is also devoted to Australia's ability to find new markets in the South-Pacific area (Romano, 1962). Much interest was generated by developments in road networks (*L'Universo, 1957; Le Vie del Mondo,* 1963), and above all railway links (Pedreschi 1955; *L'Universo,* 1956; *Le Vie del Mondo,* 1962 and 1963). In regard to the latter, the construction and successive modernisation of the transcontinental line was followed attentively (*La Geografia,* 1918; *BdSGI,* 1927 and 1930; Capra, 1942). In addition, during the fifties the extraordinary development of civil aviation in the newest continent was also highlighted (Santocanale, 1956; *Le Vie del Mondo,* 1957).

In the midst of this veritable harvest of information that, as one can see, was extremely rich and provided in relative depth in some sectors, many other subjects were also presented to the Italian reader. Much of this again touched on and continued in the same representation of those themes already identified in the previous epoch. For example, we note an emphasis on the characteristics of the natural environment and its particular bio-geography, political ties with Great Britain, demographic themes (for example the link between immigration policies and population increases), social issues (like the problems associated with the Aborigines), and the development of the principal cities. In the initial years of this period much space was dedicated, in particular, to the

ongoing presence of Italians. The opportunities for the employment of Italians in the agricultural, mining and retail sectors, were highlighted without neglecting to mention the restrictions placed by the Australian government on immigration (*BdSGI*, 1921). The success of our young migrants in some areas, for example in North Queensland or Western Australia was also referred to (*L'Universo*, 1923; Gamba, 1950; Gentilli, 1955). The history of Italian migration to the continent was narrated and supported by good analyses corroborated with statistical data including information articulating migration flows in terms of regional origins and arrival patterns (Michieli, 1927; *BdSGI,* 1934). While recognising the obvious difficulties faced by migrants in adapting to a social and natural environment which in some respects was quite hostile, the sources point out that migrants were not only helpful but precious for Australia (Gentilli, 1961). In the sixties and seventies we instead note in the Italian Magazines considered an almost complete lack of significant information about this subject. This can be attributed to the popularity in this period of non-geographic periodicals (whether specialistic or for the general public) which focused on emigration, examined from a fundamentally sociological viewpoint[10] .

Altogether, the news reported was, as we have seen, varied and well articulated. It was presented in works of varying size and content: from simple press agency reports, to translations of texts abroad, to studies by Italian geographers, which were sometimes so lengthy as to require publication over a number of issues[11]. Among the authors who over the period considered contributed the most both to the dissemination of general information and to strictly scientific research, without doubt emerges the figure of Joseph Gentilli, a geographer from the Friuli area of Italy, who had emigrated to Western Australia. Particularly in the Fifties and Sixties, he enriched our journals with numerous in-depth essays based on his direct experience and knowledge deriving from his having lived in Australia and studied on-site the subjects he presented to readers.

As mentioned above, over the sixty-year period we are examining, as had also happened in the previous period, Italian academic geographers did not write any works specifically dedicated to Australia, nor did they publish any contributions except in scientific journals. An exception to this rule was *Usi e Costumi dell' Australia* (1946) by Cesare Saibene who in the form of a travel diary presented the principal anthropo-physical characteristics of the country to potential readers interested in but lacking a knowledge of the subject[12]. Other traceable information on the Fifth Continent in the geographic literature of the time was confined to

articles published in the best encyclopedias, not infrequently excellently informed. An example will suffice for all: the large section Ferdinando Milone dedicated to Australia in the eighth volume of the *Geografia Universale* edited by Roberto Almagià and published in 1934. An encyclopedic work of different nature but interesting for our purposes is *Razze e popoli della terra,* written by Renato Biasutti with the cooperation of other renowned scholars published by UTET of Turin in 1941 (with reprints up to 1967). Quite a large section is dedicated to the populations living in the Pacific, with some chapters examining the somatic features and social life of the Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines. Despite being fundamentally anthropological in its scope, and difficult reading for the non specialist, the study is particularly interesting for the geographer, as it offers amongst other things, an overview of the movements of Aboriginal tribes within the continent.

The last two decades of the Twentieth Century

I have decided to dedicate a specific paragraph to these two decades of the Twentieth century for two main reasons: firstly because they are closer to us and deserve particular attention because they overlap with current events; secondly, because starting in the Eighties, Italian academic geographers began to show greater commitment to producing scientific literature and participating in cultural initiatives regarding Australia.

For the period being considered, there is no lack of articles published in scientific journals in this field. Great interest continues to be expressed in Australia's boundless and unique natural environments (Orsino, 1988), which man must often measure up to in organising his economic activities (Verrina, 1988). Information continues to be provided about the evolution of industry (Scarpelli, 1981) and that of the main cities (Melosi, 1989). Descriptions of journeys given in the form of a journal (Santoro, 1986) also make their appearance (Prez, 1988). For the first time we can read a well researched geo-historical study, about the contribution of a Benedictine missionary to knowledge of the Fifth Continent (Ballo Alagna, 1989). Research increases on Italian emigration: both from the historical-statistical viewpoint (Bellinello, 1984, Ponti, 1993) and in regard to specific local realities (Cassio, 1983; Rother, 1989). Also, information is available on conferences held in Italy and abroad regarding Australia (Reggi, 1988; Santoro, 1990; Lucchesi, 1995). However two features substantially differentiate literature regarding Australia published in Italian geographic periodicals over this period from previous epochs: it is generally less frequent, but it shows greater

depth. Moreover the drop in quantity can be explained by a number of reasons: over the same years the Italian public was attracted by the proliferation of popular geographic magazines full of enticing photographs and texts (some of them well structured and accurate) on distant lands like Australia. Moreover, the publication of specialised periodicals other than geographical ones has continued on subjects which also attract our interest, for example, emigration[13]. Finally, representing a change compared to the past, geographers from Italian universities are beginning to carry out research specifically on Australia, the results of which can be seen in articles on broader themes which incorporate geography, or in single monographs.

Regarding the former, two contributions by F. Lucchesi focus their attention on the development of the agricultural-pastoral sector in Australia. In one it is seen from the perspective of its historical development (1994) and in the other an analysis is provided of types and quantities of production (1998). The latter investigation was published as part of a wide ranging study conducted by a research group from the Association of Italian Geographers regarding the "Comparative geography of European and Non-European agricultural areas". The systematic analysis of factors such as production and commerce, the rural population and resource management, soil use and farming organisation, allows us to "provide a picture of a reality based on spatial dimensions of exceptional size, especially in the eyes of a European"(p.1,257).

In the last twenty-year period other Italian academics, experts in the history of explorations and historical geography, have also turned their attention to Australia. Some important studies have emerged, such as the works of I. Luzzana Caraci on knowledge of Australia held by Italian explorers of the nineteenth century (1991), and a volume from the Italian Geographical Society wholly dedicated to nineteenth-century contributions by Italians to knowledge of the newest continent (Ferro, Luzzana Caraci, 1988). This volume was launched on the occasion of the XXVI International Geographic Congress in Sydney and the Bicentenary of European settlement of Australia.

The theme of the Italian emigration to Australia was taken up by P. Nodari in two studies, published in the Journal of the Institute of Geography of the Economics Faculty of the University of Trieste. The first (1986) looks at the return of emigrants to Italy from Australia in the Nineteen-seventies, with a particular emphasis on the Province of Trieste, and including an articulated sample; the second (1991) investigates and analyses the living conditions, situation and the social

context in which Friuli-Venezia Giulia communities, resident in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide presently operate. An investigation into immigration trends to Australia by specific Italian communities have also been looked at by F. Lucchesi within the ambit of the development of a research project concerning the historical reconstruction of emigration flows from the Valtellina area to Australia (I998).

The intense activity in Italy shown by scholars of the Geography of Perception (which, as you will remember, I referred to briefly in the introduction), has also produced some studies of note. I am referring to two works by F. Lucchesi, one regarding the perception of the Australian Aborigine in Italian culture and public opinion at the end of the nineteenth century (I985), the other concerning the codes and registers to be used in reading the interpretation of the geographic image which in recent times has been given of Australia in Italy (1994).

Remaining within the ambit of the Geography of Perception, there is certainly room enough to include travel literature. In his research F. Lucchesi examines travel stories written mainly in the first half of the nineteenth century in which Italian travellers described their experiences in Australia (1987, 1995, 1996). The investigation methodology applied, carefully reconstructed the personalities of the narrators and the reasons for their journey, thus giving an analysis of how the voyage was organised and effected and its results in terms of the acquisition of knowledge about the new territories and populations visited. On the whole the diaries examined offer "a complex and comprehensive view of many significant aspects of such a distant country; they thus certainly afforded contemporary readers the ability to create an image which in some respects, was romanticised and stereotyped but at the same time clearly fascinating" (Lucchesi 1995, p.288). A recent addition to this literature of travel is a very special book, published recently by a wide-ranging Italian traveller and expert of the world, who wrote both scientific studies and general interest works for the wider public: this is a kind of log book with a geographic bent, in which a young university student relates his experiences during the 6,000 kilometres trip between Darwin and Perth in a camper with a fascinating female companion (Corna Pellegrini, 1997).

Of the studies on Australia by geography lecturers in Italian universities a significant work was written by A.Vallega in 1985. It is in fact part of a series titled *II mondo attuale* in which the author presents various aspects of the anthropo-physical geography of Australia, placed in the wider context of the South Pacific. It thus constitutes an

encyclopedic work, which can be profitably compared with those written in the previous eras mentioned above. In the volume an analysis is made of natural landscapes, cultures, historical and political events, various economic sectors, and the main sub-regions distinguished according to the presence of urban networks.

The gamut of works published over this period is completed by two books entirely dedicated to Australia, which, despite being published ten years apart, both offer a transversal and complementary perspective. The *Orizzonte Australia* volume, edited by F. Lucchesi and published in 1988, had the objective of outlining an image of the country according to perspectives which were both heterogeneous and interrelated, and which used different channels of communication. This had the purpose of arriving at a geographic presentation of the Newest Continent which was not only traceable to reality, but also particularly to life as it is truly lived. In this book, authors of different disciplinary backgrounds present their research using a. key which moves from a consideration of "objective landscapes" to "perceived landscapes". The latter are investigated in terms of the diverse wave-lengths denoting the Aboriginal world, contemporary literature, and the very modern world of cinema. The informing principle of the work is the awareness that different points of view contribute to enriching our interpretation of reality which consequently takes on different faces according to whether it is contemplated by inhabitants, users or observers.

In 1999, the book *L'Australia oltre il 2000,* was published edited by G. Corna Pellegrini. and J. Gentilli with the collaboration of F.Lucchesi. It represents a collection of contributions in Italian, with the objective of disseminating geographic knowledge of the Fifth Continent. It contains studies which are both strictly scientific and accessible for the general reader, something unprecedented in Italian publishing. One part of the volume traces Australian society's essential features: from the problems associated with multiethnicity, to the evolution of human settlement, the political system and the most recent developments in the economy. Various articles focus their attention on the defence of the environment, an issue which has long been of concern and addressed in the country. A third group of contributions deals with Australia's relationships with the rest of the world, and in particular with Italy (from both an economic and cultural point of view).

We shall now briefly look at the presence and role of Italian geographers in present studies regarding Australia and at cultural relations between the two countries.

A period of research carried out by F. Lucchesi over the last four years is now drawing to its final phase involving the organisation of the material collected and the drafting of results. The research had the objective of singling out migration trends from an Italian Alpine valley (Valtellina) to Australia from its inception to the present day. The study utilises critically analysed quantitative data, from which to obtain wider parameters for interpretation. This creates a rigorously structured itinerary which examines the complex economic, social cultural and political characteristics of migration in its specificity and as a whole, both in terms of areas of origin and arrival. This study, like the already mentioned volume *L'Australia oltre il 2000,* is also a product of the partnership agreement signed between the Institute of Human Geography of the University of Milan and the Department of Geography of the Western Australian University, with the purpose of fostering scientific cooperation between researchers from the two campuses.

Similarly, an agreement protocol is presently viable for the exchange of lecturers and students between the Geography Department of the University of Padua and University of Melbourne. This is the context for the research that is presently being carried out by F. Vallerani on the Melbourne waterfront, associated to the more general theme of de-industrialisation and the re-use of abandoned industrial areas. A significant development has been the recent establishment of a workgroup (led by the Association of Italian Geographers) interested in geographic studies on East Asia and the South Pacific. Among the initiatives of this scientific committee (which has chosen F. Lucchesi to head the Australia and the Pacific Islands section) we can mention the conference held on January 31st, 2000 at the State University of Milan during which speakers presented the volume *L'Australia oltre il 2000* to the public, using it as a starting point for further study and reflection on cultural relations between the two countries.

Another meeting of particular interest for geographers took place on March 30th this year at the University of Lecce. The occasion was the inauguration of the "Australian studies section". Here, C. Santoro as delegate for the Rector, introduced and chaired a meeting on *Terra Australis Antipodis: The Tyranny Of Distance Revisited.* The presence of our geographers at this conference, which also saw the participation of the President and Italian delegate of the *European Association of Studies on Australia,* is certainly indicative of great dynamism and interest by our discipline regarding Australia.

This is confirmed by the imminent foundation of an Italo-Australian Cultural Centre, within the University of Milan. This body, which will include the participation of the Institute of Human Geography of the University as co-promoter of the initiative, would establish a definitive and much hoped-for link between the scientific community of Italian geographers and the wider Australian cultural world. The brief overview that I have just given of research and results involving the passage of a century and half of progressively intensifying relations, together with the affirmation of a political, economic and social reality characterised by increasing dynamism in relations between the two countries, are all factors which lead us to believe that today the consolidation of an officially recognised and mutually active link is indispensable and must not be delayed.

Notes

[1] For a study on the perception of environmental space in Italy, see: Bianchi (1987) and Bianchi, Perussia, Rossi (1987).

[2] In particular I have referred to the following journals: the *Bollettino delta Società Geografica Italiana,* a monthly founded in 1868 as the newsletter of the "Società Geografìca" which is still in publication; *Cosmos,* a journal dating from 1873 to 1901; *LEsploratore,* travel and business geography published under different names *(like L 'Esplorazione Commerciale)* and different sponsors, from 1877 to 1928; *Geografia per tutti,* a fortnightly magazine published from 1891 to 1899; *Rivista Geografica Italiana,* a journal founded in 1894 as the newsletter for the "Società di Studi Geografici", which is still being published today.

[3] See also the extensive article published on this topic in 1900 by F. Porena, lecturer at the Royal University of Naples in the *Rivista Geografica Italiana.*

[4] Since the papers often lack their author's name, in the notes, the year of publication of the will be given next to the title of the journal. The Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana will henceforth be indicated by the acronym: BdSGI.

[5] On the subject also see an article printed in 1897 on *Geografia* per tutti and the many published in *L'Esplorazione Commerciale* (1888, 1894, 1912).

[6] On this see, the articles by Coen (1891), Pini (1898) and the one published in *Rivista Geografica Italiana* in 1913.

[7] On the difficult lives led by Italian emigrants in Australia see also: Cora,(l877); Cosmos (I877); Brunialti (I883); Bodio (I886); Geografia per tutti (1891); Monticone (I913).

[8] Of the geographic periodicals founded in the nineteenth century and which continued into the Twentieth are: *BdSGI and Rivista Geografica Italiana.* In the early decades of the last century *La Geografia* (1912-1930) was also published. Some journals intended for the broader public were also founded, such as: *L'Universo* (1920), *Le Vie d'Italia e del Mondo* (1933), and *Geografia nelle scuole* (1955), the newsletter of the *Association of Italian Teachers of Geography*. Obviously editorial policy varied but they nevertheless offer a varied and complementary view of the subjects and areas of the world examined.

[9] To give the reader an idea we can cite the articles published in: *BdSGI* (1920); *La Geografia* (1923); *Le Vie del Mondo* (1954); *La Geografia nelle Scuole* (1977); and those printed in *L'Universo* written by Gentilli (1958) and by Vola (1968).

[10] Here in particular we refer to: *Studi Emigrazione,* published from 1964 and edited by the *Centro Studi Emigrazione* supported by the Scalabriniani Missionaries, and to *Affari Sociali Internazionali,* founded in 1973 with the purpose of specifically studying the social problems of our country, starting from their historical roots and placing them in their

international context. The magazine *Italiani nel Mondo,* also contained much material on Italian migrants in Australia. It was an antifascist periodical founded with the express purpose of "following the activities that our brothers carry out in all parts of the world, ... protecting their interests and bringing to them the new voice of their homeland" *(Italiani nel Mondo,* 1945, p.2). Of a more cultural leaning in a general sense was II Veltro, Journal of Italian Civilisation founded in 1957, which has dedicated three monographs to Australia and its relations with Italy.

[11] As an example, we can cite the long study by Gentilli which was printed between 1959 and 1960 with the title *"L'Australia, isola continente"* over three different issues of *L'Universo.* Also interesting is a type of monograph written by a number of authors published in instalments by *Le Vie d'Italia e del Mondo.* Between 1933 and 1936 three authors wrote some articles on the single States making up the Federation, together they coherently present content and form (Greenham, 1933, 1934 and 1935; Minetti, 1934; Pratesi, 1935).

[12] This travel diary has been analysed together with others, in a paper by Lucchesi (I995) which will be cited and examined in the following.

[13] Among the publications for the general reader on journeys to distant and exotic countries (which include Australia) we can mention: *Qui Touring* (TCI), *Airone* (Mondadori), *Gulliver* (De Agostini-Rizzoli), *Dove. Vacanze e tempo libero* (De Agostini-Rizzoli), Meridiani (Domus), and the more recent National Geographic in its Italian edition. Regarding periodicals which are not specifically geographic but of interest for the geographer, we have the continuing publication of: *Studi Emigrazione, Affari Sociali internazionali, II Veltro;* the last two periodicals have dedicated monographs to Australia (but without including any articles by Italian geographers): The first in 1988, the second in 1987 and 1988. In 1989 *Altre Italie,* was founded, which is a national review of studies on populations of Italian origin in the world published by the Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli.

Maintaining & Developing the Italian Presence in Australia
Dr. James Jupp

When I woke up this morning in this amazingly luxurious hotel it took some time to remember where I was. Then I began to ask myself: "what is a nice English boy like you doing at an Italian Australian conference?"

This started me thinking about "who I was" as much as "who you are", this latter question being central to your deliberations. All 'ethnic groups' need some self definition. Those outside their homelands, in the diaspora through emigration, often find it hard to define and even to understand themselves. They have chosen to live outside the homeland and are expected to fit into a new society by the majority in that new environment. Their children have different attitudes and their grandchildren are sometimes almost unrecognisable!

Why am I Here?

The first interest I have in being at this conference is simply professional involvement for thirty-five years in studying migration and ethnicity, starting with my book *Arrivals and Departures* in 1966. In 1988 I produced the massive Bicentennial encyclopedia The Australian People and am currently completing a second edition which I hope will be published in time for the centenary of federation in 2001. This details all the ethnic groups in Australia, including the Aborigines and those from the British Isles, as well as the history of immigration and settlement since 1788. There is a very considerable section on Italians and several of the authors are at this conference. There is actually an extensive literature on Italian Australians, despite what many have said here about the need to do more research. The basic problem is that it is scattered around, often in sources which are difficult to access. The encyclopedia will provide a common reference point, as the first edition already does.

My second interest is that I am an immigrant, spending half my life in Australia but being born and educated in England. In some respects immigrants often have a better insight into Australia than those born here. They have not been socialised into a whole series of myths and attitudes learnt in childhood, of which many Australians are unaware or which they never question. There is a distinctive public mythology

about Australia as a 'land of the fair go', as generous and open, as progressive - which an outsider might assess more critically than those who were brought up with these ideas and with such associated myths surrounding Gallipoli, Ned Kelly or the Outback .

An Immigrant in the Mainstream

Being a member of the 'majority culture' but also an immigrant helps me to understand both. There is frequent reference at this conference to the 'dominant culture' or to 'Anglo-Australians', with Italians defining themselves as a minority among many other minorities confronted by an overpowering assimilating force. To some extent this is realistic. Eighty percent of Australians normally use English as their home language and seventy-five percent derive wholly or predominantly from the British Isles (which until 1921 were also the United Kingdom at the heart of the British Empire). This powerful majority is even more overpowering because it forms part of the English-speaking world which is dominated from the United States as previously it was dominated from England. If there is a threat to 'Australian culture' it comes from 'American culture', just as earlier nationalists claimed it came from 'English culture'. It does not come from the 'ethnic minorities'.

The idea of a dominant culture and a mainstream majority is not, therefore to be overlooked or underestimated by those seeing themselves and seen by others as a minority. Multiculturalism in Australia does not mean effective equality of cultures but the assertion of minorities against total submersion by the majority, which holds most of the cards. Fortunately it also means acceptance of the rights of other cultures, which was denied in the assimilationist days of the past, and of other 'races', which was denied in the days of White Australia. Both these intolerant public policies only ended less than thirty years ago and many Australians still subscribe to them, as witness the (temporary) rise of One Nation.

But it is worth looking at this overwhelming mainstream in more detail. I described myself as a 'nice English boy' and all three words might be challenged (especially the 'boy'!). If Italian Australians - or Italo-Australians - or Australian Italians - have trouble defining themselves, think about the dilemmas of a member of the mainstream. Am I English, Anglosaxon, Anglo-Celtic, British, Anglo-Australian, an English-speaker or just plain Aussie? Well - YES to most of these but not all. English certainly in the sense that I was born and brought up in England and have spent almost half my life there. My father and most

of the earlier Jupps were English. But I consciously left England as a young adult and have no desire to live there, although I return regularly. Am I Anglosaxon? Definitely NOT. I realise that Europeans frequently use this term to describe all native speakers of English including Americans. The French are especially obsessive about this. My ancestors, before surnames were bestowed on the Jupps in the 15th century, were probably Anglosaxon peasants toiling in the fields of those very Anglosaxon counties of Sussex and Surrey. But they stopped being Anglosaxons at least six hundred years ago as the vestiges of that language merged into southern English. Anglosaxon blood may flow in my veins. But it is the same as any other blood of the same group, including Italian blood. I mention this because there has been some talk here of 'Italian blood' flowing in the veins of two million Australians. This may be true in the same sense that Anglosaxon blood flows in my veins. But it is irrelevant. Ethnicity is not based on blood but on culture and identification. I do not identify with the Anglosaxons nor should you call up the spirits of those who might, once upon a time, have had an Italian ancestor. So did many inhabitants of the British Isles, where the Romans were entrenched for four hundred years and often took a fancy to the local lasses.

So - English yes - Anglosaxon no - Anglo-Celtic in the sense that I had a Protestant Irish grandfather from Antrim, a Scottish mother from Glasgow with Ayrshire and Argyll origins, and a Catholic Irish great-grandmother from Limerick on the other side of the family. Perhaps the largest number of Australians are similarly Anglo-Celtic. Some are predominantly Celtic or even 'purely' Irish or Scottish. By the way, the term 'saxon' (saesneg in the Celtic tongues and Sassenach in Scots) is a term of abuse among Celts. Try telling an Irish Australian or a Scottish immigrant that they are English or Anglosaxon and then stand well back! What happened in Australia is what was already happening in the United Kingdom. People of varied backgrounds were being moulded into English-speakers. They only slowly lost other aspects of their culture, including a wide variety of English dialects and words. So I am on the way to becoming an Anglo-Australian through the same processes and my daughter is almost completely so. An earlier stage can be termed 'British' in the sense of being not just a citizen of the UK but also of the British Empire, of which Australia still forms a part by the referendum of last year even though the empire has disappeared.

And, finally, an Australian - YES - with citizenship, an Australian passport, the right to enter and leave freely and a decision to remain here for ever. But an English-speaker of a more cosmopolitan brand who

has lived and worked in Canada and the United States and done research, wholly in English, into the politics of former British colonies in Sri Lanka and Vanuatu. The point I am trying to make, if in a roundabout way, is that being an Australian does not mean being exactly like every other Australian, even if you are firmly in the 'Anglo' mainstream. That mainstream is the result of mixing and modification in the original British and Irish homelands and in Australia. It includes increasing numbers from New Zealand, North America and Southern Africa, as well as many English-speakers of non-European origins from India, Sri Lanka and many other parts of the world. It will eventually include many descendants of Italians, Chinese, Greeks or whatever, who will inevitably change their culture as it is affected by others. Multiculturalism does not mean that imported cultures will be retained intact for ever. But it does mean that cultural variation will characterise society and that 'real Australians' can legitimately trace their origins to anywhere in the world and not just to one region or country.

Which Culture are We Maintaining?

A basic principle of multiculturalism, as spelt out in the Galbally report of 1978 and in every 'agenda' ever since, is cultural maintenance. This is an unfortunate expression as it implies a conservative approach of hanging on to what was brought here rather than developing it in the new environment. As suggested above, nobody's culture has been rigidly 'maintained' in Australia including those of the mainstream. 'Traditional' Australian culture - dinky-di, Akubra wearing, Vegemite eating, beer and footy, mateship and the fair go - is under constant siege from the United States and is often artificially reaffirmed as part of mass advertising. Nor are the ancestral cultures brought from poor and limited backgrounds necessarily worth maintaining. My own culture and identity is not that of my recent ancestors. I do not speak Gaelic or Irish nor do I have any wish to. I may still have a slight south London accent but am certainly not a Cockney Kid. My rural English forebears lived in damp cottages, worked as farm labourers, had a diet of bread, cheese and beer and were illiterate. Their culture was as impoverished as they were. Nor was the commercial popular culture which replaced it as they moved into the big city very rich and spacious either. Goodbye to all that! It survives in the still popular 'old time music hall' concerts held by well paid professionals in Canberra every year. The culture and identity which I have forged for myself mainly through education is much richer and more varied than anything from my ancestral past.

The main reason for wanting to preserve ancestral cultures is often simple nostalgia. This can develop into romanticism about a past which never was. This is relatively harmless and very human but it cannot last and will not survive beyond the immigrant generation. Ancient ways can usually only be preserved in tightly-knit religious communities, like the Hasidic Jews or the Amish Mennonites. Australia, as compared with North America, has little history of this type of conservatism. It often denies the equality of women and the liberating force of education. A less constricting culture might be termed folk culture. This is sustained in rural societies and had almost died out in England a century ago although still important in Ireland and parts of Scotland. Consequently it was weak among the huge waves of urban immigrants who came between the 1850s and the 1920s and sustained the Anglo-Australian mainstream. It was replaced by commercial culture, manufactured for mass urban audiences. This does not need maintaining as it responds to markets. Nostalgia keeps older forms going. Older English generations still love Gracie Fields, Vera Lynn or George Formby, while the middle aged still dream that Elvis is alive.

Commercial culture is transient and moves where the money is. Forms of folk culture based on village society may be revived, as they were by east European nationalists asserting their ethnicity against the Russian and Austrian empires. Most of the 'folk culture' displayed at festivals in Australia has been revived in this way. But commercial culture is more powerful and will absorb some folk culture if there is money to be made. Aboriginal pop music is a good example of this syncretic development. Perhaps the greatest Italian contributions to popular culture have been in the 'three Fs' - food, festivals and football. Mary Kalantzis has dismissed this 'pasta and polka' multiculturalism. Intellectuals and academics often overlook these popular elements. But food has been the means by which multiculturalism has been sold to the majority of Australians. Anyone who can remember what Melbourne was like in the 1950s will know why!

The future of folk culture in an urban and commercialised society is bleak unless it is artificially revived as a marker of ethnicity. Italian dialects and village saints will persist as long as immigrants from rural Italy still live in Australia. But the dialects will not be taught in schools and universities and the saints will not be paraded by younger generations. The only agencies with a strong interest in preserving genuine folk culture are the regional clubs which are so characteristic of Italian and Greek communities and the regional governments of Italy which are now taking an interest in their emigrants. What is much more

likely to be sustained is official culture. With the creation of nation states following the French and American revolutions two centuries ago, the rulers of states saw the need to bind their subjects together through common myths, loyalties and cultures, rather than simply by force, religion or hierarchy. Public education systems were essential to this as was the development of a national language. Britain and France were more successful at this than were Italy or Spain. In all societies a degree of coercion was involved. The suppression of Aboriginal culture in Australia is the best known local example. In the United Kingdom the official report on the 1871 Census of Scotland could recommend that Gaelic be discouraged and not taught in schools as "we are one people and should have one language". Gaelic, Irish and, to a lesser degree, Welsh, were all suppressed and reduced to marginality. In the United States, which was more multicultural than most European nation states, the English language and 'Americanism' were rigorously pursued. An English Only movement still campaigns for the suppression of Spanish and other languages even today.

Official culture was developed by states. Its maintenance is the responsibility of states. Thus official Italian culture, through agencies such as Dante Aligheri, is much more likely to be urged on the Australian Italian community than are regional dialects or village saints. Official Italian will get resources even if the Australian Italian community is moving from dialect to Australitalian in the home and the streets. Australia is officially multicultural and maintains friendly relations with many states. There will be few obstacles put in the way of promulgating official cultures. But the Australian state itself will take little responsibility for anything other than the 'mainstream' and may even reassert 'Australian culture' as has happened over the past few years. Moreover, the state is retreating from cultural concerns in education in favour of vocational training, is retreating from so-called 'social engineering' such as multiculturalism, and is shifting its responsibilities from the Commonwealth to the States and from public to private agencies. At the centre of the economic rational ideology is the idea of the minimal state, based on the belief that the market is a more rational allocator of resources than is government. Even if there is a change of government, these ideas are deeply entrenched within current official thinking. They are not very promising for any major input of resources into maintaining minority cultures. Nor was there ever much input in the past, despite all the reactionary propaganda about billions being spent on alien and divisive cultures.

Maintaining a Dynamic Italian Australian Presence

I have argued that folk culture cannot be maintained in a conservative way in an urban immigrant society and that commercial culture is likely to replace it. As commercial culture seeks the largest market it is likely to be phrased predominantly in English and to use some 'Australian' (though probably more 'American') themes and symbols. As governments have no strong interest in minority cultures the prospect of public support for ethnic variety is reduced to an expectation of 'toleration' rather than largesse. Essentially those who want to maintain and develop ethnic variety must do it themselves. This has always been so but was disguised by the illusion that official multiculturalism was serious about cultural maintenance. It was actually a method of integrating and settling immigrants with the minimum of social tension. A hope for the future lies in 'niche media' rather than state support, where only SBS does much on its very limited budget. Niche media relies on having a large and active enough public to maintain ratings and attract advertising.

What this means in concrete terms is that the Italian community, in co-operation with Italian official agencies, will have to develop its own machinery and agencies and raise its own resources. Because the first generation of immigrants is not being replaced by new arrivals, and because it often had low levels of education, a sense of being 'Italian' must persist in the later generations born in Australia. Otherwise the clubs will lose members, the newspapers will lose circulation, the dialects and even the official language will fade away into English, and elected politicians will feel no need to cater for a constituency which is docile, ageing and declining. Italian Australians (like Italian Americans) may need to become politically more active and assertive just to protect what little is available from official resources. They should use and revive the various ethnic and multicultural agencies more effectively than they have done in the past. If multiculturalism fails and withers in Australia the cause of maintaining a viable Italian Australian community will wither along with it. Assimilation will be reasserted. We have already witnessed a considerable backlash against diversity in recent years and this affects all minority cultures and interests.

Italians have succeeded in Australian society and are now very well established. To maintain and develop a distinct presence into the future requires the creation of agencies like the Italian Australian Institute. They can develop ideas, research the issues and present the case much better than the scattered activists of the past. If there really were two

million Italians the task would be easier. There are not! But Italian speakers are still the largest non-English-speaking group in society and first and second generation Italians still outnumber anyone else outside the 'Anglo mainstream'. Travel between Australia and Italy is easier and relatively cheaper than ever before. This conference and the Italian Australian Institute are long overdue. We should thank the organisers and especially the Grollos for their support and initiative. I wish you all success and look forward to working with you in the future.

Italian Studies in Australia: Past, Present and Future
Professor Roslyn Pesman

Italian Australian relations go back a long way, to the time when Italy had yet to be invented and Australia was a very remote penal colony. The first act of cultural exchange that I have found was in 1820 when Ferdinand 11, Bourbon King of the Two Sicilies, negotiated the acquisition of eighteen kangaroos from the Great South Land in exchange for an equal number of papyruses from Herculaneum. The King acquired his kangaroos but Australia gained nothing. In the age of imperialism, the papyruses remained in the hands of the British Consul in Naples.[1]

Throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Italian interest in Australia was very limited – to explorers, naturalists, would be colonists, naval commanders, political refugees en passant and a trickle of migrants. In contrast, Australian interest in things Italian was considerable.[2] From the sixteenth century, Italy, the land, the people, their literature and art have been a major source of inspiration in English culture, and educated British colonists brought to Australia this passion and cultural tradition. We find evidence in the contents first of private libraries and art collections and then by the mid-century, of the newly formed public institutions of enlightenment and instruction, libraries and art galleries with their editions of Dante and Ariosto and their copies of Italian works of art.

Interest in Italy among cultured and would–be cultured Australians increased as the century progressed. The growing and newly enriched bourgeoisie made their grand tours of Italy and acquired works of art and craft for the decoration of their Australian palazzi. Hannah Rouse, for example, acquired a number of paintings in the style of Fra Angelico and Carlo Dolci during her visit to Italy in 1876. Sir Redmond Barry, the Chief Justice of Victoria who presided over the trial of Ned Kelly and who was to play a crucial role in the establishment of the State Library of Victoria, filled three large exercise books with his account of his pilgrimage of self-improvement through the galleries of Rome and wrote his own history of Italian art. Another judge, Sir Samuel Griffith, first Chief Justice of Australia, who toured Italy as a student in 1860, published in 1911 his translation of all three cantos of the Divine Comedy. Among those who wrote to congratulate Griffith on his

translation was Australia's second Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, who assured Griffith that he had read the work 'at least a dozen times'.

At the same time Italian painters and sculptors working in both Italy and Australia made their contribution to the embellishment of Australian towns and cities. For example, while touring in Italy in 1882, Thomas Stoddart who had made his fortune in Victoria in mining speculation, commissioned twelve statues for the Ballarat Botanical Gardens. The Italian consul in Melbourne noted at the end of the 19th century that almost all the statues that adorned the Botanical Gardens and public buildings of that city were either copies of Italian works or the work of Italian sculptors. The same could have been said about Sydney where the works of Italian artists included Tommaso Sani's statues on the General Post Office and Achille Simonetti's decoration of the Colonial Secretary's building and his statue of Governor Philip in the Botanical Gardens. A similar contribution was made to Australian musical life by Italian teachers, performers and visiting opera companies.

This Australian interest in Italy and its cultural traditions did not abate and is, if anything, even more intense today. And I need only mention by way of example the role of Italy – as site, metaphor, theme, inspiration – in contemporary Australian literature – in the writing for example of David Malouf, Peter Porter, Kate Grenville, Robert Dessaix and Peter Robb.

Until the end of the twentieth century, the Australian cultural connections to Italy were to high culture, official culture, the great tradition. And it was the export of this culture that was supported by Italy's power elites through such agencies as the Dante Alighieri societies and Italian Cultural Institutes. But Italy is a place of many cultures and cultural traditions and, as Richard Bosworth has argued, Italy has always conducted two foreign policies.[3] One was that of the government ensconced in the Farnesina and its predecessor palaces; the other was that of the people, the emigrants who moved all over Europe, the Americas and Oceania. The participants in this alternative and subaltern foreign policy took to their new worlds the cultures of *paese* and *parocchia* rather than of palazzo. Their preservation and transmission in Australia is a crucial issue for this Conference.

It was the Australian interest in Italian high culture that led to the establishment of Italian language teaching and Italian studies in Australian universities. It was early as 1861, a decade after the founding of the University of Sydney, that the University's first Chancellor gave a public lecture on the Italian Renaissance, the time "when we find Italy

giving birth to men, the power of whose genius the whole world acknowledges." But it was to be some time before Italian studies became part of the curricula of Australian universities which remained essentially classical and mathematical until the end of the nineteenth century. It was only in the 1930s that Italian began to be taught in the universities of Sydney and Melbourne. The other states had to wait until after the war. The 1930s also saw the first courses in Italian history at Sydney and Melbourne, in both it was Renaissance history. But one of the first studies on the rise of Fascism was written at the end of the 1930s by an historian at the University of Sydney, Margot Hentze.[4]

It was not until the end of the 1960s that Italian studies began to put down firm roots in Australian universities. This was the time when closer ties were being forged between Italy and Australia as mass migration brought more and more Italians to Australia and mass tourism took more and more Australians to Italy. The 1960s and 1970s were the great period of expansion in Australian universities and Italian studies grew as part of that expansion. By the late 1980s some twenty institutions of higher learning, universities and colleges of advanced education were giving courses in the Italian language.[5] And academics across the sector were teaching, conducting research and writing on Italian history, literature, politics, societies and economies. So strong were developments in Italian Renaissance Studies that Australia is now recognised as a leading international centre in the field. Academics working in Australia have published internationally acclaimed studies across a very wide and diverse span - Florentine Renaissance, politics, society, religion, art and literature, nineteenth and twentieth century literature, the Risorgimento, Liberal and Fascist Italy, the Partito popolare and the Partito communista, Terrorism and the Red Brigades.[6] Through their courses, they have introduced a large number of students to many aspects of Italy, past and present.

It is fair I think to argue that teaching and writing on Italian migration to Australia lagged behind writing on Italy. The only major work was done by demographers and sociologists at the Australian National University which was not primarily a teaching institution. And it should be well noted that the neglect of the migrants in Australian scholarship was paralleled by a lack of interest in migration in Italian academic establishments. History and literature in the 1960s and 1970s were still predominately the story and the works of elites. It was really not until the 1980s that interest in Italian migration intensified in universities and particular in the newer universities like Victoria and Swinburne Universities. Several factors lie behind the increased interest

in migration studies. They include the promotion of multiculturalism and community language teaching by Australian governments in the wake of the Galbally Report, the growing focus in the universities on popular culture and popular history, and the maturing and self-assertion of the Italian-Australian community. The majority of young scholars working in the broad area of migration studies today like Loretta Baldassar and Maria Pallotta Chiarolli are Italian-Australians of the second and third generation. And the community and its leaders have generously acted to support the preservation of their language, records and histories. I am thinking for example of the Vaccari Chair at LaTrobe University, the support of the Grollo family of Italian migration studies at Victoria Univerwity, the Co.As.It. sponsored Italian Historical Societies, the histories of Nino Randazzo and Tito Cecilia.

From the late 1970s through to the end of the 1980s, one might say that Italian studies in Australia flourished. This might be most quickly illustrated by reference to the Frederick May Foundation for Italian studies at the University of Sydney and its international conferences which were meeting places of Italianists working in Australia and leading figures in contemporary Italian intellectual and academic life. The work of the May Foundation was financed by the public sector, the University of Sydney, various agencies of the Australian government like the Australia Council and the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Italian government.

Then the world changed. From the mid-1980s, Australian governments began to cut funding to universities. The humanities in particular suffered with drastic restructuring and pruning. While some twenty institutes of higher education were offering courses in Italian in the early 1980s, the number has fallen to almost half. And institutions still teaching Italian studies, because of staff and funding cuts, can no longer offer students the richness and variety of courses that characterised the past.[7] Symbolically, last year, in my capacity as a modern university administrator, I closed down the Frederick May Foundation, an organisation with which I had worked for twenty years including a period as the Foundation's Director. The Foundation could no longer sustain a public profile or programme when it lost access to the public funding in both Italy and Australia that had supported its activities in the past.

Despite the cuts, those involved in Italian studies have continued to work, and to work hard, to maintain their disciplines and a public profile. The 1990s have seen a series of national conferences and a growing number of exchange agreements with Italian universities.

What of the future? Despite the decline in Italian language teaching and Italian studies, I am cautiously optimistic. Italian studies will not be as extensive and diverse as they were in the past but we have to learn that small and focused also have value. I do not think that we will get any more public funding and I know that we have to make the future happen ourselves. And if we are to have a new *rinascimento*, it will bear some similarities to the fifteenth century *rinascimento*. Support and patronage will come not only from national governments but from local, regional associations, the modern equivalent of the medieval city states. It will also come more from the private sector than the public, from the successors and heirs to the Renaissance bankers, merchants and builders. We already have two examples. I refer in the first instance to the Cassamarca Foundation of Treviso, offshoot of the bank, which under the leadership of the Onorevole Dino de Poli is at present financing eleven lectureships in Italian studies across Australia, scholarships for language students to go to Italy and the setting up of an Australian Association of Italian Studies. The second example is the Grollo family, their early support for Italian migration studies, and their leadership role in the foundation of the Italian Australian Institute and in this inaugural conference.

I would like to conclude this morning by making a number of arguments relating to future directions in Italian studies. I would emphasise that they arise from my own observations. I do not speak either for my University or the Australia Project Committee of the Cassamarca Foundation. My arguments all revolve around a number of 'c' words – concentration, connection, cooperation, collaboration.

My first argument is that in the university sector we need to concentrate Italian studies. Sadly there is neither the potential number of students nor the financial, library or information resources to provide Italian language and Italian studies in all universities. This is a fact of life and I would emphasise that, even if we can attract more students into Italian studies than we do at present, there will never be enough to support good Italian studies programmes across a large number of universities. If there can only be a limited number of good centres, we must ensure of course that they are well distributed across the states.

I believe that we have the obligation to offer students wishing to study Italian language or some other aspect of Italian studies the widest possible number of options, a high quality experience and the potential for graduate study. A student embarking upon the Italian language should have the opportunity to take courses in Italian literature, history,

art, film, politics, migration studies, business, should have access to rich library and information resources.

If Italian studies need to be concentrated in a few centres, universities teaching Italian studies need to cooperate and collaborate, to share experience, expertise and resources, course materials and research projects, to make joint applications for public and private funding for the support of Italian studies across the country. The new technologies and distance modes of teaching which we will increasingly use are expensive. This points again to sharing. But they will also make cooperation and collaboration easier and should provide the means to extend Italian studies out from the centres. It is with the goal of closer collaboration, of achieving economies of effort, of sharing resources and of facilitating joint activities that a small group of Italianists are working with some seed funding from the Cassamarca Foundation for the establishment of a national Australian Italian Studies Association which would link all those teaching and carrying out research in Italian studies including the Italian presence in Australia.

If collaboration and coordination among universities are important, so too is closer cooperation with schools and their language teaching. If we are to preserve and expand the study of Italian we need to work out strategies to attract more school leavers into Italian studies at tertiary level. We need to offer incentives, prizes and scholarships. We need to talk to teachers to find out what they need for further training and upgrading of skills.

Academics need to intensify and extend their relations with the community and the market place, to establish stronger links with business, with government and non-government agencies, with community organisations. And the relationship with outside bodies must be one of partnership and of mutual satisfaction and gain. The fifteenth century Italian humanists who remodelled the Western European education curricula gained the support and patronage of princes and the heads of the global business houses of their day because they were able to convince those men of the world that an education based on the studia humanitatis, rhetoric, grammar, history and literature, produced leaders and civil servants who were best able to advance the wealth, well-being and reputations of their city states.

If the community supports our teaching and research, our first obligation in return is to produce scholarship, whether on Machiavelli or Mussolini, Mazzoni or migration, that is of the highest international standard. We must diffuse our work among *italianisti* around the world and place it in a comparative context and in international debates. Those

who support our work must be able to feel pride in being associated with us.

We must also enter into more frequent and productive dialogue with the community, seek out projects that meet the interests and needs of the community, cooperate with local historical societies and their agendas, utilise their sources and collections, bring their work into mainstream studies. We need to engage in a wide inclusive collective enterprise to tell the story of the Italian presence in Australia in all its manifestations, to document the Italian and Italian Australian contribution to the ever developing and emerging Australian society. It is for this reason that we are very anxious to link the first steps in the establishment of the Australian Association of Italian Studies with the Italian Australian Institute so that we can work together.

We also need to bring Italian migration studies in Australia into at least three wider contexts or mainstreams. The first context is Australian studies. The history of Australia is the story of the indigenous people and then of the successive waves of immigrants. It is also the histories that the immigrants bring with them so that almost all histories of non-indigenous Australia need to begin somewhere else – in Italy, in Greece, in Vietnam. And the story of the Italian presence begins not only in well recorded momentous events and great traditions but also in the many Italies of time, class, place and gender which the migrants both left and brought with them.

Italian emigration to Australia is also an event of Italian history. The history of modern Italy needs to be understood and narrated as the history of the Italian people both within and outside the peninsula. It embraces the history of the emigrants and the manifold contributions that they made to the places of their exile and new homes and to the Italy that they left behind – for a season, for a few years or forever. What has been the impact of emigration and repatriation on the villages, provinces and regions of Italy?

The third context for telling the story of the Italian presence in Australia is that of Italy as a transnational society, of *paesi* as transnational communities which embraces paesani in Italy and paesani abroad in all the places that they may have settled, of Italy as a nation without borders.[8] And if Italy is a transnational society, it is also an amalgam of transregional societies hence the proliferation of transregional groupings like "I Veneti nel mondo", "I Trevisani nel mondo". Those working in Italian migration studies need to look more and more to a village out approach, to begin their stories where the migrants began and to follow them wherever they went, to chart the

chains that they forged across boundaries, to explore how and why the links were maintained – and broken.[9]

My last argument is a call to understand Italian Australia, Italian Australian studies, as including not only the culture, traditions, experience and contributions of Italian-Australians but also the long established Anglo Australian interest in Italy, Australian writing about Italy, past and present, the very large corpus of cultural products which have taken Italy as site, theme and inspiration. It should also now include metropolitan Italian writing about Australia, Italian works which take inspiration from Australia.

In conclusion I would again emphasise cooperation, collaboration, co-ordination. I am not arguing for conformity or uniformity or monolithic structures because we need variety and diversity and participants in the Italy Australia project have different priorities and agendas. But we do need to coordinate and cooperate for the advantage of the whole enterprise. I congratulate the Italian Australian Institute on its initiative in organising this inaugural conference which brings together the many and diverse interests in Italian Australia, Italian and Australian business, the agencies of central and regional governments in Italy and in Australia, academics working in Italian studies and all those who believe in the fundamental importance of maintaining the manifold Italian cultural traditions in Australia.

Notes

[1] Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples*, London, 1956, p.660.

[2] On Australian interest in Italy, Roslyn Pesman (Cooper), 'Australian Visitors to Italy in the Nineteenth Century', Australia, *The Australians and the Italian Migration,* Rome, 1983, pp.124-141; 'Le relazioni culturali tra l'Italia e l'Australia nell'Ottocento, *Il Veltro,* XXX11, 1988, pp.39-48; 'Sir Samuel Griffith, Dante and the Italian Presence in Nineteenth Century Australian Literary Culture', *Australian Literary Studies,* 14, 1989, pp.199-215; 'Some Australian Italies', Westerly, 39, iv, 1994, pp.95-108; Alan Mayne, *Reluctant Italians? One Hundred Years of the Dante Alighieri Society in Melbourne 1886-1986*, Melbourne, 1997.

[3] Richard Bosworth, *Italy and the Wider World 1860-1960*, London, 1996, pp.4-5.

[4] Margot Hentze, *Pre-Fascist Italy. The Rise and Fall of a Parliamentary Regime,* London, 1939.

[5] On the teaching of Italian language, Mariangela Totaro, *L'insegnamento dell'italiano nello stato di New South Wales, 1935-1937,* MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1989; Atti del *Convegno sull'insegnamento dell'italiano nel Queensland,* Griffith University, ed. John Gatt-Rutter, Nathan, Qld, 1990; *Italians in Australia: historical and social perspectives: proceedings of the Conference on Italians in Australia, the first 200 years,* University of Wollongong, 1988, ed. Gaetano Rando and Michael Arrighi, Wollongong, 1993; *Proceedings of Conference Italian Towards 2000: the role of Italian studies in Australian universities,* Victoria University of Technology, ed. Nina Bivona, Melbourne, 1994.

[6] On modern Italian history in Austrlian universities, Richard Bosworth, 'Italian history and Australian universities', *Risorgimento,* 3, 1983, pp.197- 209; Roslyn Pesman (Cooper), 'Dall'Australia', *L'Italia contemporanea e la storiografia internazionale,* Venice, 1995, pp.249-

268; 'Italian History in Australia: Italy in Australian History, *Convivio,* 1, ii, 1995, pp.106-113; 'Modern Italian History in Australia', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies,* 4, I, 1999, pp.74-88.

[7] For a recent survey of the state of Italian studies in Australian universities, unpublished report of the Australia Project Committee to the Cassamarca Foundation Treviso, 1999.

[8] Donna Gabaccia, 'Italian history and gli italiani nel mondo', *Journal of Modern Italian History.* 2, I, 1997, 3, I, 1998.

[9] On 'village out' approaches, see Samuel L. Baily, 'The Village Out Approach to the Study of Social Networks: A Case Study of the Agnonesi Diaspora Abroad, 1885-1989', *Studi Emigrazione. Etudes Migrations,* XX1X, 105, 1992, pp.43-67.

Day Two Session Two

Workshop 1   Language Policy and Youth Affairs

Dept of Education, Employment & Training
Joe Favrin
Maryclaire Cassisi
Peter Iagnocco
Elida Meadows

Workshop 2   Cultural Diversity and Globalisation
Krzysztof Batorowicz
V. Giorgio Venturini
Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien
Laura Bregu-Hougaz
Anne Reynolds
Adriano Boncompagni

Workshop 3   Italian Australian Arts and Culture

Stephanie Thompson
Pino Migliorino
Nerina Caltabiano & Stephen Torre
Paolo Bartoloni
Ilaria Vanni

Workshop 4   Social Welfare, Health and Italian Australian
               Enterprises

Lara Damiani
Maria Vandamme
Walter Petralia & Yvonne Wells
Emma Contessa
Dino DeMarchi

The Teaching of Italian in Victorian Schools

LOTE, ESS and Multicultural Education Branch
School Programs Division
Department of Education, Employment and Training

Introduction

It is now widely recognised within the Victorian community that the learning of languages other than English (LOTE) brings long-term personal, cognitive and vocational benefits to students and that the nation as a whole gains economic advantage and international credibility from having a multilingual population.

A range of initiatives have been implemented in recent years by the Department of Education, Employment and Training to improve and support the teaching of languages generally and to assist schools provide high quality LOTE programs for all students. An indication of the success of these initiatives and of the high level of support provided by a range of agencies and partners is reflected in the fact that 97% of government primary and 99% of secondary schools were providing LOTE programs in 1999.

This paper outlines the initiatives and in particular, the cooperative arrangements between the Department of Education, Employment and Training, Co.As.It, and the Catholic Education Commission that support the teaching of Italian in Victorian schools. This partnership has had a marked effect on the status and popularity of Italian in Victorian schools and plays an important, ongoing role in ensuring that Italian maintains its position as one of the most popular languages in schools, particularly at the primary level.

Italian in Government schools

The following tables, which provide data from the LOTE Survey, conducted annually by the Department of Education, Employment and Training shows the number of students learning Italian (Prep to Year10) in Victoria government schools from 1994-1999. There has been a sharp increase in the number of students studying languages generally, and more particularly at the primary level in recent years. Whilst there has been a particularly strong increase in the number of students studying Indonesian and Japanese, it is of particular note that Italian has also

Government Primary Schools Providing the 8 Languages with the Highest Enrolments 1994-99

Languages	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Indonesian	19 557	31 823	71 300	71 300	79 945	82 188
Italian	**33 772**	**42 804**	**66 104**	**77 756**	**75 575**	**77 448**
Japanese	18 945	30 130	48 205	56 463	56 796	57 660
German	12 200	14 456	20 686	22 670	22 830	22 978
French	5 775	8 518	11 278	13 427	14 540	15 013
Chinese	2 191	3 680	5 639	5 786	6 410	7 334
Greek	3 675	3 710	2 659	7 748	2 902	2 671
Vietnamese	1 126	1 105	1 548	1 364	1 704	1 756

Government Secondary Schools Providing the 8 Languages with the Highest Enrolments 1994-99

Languages	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Indonesian	14 937	21 449	24 382	27 326	29 100	28 641
French	29 634	28 410	26 758	25 189	23 547	23 140
Italian	**26 246**	**25 876**	**25 402**	**24 240**	**23 227**	**22 864**
Japanese	15 463	18 492	21 242	21 158	21 801	21 827
German	19 451	20 129	19 237	18 459	18 503	18 421
Chinese	4 083	4 308	4 619	3 657	3 679	3 404
Greek	3 726	3 144	2 577	1 572	1 156	1 045
Vietnamese	3 107	3 134	3 255	1 723	1 383	1 308

Victorian School of Languages (VSL)

The VSL is a government school that complements the provision of languages other than English in mainstream schools by providing after hours classes in 40 languages, usually on Saturday mornings, to more than 13,000 students in 30 metropolitan and country centres throughout the State, including two for Italian.

In addition, the Distance Education Section of the VSL provides LOTE programs in seven languages, including Italian, for secondary students unable to access the language in their school.

Italian in non-government schools

Italian is also widely taught in primary and secondary Catholic schools. The following figures for the Catholic sector demonstrate the continuing popularity of Italian in Catholic schools.

Primary School

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
No. of schools	230	238	236	240	240	241
No. of students	64 816	64 668	66 057	66 647	66 074	65 982

Secondary School

	1994	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*	*1998*	*1999*
No. of schools	82	80	77	75	76	74
No. of students	24 778	25 335	24 522	22 963	23 111	22 157

Italian Insertion class programs

Co.As.It also provides Italian insertion class programs for 11,906 students in 35 Victorian government schools. Insertion class programs are language teaching classes conducted by ethnic community providers during school hours in mainstream schools.

Italian at senior secondary level

According to the Board of Studies, 776 students from government and non-government schools completed VCE Italian in 1999 and 737 students are enrolled at Year 12 level in 2000.

After hours ethnic schools

Language teaching provision by after hours ethnic schools is also very extensive in Victoria, with approximately 200 schools providing for approximately 29,000 Victorian students in more than fifty languages. Due to very small enrolments, a number of these languages are not offered by government schools. The schools are conducted by community organisations or individuals outside normal school hours, and teach languages at the primary and/or secondary level for between two and five hours weekly. All of these schools are required to be registered as legal entities. The LOTE, ESL and Multicultural Education Branch administers a grants program (per capita funding) and provides support, including funding of accredited LOTE methodology courses, which have been attended by a significant number of teachers from these schools. There are two after hours ethnic schools of Italian with 1005 primary and secondary students.

LOTE bonus points for VCE students

Language studies at VCE level attract a bonus, which consists of an adjustment of 5 points upwards to students' mean score after scaling. This bonus was introduced as an incentive for students to persevere with studying a language. The inclusion of the LOTE bonus within scaling means that any student who has LOTE skills has excellent reasons for continuing to study that LOTE at the VCE level.

Joint Standing Committee

The Joint Victorian-Italian Standing Committee on Educational Cooperation between the State of Victoria and the Republic of Italy was established in July 1993 to provide a forum to support and improve the teaching of Italian in Victorian schools. The Joint Standing Committee developed a Memorandum on Educational Cooperation between Victoria and Italy, which was subsequently incorporated into the Protocol of Cultural Cooperation between the Commonwealth of Australia and the Republic of Italy, signed in December, 1994. The Committee comprises representatives of the Department of Education, Employment and Training, Co.As.It., the Catholic Education Commission and the Italian Consulate in Melbourne.

PALS and SALS

A major initiative that supports schools provide quality LOTE programs for students is the Primary and Secondary Access to Languages (PALS and SALS) Project which provides multimedia programs in 4 languages for Years 3-6 students and in 7 languages for VCE students. PALS and SALS programs comprise video tapes, audio tapes (PALS only), print material, and since 1999 CD-Roms for self-paced learning by students. By the end of 2000, multimedia PALS materials for four continuous years of LOTE study at the primary level will be available in French, German, Indonesian and Italian.

Co.As.It. support and funding has significantly enhanced the Italian Primary and Secondary Access to Languages programs by:
- establishing and maintaining a television studio at 189 Faraday Street, Carlton for the production of the Italian PALS and SALS programs at a reduced cost to the Department of Education, Employment and Training.
- providing a 0.6 staff member to provide native speaker support to the Italian PALS and SALS project team.
- maintaining and further improving the multimedia facilities at the Co.As.It Resource Centre.

LOTE Training and Retraining Program

DEET's LOTE Training and Retraining Program enables teachers to access credit-bearing tertiary courses at Victorian universities in a range of languages, including Italian and in LOTE methodology. The program assists the expansion and improvement of school programs through upgrading the language and language-teaching skills of existing language teachers and by enabling other teachers to gain approved

language-teaching qualifications. There are currently 66 teachers undertaking study at various levels in Italian through the LOTE Training and Retraining Program at a range of universities.

Places in LOTE Training and Retraining Program courses are free of tuition costs for teachers in government schools. Non-government schools' teachers can access courses either on a "user pays" basis, or with the support of the Association of Independent Schools of Victoria (AISV) or the Catholic Education Office (CEO). Opportunities for in-country study during the January school vacation are provided as part of the final year of LOTE studies. Up to 20 days study support is available for government school teachers.

In-country language courses for teachers of Italian

In-country study opportunities are an important means of enabling LOTE teachers to maintain and up-grade their language skills and courses are now available for teachers across a number of languages. Co.As.It funds up to 40 teachers of Italian from government and Catholic schools annually to undertake Italian studies at Perugia University for Foreigners during the Victorian school summer vacation.

Professional development

The LOTE, ESL and Multicultural Education Branch has a team of LOTE Consultants and Advisers who provide statewide professional development and other language-specific support and advice to teachers and schools, often working in collaboration with language specific subject associations and similar teacher support groups.

Two locally recruited Italian Consultants work in close collaboration with Co.As.It. and the Catholic Education Office to provide a comprehensive range of professional development activities for teachers in government and non-government schools. There is currently no Adviser of Italian appointed by the Italian Government.

The professional development activities provided by the Italian Consultants include residential language immersion workshops, literature reading groups, workshops to support primary, middle school and teachers of VCE Italian, Italian culture and methodology workshops and information technologies and Internet focused workshops, to name a few.

In 1999 the LOTE ESL and Multicultural Education Branch provided funding of $5000 to the Victorian Association of Teachers of Italian to support the provision of professional development activities for teachers in rural areas.

Substantial funding of $100,000 is also provided annually by Co.As.It towards these professional development activities. The Italian Consultants, the Catholic Education Office and Co.As.It. jointly plan, organise and conduct all professional development activities.

LOTE Awards for Teachers, School and Students

The LOTE Awards program conducted annually by the Department of Education, Employment and Training in collaboration with the Association of Independent Schools of Victoria and the Catholic Education Commission, and now in its fourth year, makes awards to outstanding LOTE teachers, students and schools. The LOTE Awards which are open to government and non-government teachers, students and schools, recognise and reward excellence in the teaching and learning of languages and are an important means of raising the profile of language learning within schools and the broader community.

Generous sponsorship provided by a number of partners, including Co.As.It., enables substantial prizes to be awarded in the following Award categories:

LOTE Teacher Awards

In 2000, Teacher Awards will be available for the following 10 languages - Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese. The winning teacher for each language will receive a return airfare to the relevant country, a two-week in-country language course, including meals and accommodation and a personal expenses allowance.

The winner of the Italian Teacher Award will receive an all-expenses-paid two week Italian language and culture course at Perugia University for Foreigners, Italy sponsored by the Italian Department of Foreign Affairs through Co.As.It., with some support also provided by the Victorian Association of Teachers of Italian. Co.As.It. also sponsors the teacher's return airfare to Italy.

Primary and Secondary School LOTE Promotion Awards

Primary schools are invited to submit a banner promoting the learning of languages other than English and secondary schools are invited to submit a poster, which highlights the career opportunities available to students with skills in languages other than English.

Co.As.It. is a major sponsor of these awards and provides sponsorship to the value of $5,000 for both the Primary and Secondary School LOTE Promotion Awards.

Year 10 LOTE Student In-country Scholarships

In recognition of the linguistic and cultural benefits to LOTE students of an in-country experience, 3-6 week study tour scholarships to China, France, Germany, Greece, Italy and Japan are available to promising Year 10 LOTE students who have not previously visited the relevant country.

Co.As.It. will sponsor two Year 10 Italian student scholarships in 2000, by providing return airfares to Italy, and all-expenses-paid study programs, including accommodation, in Perugia during the 2001 January school vacation period.

Year 10 LOTE student information Forums

With the aim of encouraging Year 10 students to continue their LOTE studies at VCE level, the LOTE, ESL and Multicultural Education Branch, will during 2000, present a series of LOTE-specific student information days open to all Victorian schools. The Year 10 Why Learn Italian? information day, which will be jointly presented by DEET and Co.As.It., will take place in August and will be presented in the form of an entertaining, yet persuasive concert involving young Australians who actively use the Italian language in their personal and professional lives. Career, study, cultural and commercial opportunities for those with Italian language skills will be highlighted. It is anticipated a wide range of sponsors will support this activity.

LOTE Grants to Schools

Each year, government primary schools and secondary colleges are invited to apply for LOTE Project and Resources grants. Project grants assist schools fund activities such as cultural days, curriculum development, transition projects between primary and secondary schools, sister-school relationships, student exchanges and study tours to countries where the LOTE is spoken. Resource grants are provided to assist schools to purchase teaching and student materials, audiovisual resources, computer software and the like. Schools are notified about the Grants Program through Victorian School News at the beginning of each school year.

Curriculum development

In recognition of the importance of providing innovative curriculum support materials which encourage teachers and students to extend their LOTE studies beyond the classroom, the LOTE, ESL and Multicultural Education Branch, has, in recent years, developed LOTE materials in collaboration with the Extension Education Services of the

National Gallery of Victoria, the Melbourne Zoo and the Botanic Gardens.

An Italian Kit, *Dove c'è arte …*, jointly funded and developed by DEET, Co.As.It. and Education Services of the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV) which will focus on the outstanding Italian art collection in the NGV's permanent collection, is currently being developed and will be available to schools during 2000.

An Italian Zoo kit funded by DEET and developed in collaboration with the Education Services of the Melbourne Zoo will also be developed during 2000.

Continued cooperation with agencies such as the National Gallery of Victoria, the Melbourne Zoo, the Museum of Victoria, the Botanic Gardens and the Immigration Museum in the development of LOTE teaching and learning materials will help teachers integrate LOTE across the curriculum rather than teaching it as a separate skill.

Italian Assistant Program

The Italian Assistants program, which is organised and funded by Co.As.It., provides invaluable support to Italian programs in Victorian schools by placing between 12 and 18 young Italian graduates annually in Government and Catholic schools which have Italian programs. Primary and secondary schools are invited to apply for an Assistant at the beginning of the school year to work alongside a qualified Italian teacher. Co.As.It., DEET and the CEO collaborate to place the Assistants in appropriate school clusters.

Italian Resource Centre

DEET provides an annual grant for the Co.As.It. Resource Centre which provides:
- curriculum and teaching materials for teachers of Italian
- a range of professional development activities for teachers of Italian
- advice and support services for teachers of Italian
- a venue for meetings and professional development activities for teachers of Italian.

LOTElinx-interactive language-specific web sites for teachers and students

The LOTElinx project was initiated and funded by the LOTE, ESL and Multicultural Education Branch to support the teaching and learning of LOTE and ESL through the use of learning technologies.

Grants have been made to language specific teacher associations to support the establishment of web sites. Representatives of 21 language-specific teachers associations, the MLTAV and VATME have undertaken professional development in setting up interactive WWW sites based on the highly successful Indolinx web site. Under this initiative the Victorian Association of Teachers of Italian was funded to develop the Italianlinx web site, which is linked to the Co.As.It. web site. In time, Italianlinx will provide teachers and students of Italian with a one-stop WWW support system by linking a broad range of information and internet sites of interest.

Students will be able to publish and exchange work, browse through papers and magazines from overseas, chat, correspond with pen pals, 'shop' in a Cybermall, add to interactive stories, take part in forums, view videos, and even listen to live radio in the target language. Teachers will be able to visit the page and linked sites around the world to draw on resources and lesson ideas as well as contribute material of their own.

Languages and Multicultural Education Resources Centre (LMERC)

The Languages and Multicultural Education Resources Centre (LMERC), situated in Richmond, is a resource centre that supports LOTE program and curriculum development in schools in Victoria through the provision of an extensive library/resource centre, a venue for professional development activities, and the sale of LOTE, ESL and multicultural education materials.

The LMERC library also provides borrowing facilities and reference-only materials for teachers and teacher trainees. The library has materials in 40 languages, a range of language dictionaries, periodicals relating to language teaching, pamphlets, clippings, articles and examples of school LOTE policy documents. The library also provides teachers with access to the Internet.

The librarian and assistants are available to assist LOTE teachers with database searches, selection and evaluation of resources, and information about suppliers. Bulk borrowing is also available through negotiation, and resources are mailed out to teachers in country areas who are unable to visit the centre. With more than 35,000 resources readily available, this library is one of the most extensive of its kind in Australia.

The Italian Language in Victorian Secondary Schools – Future Needs to Support Programs
Joseph Favrin

It has regularly been stated that the drop off rates in the number of students continuing with LOTE study at the post-compulsory level are particularly alarming. Italian appears to be no exception. In most schools the study of a LOTE is optional after years 9 or 10 with a smaller number of non-government schools still making it optional after year 8. Despite Government policies which support the teaching of LOTE, there has been little change in Italian enrolments at the VCE level for a number of years.

It needs to be said of course that what sells the value of any school subject is always the quality of the teaching and learning program within each school. This of course does not only depend on the LOTE teacher but on a whole series of factors within schools which can either be of support or can adversely effect the LOTE program. All Italian programs in secondary schools can greatly benefit from outside support in promoting the value and importance of the continued study of this language.

It would appear to make sense then that greater efforts need to be focussed on the promotion of languages before students have the option of discontinuing their study. If we examine the case of Italian, very little appears to be happening for students at the compulsory levels with the exception of a small number of projects.

The projects are:

- The provision of Italian language assistants for government and non-government schools. The number has declined significantly over the last few years but for the schools who have had access to Italian language assistants, their presence has had a very positive impact in most cases. This has been a joint venture through Co.As.It., Department of Education and CEO, 1995-2000
- Italian Promotion Seminar for students of Year 10 organised annually by VATI, 1997-2000;
- The availability of some Italian specific promotional material for distribution to parents, students, school communities produced by the Department of Education and available mainly to Government schools;

- The availability of limited funding for special LOTE projects again only for government schools through the Department of Education.

To my knowledge, apart from these initiatives there have been no other recent developments to assist schools teaching Italian. Any other efforts can only be credited to individual teachers of Italian who because of their enthusiasm and dedication have battled on to promote the value of continuing the learning of this language at the VCE level and beyond.

It is my belief that if financial assistance can be made available by those institutions and organisations which are involved in the promotion of the Italian language and culture here in Victoria, then other projects can be developed to enhance those already in existence with a view to significantly increasing enrolments in Italian at the post compulsory levels.

Possible Projects to Support the Teaching of Italian in Victorian Secondary Schools

Most learners of Italian in 2000 study this language as a foreign language and have little or no contact with the language or its culture outside of the normal school environment. Even learners with some Italian background now belong to the 2nd or 3rd generation and have little contact with the Italian language or a dialect.

In order for learners to be convinced of the value of maintaining and continuing with the study of Italian they need to come into contact with Italian speakers, understand the important links which exist between Italy and Australia and experience Italian life. The following projects attempt to examine ways in which this might be achieved.

Expansion of Italian Assistants Program

Having been fortunate enough to have had the opportunity of working with two Italian language assistants in my school in the last 4 years I can say that their presence has been invaluable to our Italian program.

A number of difficulties need to be addressed to improve this program.

Reduction in number of assistants

This year the number has been lowered to six assistants. Over the six years of this program fewer and fewer assistants have been coming out making it more difficult for schools to have access to their talents. The number of assistants available annually needs to increase to at least 12

in order for schools to have any hope of regular access. If primary schools are to continue to have assistants also then this number needs to increase further.

Selection of Assistants

Having spoken with a number of Italian assistants it is clear that more recent selection of who will participate in the program has been largely left to the Italian authorities. While I believe that there should be some input from Italy, I strongly believe that there should be an Australian presence on the selection panel which in fact has the final say. By this I mean one or more experienced secondary teacher(s) who has worked with assistants and who know what our Victorian schools need.

School eligibility to have assistants

At present a school which has had an assistant needs to wait two years before being eligible again for another. It is understandable that the assistants need to be shared amongst schools because of the low numbers available. If the numbers were to be increased then I would hope that eligibility could be reduced to every second year.

Travel Grants to Schools

Schools should be encouraged to organise student study trips to Italy. A number of schools are currently doing this but the main obstacle is having sufficient numbers of students whose families can afford to pay the required amount, which for a 3 week excursion is approximately $3500-$4500.

Grants to schools wishing to organise a study trip to Italy for students studying Italian could be made available annually to cover some of the expenses incurred by the students and teachers participating.

This would increase the possibility of more students experiencing the reality of Italy, its language and culture.

The criteria for selection of suitable schools should focus mainly on the extent to which students will be involved in the study of Italian and the planned development of language skills while on the excursion.

This should be deliberate to emphasise the need for teaching and learning to be built into the excursion to avoid it becoming a mere tourist holiday.

Homestay Programs

Schools can benefit greatly from hosting students from another school on a homestay program. Such programs with Italian schools are still rare. It is difficult to establish contact with Italian schools to the point that a reciprocal homestay program can be organized. Often the few programs that have been organised have come about because of the personal contacts teachers here have been able to make with a school in Italy. Unfortunately many teachers do not have such contacts making such a project impossible for their school.

This calls for Italian authorities here in Victoria with responsibilities for the Italian language to dedicate more time to establishing such contacts between schools in Australia and Italy and to advertise their willingness and ability to do so. The use of homestay programs also makes overseas travel more affordable with the need for payment for accommodation being reduced for at least a part of the overseas experience..

Travel Scholarships

A number of these could be made available to very capable students of Italian whose families are in financial difficulties and who would therefore not be able to afford payment of a trip to Italy.

In these cases the scholarship would pay all expenses for the trip. A limit to the number of these available to schools would need to be established, together with suitable criteria for eligibility.

Small Grants to Schools For Italian Promotion Initiatives

Schools should be encouraged to apply for small grants to finance Italian promotion initiatives particularly in Years 8-10. Such grants might support Italian camps, Italian days, excursions, Italian concerts, payment of guest speakers etc.

Expansion of the Italian Promotion Seminar Program

Currently only one seminar is offered to Year 10 students of Italian. The current venue only suits some schools. There is a need to offer at least two more seminars at around the same time to cover southern and eastern suburbs and at least another for country schools who find it almost impossible to attend. Financial support would need to be given to appoint an organiser for such events which currently rely on the good will of volunteers.

Expansion of the Italian VET and LOTE Project as part of the School Work Experience Program

This is the second year that the CEO has made this program available to a number of schools.

Most schools currently run a Work Experience program for students at Year 10. In the VET and LOTE program, local businesses and industry which make use of Italian are found and encouraged to take Work Experience students who are studying Italian. This is an excellent way of demonstrating to students the relevance of the language to possible career paths.

Such a program needs to be made available to both government and non-government schools.

Schools will require a support person who oversees the program to assist them in locating suitable work placements and the preparation of students.

Development of More Promotional Material

More promotional material needs to be developed and made available to all schools to assist with the promotion of this language. This material should include brochures, posters, worksheets and videos. The material needs to be updated regularly to ensure relevance.

Appointment of Italian Promotion Officers

For the proposals outlined above and any others to succeed they need to be expertly managed by competent personnel employed to oversee these and other initiatives. The appointment of one or more Italian Promotion Officers on a full or part time basis would ensure that the initiatives had every possibility of succeeding. These duties cannot be given to volunteers who usually do not have the time or required energy to attend to all the requirements.

Establishment of a Centre for the Promotion of the Italian Language and Culture

It is essential that an area needs to be set aside either separate to or within existing organisations for the promotion of the Italian language and culture in secondary schools. This would be the area from which those responsible for the promotion of the Italian language and culture would operate and where schools could directly seek support and advice.

There are I am sure many other ways in which the future of Italian can be supported. This list is not intended to be exhaustive but is based on my personal experience of having been involved in the teaching of Italian at the secondary level over the past 24 years.

Ritorno alle Origini
Maryclare E. Cassisi.

"You need to know where you have been to know where you are going"

The involvement of the Italian-Australian youth in the Italian-Australian community is of paramount importance to ensure future expression of Italian culture, heritage and tradition within our multicultural Australia.

One of the most important priorities for Italian Australian youth is to preserve and protect the value of our heritage on to the Australian community. This will enable the Australian public to become increasingly aware of the contributions that Italians and their descendants have made to the fabric of Australian history and present society.

The tales of yesteryear detailing the migrant struggle and the typical Italian traditions that are still practised today have added much clout to Australia as a multicultural society. It is the Italian-Australian youth who have the responsibility to keep these tales and traditions alive to enable that future generations enjoy the richness and diversity in culture that we have experienced. We need to strive to ensure that the achievements of our ancestors are acknowledged, while endeavoring to plough forward and continue to create a 'positive' stigma and impact in Australia for Italian-Australians alike. We must not be selfish, we need to keep the Italian Australian spirit and culture alive, although it is not easy, it will be worth it in the long run. In retrospect perhaps this is only good in theory.

Assimilation

The assimilation policy was proceeding satisfactorily: Anglo-Australians desired and insisted that migrants should assimilate, and their desire was sufficient grounds for them to believe that migrants were assimilating without too much difficulty. Italian children received the wisdom of assimilation through a variety of discourses. One came via the school which encouraged children to speak only English. On the other hand, Italian parents were doing all within their power to ensure that their children, while learning English at school, would continue to speak Italian or the dialect at home. For Italian migrants in Australia,

maintenance of the Italian language was seen not only as a link between the first and second generation but also a link between Italian and Australian cultures, especially as their children were assimilating into the Anglo-Australian society.[1] Contrary to the assimilist argument that maintenance of the Italian language would hinder assimilation into Australian society, the second generation provides the links between themselves and the first generation, and between the Italian and Anglo-Australian and other ethnic communities. There is some evidence, however, that language maintenance is being diluted or lost with the third generation Italo-Australians, though the extent of this loss requires systematic inquiry.

To be one…

There is a greater divide between second generation and third generation Italian-Australians as a group. There is a spectrum of multicultural influences, which impact on them, whether at home, at school or interacting with peers, there is significant pressure to forego their heritage and assimilate into the Australian culture and the Italian language and culture becomes one more removed

The Australian community, even if it is multicultural in essence, persists with a strong contrary cultural tradition pressure, thus to maintain traditional cultural values is difficult, as there is a strong pressure to assimilate. We are not saying that to assimilate is negative to our own culture and tradition, although it is important to recognise, promote and celebrate the Italian culture as well.

The diffusion of Italian culture in Australia has made great progress, since the large-scale arrivals of Italians after the Second World War. This has seen the establishment of various entities and clubs that aim to deal with relations within the Australian community and also Italian regions and governmental bodies. There are a number of groups who simply offer a bridge between the two cultures. Theses groups have existed for some time and have assisted in the maintenance of the Italian culture. Societies such as the Dante Alighieri, Italian Institute of Culture, Co.As.It. and the newly formed Italian Australian Institute just to name a few.

Much work has been done by previous Italian/Australian governments, it is now our (by our, I mean the second and third generations, us) to take control and do what our forefathers did, to create a society of successful young Italian Australians for future generations to have pride in.

<u>Youth Impression.</u>

It is important to note that the new generation of Italo-Australian youth have a self-identity as being both Italian and Australian. Why? Let us face it, why not? Being Italian is belonging to something, having an identity. It may be due to the reason of their ancestry that has forcibly shaped much of their early childhood identity. Most young people see themselves as Italian Australians because of their mixture of Italian and Australian values and experiences. Moreover there is pride in being an Italian for the impact that Italy has had on the world arena with regard to innovations, technology, fashion, cuisine, art, music and the list goes on.

What the society of today is saying is to be able to share a cultural background with those of other cultures and in turn learn to appreciate theirs. This is a sharing experience of multiculturalism, this has worked towards a climate of tolerance of one another, acceptance and of breaking down barriers.

Where to now! Our future is to fund and assist cultural and educational conferences such as this one. We should look at developing programs, communications and resources to help young Italian Australians learn about their heritage. Provide educational, social, career development and community service programs so that young Italian Australians can integrate their heritage into their personal and professional lives. To create opportunities in inter-relationships, mentoring, networking and employment for young Italian Australians. To foster and support Italian clubs and Italian programs and actually promote youth visits to Italy.

<u>Identity</u>

Concern with the second generation is a relatively recent phenomenon, which has emerged as more and more Italo-Australian children have been through the Australian school system. There is a profound quotation from a young man: "My Italianness stood out in me as if I were wearing a constant sign […] I even started believing the images that they, the Australians, had of my culture, and if they made fun of it, I would find myself laughing with them rather than defending myself. To be accepted, I was agreeing with their comments and ideas about my culture, and family: my nonna wore black, my parents had an accent, and I have garlic breath, I have spaghetti for breakfast, my father was considered a mafia godfather, my uncle owned a fruit shop […]"[2] These are the images that we now see so often in movies or hear comedians using to make entertainment.

Some fear that the second generation has become so well assimilated that their sense of Italian identity and culture will disappear. Despite the ambivalence the second generation experiences in operating within the Italian and Anglo-Australian cultures, they have developed double cultural competences, and can represent their communities in a variety of ways. Ethnicity is thus continually negotiated, and remains a source of transformation for second generation and further generations to come.

<u>Where to now?</u>

Our generation, the 2nd or 3rd and all the next should satisfy the urge to know where they have been in order to know where they are going. They should try embrace all that is Italian, which with globalisation is becoming easily accessible. We should all be products of our cultural roots in establishing an Australian of the future with a broad outlook and an understanding of tolerance across all cultures and races.

"We know where we are going because we know where we came from."

Notes

[1] Castles, S. Alcorso, C. *Australia's Italians,* Allen & Unwin. Sydney.1992 p156
[2] Castles, S. Alcorso, C. *Australia's Italians,* Allen & Unwin. Sydney.1992 p164i

Italian Studies in the Secondary Schools of the New Millennium - Educating the New Italian-Australians

Peter Iagnocco

I can recall the first warning signs in 1993 when I was completing my Honours degree in Italian Studies at The University of Melbourne. Up to that point, the Italian Department occupied a whole floor of the Babel Building and had its own library in which I would sit for hours perusing Italian literature or translating the notoriously difficult newspaper articles we had been given. Later that year, while the Italian Club was meeting for pizza and the music of Eros Ramazzotti (!) we were informed by lecturers that due to cuts in funding, the Italian Department was to be moved upstairs to join the French Department and would consequently also lose its library. Italian Studies were a natural part of my life and naively enough, I never thought that they would ever come under any threat given that I had enjoyed learning Italian for many years both at school and at home. The following year, I learned that my high school was phasing Italian out of the curriculum altogether due to diminishing numbers; well that was the last straw! What on earth was going on?! Would Italian still be taught in secondary schools and in tertiary institutions in ten years' time? What would be the fate of Italian in the years ahead? In short, prospects did not look good for Italophiles.

This paper will examine Italian Studies in secondary schools and the vital part it plays in the maintenance, promotion and teaching of the Italian language and culture in Australia. Indeed secondary schools are home to the 'new Italian-Australians', a generation of young people of both Italian and non-Italian origin who need to be given the best possible chance at developing a life-long love for the Italian language and culture that goes beyond the classroom. To this end Xavier College has established a "Centre of Excellence in Italian" and has embarked upon a five-year plan for the study and promotion of the Italian language and culture. This is an important and unique initiative in language teaching and is indicative of a renewed interest in and enthusiasm for the study of Italian in secondary schools.

A personal reflection of Italian in Secondary Schools

In April 1999, State, Territory and Commonwealth Ministers of Education met in Adelaide and drew up a set of National Goals for

Schooling in the Twenty-First Century, known as The Adelaide Declaration. Languages other than English (LOTE) is identified as one of the eight key learning areas of a "comprehensive and balanced curriculum".[1] Thus, commitment to the teaching of the Italian language in theory has been reinforced at the very highest levels of government. In addition, I offer the following statistics: Italy is Australia's thirteenth largest world trading partner and tenth largest world source of imports[2]; and, despite the fact that at the present time the migration rate for Italians to Australia stands at zero, Italian is still Australia's second most widely spoken language other than English, with 367,290 respondents to the 1996 national census citing Italian as a language spoken at home, with Asian languages running a close third at 323,955 and Greek, fourth at 259,019.[3] But I think there are more valuable reasons for maintaining and encouraging the study of Italian in secondary schools. The Italian language is inextricably linked to its culture and its diffusion therefore depends on the diffusion of the Italian culture. Schools are places where Italian culture can thrive given their dynamic nature and the emphasis that is placed therein on the cultural development of young people. I believe the battle must be fought at the secondary school level given the cuts to funding to and in some cases virtual decimation of Italian Studies in Australian Universities and institutions of higher learning. Logically enough, if there are no secondary students progressing to Italian studies at the tertiary level then Italian will not be studied at the level required to maintain a strong linguistic and cultural presence in the professional sectors. This will then have an impact on the teaching of Italian in schools as teachers of Italian will simply not have the linguistic skills needed to provide quality language education and the solid entry point into Italian language and culture required for students undertaking Italian Studies for the first time. What has happened at the tertiary level is in some ways indicative of recent trends. Throughout the seventies and early eighties the Italian department at The University of Melbourne boasted more enrolments than any other language. Italian Studies were booming but according to the politics of the day, Italian was getting too big for its boots, and there began I believe the systematic reduction of Italian in favor of so called 'priority languages' and consequently the gradual withdrawal of funding and support. Given this state of affairs and the need to safeguard and guarantee the provision of Italian studies in primary, secondary and tertiary education, Italian programs will need to look to other sources of funding and support. I believe this lies in the very community that will ultimately benefit from the increased profile of Italian studies in schools.

Schools need to look beyond curriculum programs and develop real links with all sectors of the Italian Australian community and with their valuable resources and connections to Italy. In short all sectors of the Italian-Australian community have to come to the party and invest in Italian programs in schools, in the professional development of teachers and in the opportunities afforded to students. It was disconcerting to read in *Il Globo* on Monday [22nd May] that the Italian Government has in fact decided to slash funding to programs which support the teaching of the Italian language in Australia, and it remains to be seen what direct impact this will have on secondary schools.

Schools have the perfect opportunity to promote and celebrate the Italian arts if they see and encourage the study of Italian as a serious academic pursuit worth investing in, and the Italian community has the resources, links with Italy and motivation to provide funding and support. Italian businesses, media, and affiliate institutes can all build on the positive contributions already made to Australian society by supporting, publicising and lobbying for Italian language programs in schools. Italian-Australian youth clubs also have the potential to encourage young people to celebrate Italian culture and whilst this happens to some extent, the image of Italy that is portrayed in these groups and the activities organised are perceived as catering for select cliques and can actually be culturally alienating.

Italian cultural institutions should also seek to forge links with secondary schools and factor into their programming some activities and cultural initiatives aimed at young people and at generating interest for all things Italian. These secondary school students are, after all, the future clientele of Italian cultural functions and supporters of the Italian arts in this country and should be encouraged to enjoy the Italian culture through activities of interest and relevance to them.

In the past fifteen years, primary schools have enjoyed spectacular growth in the teaching of Italian which has not necessarily followed on into secondary schools, often resulting in diminishing numbers of students learning Italian. Whilst a damning article in The Australian [1st May] reported that "students' early enthusiasm for languages in primary school is not translating to secondary school, much less through to formal Year 12 qualifications", Board of Studies statistics reveal that Italian in comparison with other languages is maintaining a modest retention rate in years eleven and twelve. Despite this glimmer of hope, the profile of Italian studies undoubtedly needs to be lifted if Italian is to be selected by more students as their second or third language.

In primary schools Italian is at the very least promoted as a fun and dynamic language through a variety of engaging creative cultural and linguistic activities despite divided opinions on their effectiveness. In secondary schools however, Italian, like all languages, more often than not takes a back seat to the pressures of choosing subjects geared towards a specific career and according to notions of usefulness and practicality. Therefore as students progress through their secondary schooling, they are not sufficiently encouraged to incorporate a LOTE into their studies or to cultivate it as a life-long learning process of personal benefit. Effective language learning is context driven and must be meaningful in its content; therefore a LOTE must form a real part of the core curriculum in schools. Languages should be at the heart and soul of a curriculum, and in fact, bilingual education is the vehicle through which learning should be channeled. Bilingual education in itself is generally perceived as something for the 'too hard' basket and is as contentious as it is common sense. The more a student is immersed in authentic realia and good language models the more he/she will learn and want to learn. Real bilingual education in secondary schools might well be a way off, but how close are we getting to it in terms of the way we are currently teaching Italian?

I believe a critical review of the teaching of Italian in schools is needed in order to create the language-skills base required to communicate effectively with Italy in the new millennium. Firstly, the teaching of Italian must be done in Italian and by teachers who have been provided with sufficient opportunities for professional development in Italy and on a regular basis. I have heard many a horror story about the teaching of Italian conducted for the most part in English and the lack of professional development of teachers. As teachers, how many of us read an Italian newspaper or pick up an Italian novel or invest in a trip to Italy every few years? How many of us proactively engage with the Italian arts that we claim to love so much? As teachers we need to ensure that we maintain and constantly improve our own linguistic skills and ensure that this forms part of an ongoing process of professional development. Italian, like all languages, is not a stagnant language and the Italian culture does not only consist of the usual stereotypes perpetuated by society and unfortunately reflected by many of the Italian courses in our schools. As teachers of Italian we must be prepared to invest in our own professional development, and we must provide contemporary and vibrant programs that draw not only on the artistic and cultural heritage of Italy and but also on the Italy of today in relation to Europe and the world at large.

Every opportunity for communication in Italian needs to be exploited in our classrooms given that for most of our students, the classroom is their only contact with Italian and therefore it should provide them with an environment in which to hear, speak, read and write Italian. More viable teacher exchange programs, increased access to scholarships and language courses in Italy, the placement of more language assistants in our schools and the opportunities for increased language maintenance of teachers of Italian would ultimately lead to more qualified and linguistically competent teachers. This is crucial, as the teacher's own linguistic competence and passion for

Italian should be reflected in the students' learning and in their attitude towards the study of Italian and should also provide the impetus for the students' own motivation. Teachers of Italian are in essence ambassadors for the Italian language and culture. We are on the front line of the battle for the propagation of the Italian language in this country, and the survival of the Italian language as anything other than a disappearing community language or novelty language depends on us. In short, our love for the Italian language and culture must be translated into good teaching practice.

Teachers of Italian also need to better cater for students of Italian descent for whom standard Italian or a dialect is spoken at home albeit sporadically. There needs to be a more accurate targeting of these young people of Italian origin at all levels of instruction with appropriate programs and resources to ensure the continued development of linguistic skills outside and beyond the family environment. Teaching does not always take the special requirements of these students into consideration but is directed more towards second-language learning rather than to mother-tongue development. These students need to be encouraged both at home and at school to embrace their heritage and to speak Italian at home as much as possible. Some of these students may have inherited a sense of discomfort because of the particular dialect spoken at home and the perception that it is not 'real' Italian. This is a source of distress, discouragement and often embarrassment for many young people of Italian origin who feel that they would rather not communicate in Italian for example with their grandparents who speak a sort of 'funny' and strange Italian. At a recent parent/teacher interview session at school, parent after parent of Italian origin informed me that Italian was not spoken at home because their children couldn't understand their grandparents' dialect, and for this reason they didn't perceive themselves as speaking good Italian. All dialects are a starting point for learning standard Italian and we need to encourage all young

Italian Australians to integrate their formal study of the language into any other Italian that might be spoken at home or between family members.

<u>The New Italian Australians</u>

The Italian culture is a universal one, a culture that celebrates the inherent beauty in all of the arts, and in studying the Italian language, students can make forays into Italian culture and cultivate them even beyond school. These are the young people I term the "new Italian-Australians", that is to say, all students who are capable of developing an interest in the Italian language and culture. According to recent statistics, the second generation of Italians in Australia now considerably outnumbers the first generation by 100,000 and is concentrated in the age bracket between fifteen and thirty-four years of age.[4] Is the second generation and in some cases the third embracing its Italian roots and learning to speak Italian? Sadly, a great number of Australians of Italian descent are not. It will not be long before the first generation of Italians will be gone altogether and then who will speak Italian? Will it still exist even as a community language? Will it still have any business being part of a school curriculum? As long as Italian is studied in schools and adopted by these "new Italian-Australians" as a desirable language, a language of personal growth and cultural development then it will continue to be a part of Australian cultural life. In the mid '80s, a "motivational investigation" conducted by the *Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana* found that about three million people were actively studying Italian in the world.[5] This figure has undoubtedly increased dramatically given the multi-million dollar foreign language school industry that exists in Italy today. More and more Australians are travelling to Italy on specialised study tours or are incorporating study as a part of a holiday. Closer to home, Italian language courses for adults in Melbourne are also well frequented by a diverse mix of people with varied reasons and motivations for studying the language. In most cases, these students are spurred on by a developing interest in Italian Studies, which they also hope will take them to Italy on more than just a rented-villa-in-Tuscany holiday. The future of Italian in this country lies with all Australians who are able to adopt the Italian language and culture, make them their own and integrate them into their other interests.

<u>Xavier College's Centre of Excellence in Italian</u>

In a paper published in 1989, Bruno Di Biase wrote of the possibility of "Centres of Excellence in Italian" being created to provide for

specialist, quality bilingual education in secondary schools.[6] Earlier this year saw the inauguration at Government House of Xavier College's "Centre of Excellence in Italian", a unique initiative in Australian school language teaching, made possible by the generosity of the Italian Government, Co.As.It., members of the Italian Australian community and the *Fondazione Cassamarca* of Treviso. Xavier College has embarked on a five-year plan for the study and promotion of the Italian language as a major specialisation of the College from the point of view of language, commerce and culture. The Centre will provide the study of Italian with a high level of exposure and will be a focus in the community for the promotion, discussion and dissemination of Italian language and culture. Xavier College currently offers Italian from Years Seven to Twelve with the introduction of Italian at Years Seven and Eight taking place only last year. The five-year plan for the development of the Centre however, has as its primary goal a total enrolment of five hundred students across the school in five years by giving Italian a higher public profile as part of the College's external relations. With the creation of an Early Learning Centre and Prep-through-Four classes to commence in 2002, Xavier College will ideally be offering Italian from Prep through to Year Twelve, thus ensuring an uninterrupted stream of Italian Studies from the early years straight through to Year Twelve. Bilingual education will also be incorporated into these early years of learning as language acquisition is gained more easily by children when they are young and in a linguistically rich environment. As I mentioned before, bilingual education is the only real hope and best chance that students have of starting down the path of oral fluency and written proficiency.

In addition to the teaching of Italian, the Centre will also support and promote Italian studies in the context of the wider community and will forge links with various cultural organisations such as the Italian Institute of Culture to organise and host public lectures, cultural evenings, concerts, exhibitions and other initiatives. Last year, in conjunction with the Italian Institute of Culture, Xavier College presented an Italian cultural evening which featured Italian music, drama, and poetry performed by students, staff and guest artists. We see these initiatives as expanding Xavier's in school Italian program to include other organisations and members of the Italian community and to involve itself in the cultural life of that very community.

The Centre will also see the expansion of our student exchange programs and the introduction of a staff exchange program and resident teacher program. Our current student exchange programs consist of a three-month stay for eight boys at the Istituto Leone in Milan and a three-month stay at the Istituto Massimo in Rome for four boys. In turn, Xavier College hosts the Italian students from these schools. They always manage to endear themselves to everyone, providing a certain buzz around the school and a unique insight into Italy for our students. Our boys who travel to Italy stay with host families, attend school and enjoy the invaluable experience of being fully immersed in the Italian language and culture.This program will gradually become available to more students and next year will see the first of our annual study tours to Italy, which will be open to students from Years Nine to Eleven. Direct student interaction with Italy and the Italian language is the fundamental goal of the program and this will also be promoted through staff exchanges and a Resident Teacher Program. To ensure that students are given the best Italian language learning environment here in Australia, teachers of Italian will be encouraged to embark upon ongoing professional development through visits to Italy and by engaging in specialist studies. Similarly, in the not too distant future we will invite a resident teacher from Italy for a period of one to two terms each year. The role of the Resident Teacher will be to bring the advantages of a native speaker's up-to-date connection to Italy and its culture to the teaching of Italian in the college and to the promotion of Italy in the community. Short-term specialist teaching for the students and inservicing for staff by a senior teacher from Italy will subsequently be offered. As a step towards bilingual education in our school, Xavier College ran the first of its Language Immersion Camps last year at its Buxton camp. The four-day camp was attended by VCE students from Xavier College, St. Michael's Grammar and Melbourne Girls' Grammar and was a great success judging by the positive feedback received from the students. They basically had no choice but to communicate in Italian, much to their frustration at times! It was truly a celebration of all things Italian as students engaged with the language through various language activities, role plays, monologues, cooking sessions, a soccer match and even rock climbing which was also conducted in Italian. Language Immersion Camps provide a natural non-threatening setting and meaningful contexts in which to be exposed to authentic language models and in which to communicate in Italian. Annual Language Immersion Camps will no doubt pave the way for more ongoing bilingual education in the classroom itself and provide students not only

from Xavier but from other interested schools with the chance to experience a little bit of Italy not so far away from home.

Xavier College has also made available a number of scholarships for both needy students and students who demonstrate a prodigious aptitude for Italian studies. This initiative will ultimately give Italian studies at Xavier a broader academic focus and will create a culture in which Italian studies form a valued part of the school curriculum. It will also stimulate a climate of competition among students that can lead to enhanced quality of student work and involvement in all aspects of the Italian language program.

Bilingual education, cultural evenings, concerts, exhibitions, student and staff exchange programs, Resident Teacher Programs, Language Immersion Camps, study tours to Italy, scholarships for Italian Studies, where could all of this ultimately lead? Xavier's long-term plan is for the establishment of a campus in Italy. Before you doubt whether such a thing is possible, imagine the profound benefits to a language program and of the potential for student and staff exchanges, study tours to Italy and of the permanent and immediate window on Italy for the entire school community. As a way of facilitating continuous links between our students and their Italian counterparts, we will also be investing in new communications technologies such as videoconferencing, satellite link ups, email, ICQ real time chats and the exchange of information through web sites. Cyberspace is just waiting to be exploited for the benefits of language programs and already offers a proliferation of engaging interactive Italian web sites and hyperlinks for students to explore. Whilst a campus in Italy may well be some time off, it is an achievable goal and will ensure not only the survival of the Italian language and culture in Australia but also the maintenance of a constant and enduring link with Italy in the new global world.

In this paper I have merely scratched the surface of complex issues regarding Italian studies in secondary schools and have also sought to identify "the new Italian-Australians" who could be ready to take up the challenge of keeping Italian not only alive in schools but in Australian society as a whole. I have also outlined Xavier College's commitment to the study of Italian in the form of its newly instituted Centre of Excellence in Italian Studies and its vision for the study of Italian in secondary schools. The Italian language and arts have given so much to Australia and have been so instrumental in the cultural and intellectual development of this country that a future Australia without Italophiles both young and old, would be like an ungrateful gesture to a people and culture that have given the best of themselves for the benefit of a young

and developing country. If schools and the Italian-Australian community can join together to support the teaching of Italian then the new millennium and beyond will see a timely rinascimento of all things Italian.

Notes

[1] www.curriculum.edu.au/mceetya/nationalgoals
Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs
[2] Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics
[3] Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics
[4] Paulin. E (1999) Portrait of the Italian-Australian as a young person
Millennio: Periodico culturale del Co.As.It. di Melbourne, Anno 3 – Numero 3
[5] Simone, R (1989) The International Destiny of Italian
Understanding Italy, An Australian Perspective, Frederick May Foundation For Italian Studies
[6] Di Biase, B (1989) Italian in Australian Schools and Universities
Understanding Italy, An Australian Perspective, Frederick May Foundation For Italian Studies

Old South/New South: Southern Italians in Australia.
Elida Meadows

Not long ago at a social function I was introduced to a man who teaches music at a university in Sydney. He professed a great love of Italy and all things Italian and for a few moments we had a very pleasant conversation on this topic of mutual interest. Then he leaned towards me and said confidentially, "Of course, the real Italians are from the North."

I was surprised although I had heard this or something similar many times before. But where once such a sentiment would have rendered me speechless and all too aware of my "inferior" Southern ancestry, this time I was able to make a response. I had finally spent some time researching the backgrounds of my parents and so I was able to tell this man that the word Italy was derived from the name of certain pre-Roman Southern tribes. "If anything," I said, "the real Italians are Southerners."

Nonetheless, I have never been very comfortable with notions of ownership or authenticity. I am not sure I know what it means to be a "real" anything, but I am interested in how this idea of Southerners as not being "real Italians" originated and, more pertinently, why it is still being propounded in Australia today.

Every country has its own national mythology which serves many purposes – too numerous to go into now. But amongst them may be to promote the country in question as a great travel destination or a viable place in which to invest. Accordingly, Italian national mythology promotes a consumer product which is 'Italy' as a place abounding in both natural and cultural beauty, a place where Roman and Renaissance monuments and artifacts sit side by side with the ultimate in modern design and technology. I could go on. At this point, however, it becomes clear that the South, the deep South in particular, does not fit into this myth. There are countless sources today - books, cooking programs, videos, films which celebrate this Italy of the myth. The South features very little or nowhere within them. When the South is referred to, it is usually in terms of disparagement.

Such is the denial of the South, that even its history is ignored by the national myth. It is surely not overstating the fact to say that part of Italy's international reputation is built on the histories of the Romans

and the Renaissance. These histories are marketable products that help "sell" Italy to the tourist. The South, with its ancient Greek history featuring what are arguably iconic phenomena, such as Scylla and Charybdis and the Fata Morgana, the city of the Sybarites and the place where the adult Pythagoras lived and taught - and more - is denied even its historical significance. To cast one's gaze at it today, even in search of an idealised past, would be to confront several unpalatable issues - issues which perhaps have more to do with the global North/South divide than with mere Italian regionalism.

In his much-quoted work, *Mythologies,* the French philosopher Roland Barthes asserts that myth transforms history into nature.[1] Throughout its modern history, the South has remained poverty and crime ridden. Many analysts have suggested causes, both geographical and historical for this situation, but it is in the reductionist character of the national myth to ignore all of these and to assert that the South is in such a condition because Southerners are by nature "inferior". They are therefore not "real Italians".

From the Northern perspective the claim of being "real Italians" is a way of claiming an identity that is European rather than Mediterranean. Eurocentric universalism, as described by many post-colonial theorists, takes for granted the superiority of the West, whilst rendering inferior that which is not. The Italian South – the deep South - is too close to this 'other' identity. One travel writer noted in 1968:

"And still you cannot escape the sensation, when you venture towards Calabria, of straying into lost territory, of crossing an invisible frontier into a land which breathes the perfumes of Arabia, or at least a bouquet d'Afrique."[2]

This observation, not an unusual one even today, may be the answer to the kind of "border panic" which is engendered in the North by characteristics of the South which seem to have more in common with the Levant than Europe.

In his seminal work, Orientalism, Edward Said identifies a tendency in the Western mind to create, in representations of the East, what one commentator describes "as a repository or projection of those aspects of themselves which Westerners do not choose to acknowledge (cruelty, sensuality, decadence, laziness and so on)."[3] This position renders the people of the East homogenous, non-individuated, their actions deemed to be "determined by instinctive emotions (lust, terror, fury, etc) rather than by conscious choices or decisions."[4] Furthermore, "their emotions and reactions are always determined by racial considerations (they are like this because they are asiatics or blacks or orientals)."[5]

Or "terroni". Remarkable how Southern Italians have been similarly popularly portrayed.

The Southern Question, as it has been referred to, is not only the problem of regions that remain mired in an inglorious history of feudalism and misery - despite all attempts to redeem them - but also the problem of a South that does not reflect the image Northern Italians may want for their country. The negative image of Southerners that this phenomenon promotes has not remained confined to the Italian peninsula but has travelled with Italian immigrants to Australia.

As early as the late nineteenth century, the Queensland government debated the desirability of allowing Italians into the state to work in the sugar cane industry. The upshot was a decision that only Northern Italians were suitable. According to a book by Nino Randazzo and Michael Cigler:

"No further demonstration is needed to show that the discrimination between north and south Italy in Australian immigration policy, had its roots in that uncivilised debate in the Queensland parliament almost a century ago."[6]

Similar debates followed in other states, but by the early 1950s Australia was experiencing mass migration from Southern Europe - due mainly to economic imperatives on both sides. The notion of the superiority of the Northerner, however, remained. A Department of Immigration report of the time stated that "the Southern Italian has never been held in as high esteem as the Northerner. It has been found that generally he is not as good a type physically or mentally."[7] The Assisted Passage Scheme of the time was consciously aimed at the more 'Alpine', or 'Northern', or 'Aryan' category. According to an interview with an official of the time:

"The strictest selection criteria were applied to Southern European countries […] and they were applied in particular to unassisted migrants. Such things as height, skin colour, "completeness" if a person had one joint of a finger amputated or cut off or something like that, that was enough for them to be rejected […] there was a marked preference for Northerners [as opposed to] Southern Italians."[8]

The idea of the 'superiority' of the Northern Italian has been reinforced over time through a variety of sources and is not simply evident in documents relating to official government immigration policy. It was even reflected in Australian fiction, as documented by Roslyn Pesman Cooper in an article which examined the period from 1900 to 1950. In this article she wrote:

"Italians are by no means represented as inferior people not to be taken seriously but everywhere, including in writing where racist attitudes are parodied and criticised, it is taken as unquestioned dogma that there are two kinds of Italian, northern and southern, and that the latter are not acceptable."[9]

It is difficult to comprehend the idea that one could be considered 'not acceptable', while at the same time being 'by *no means* [my italics] represented as inferior'. Especially as one of the texts quoted is Eve Langley's novel *The Pea Pickers,* in which a Calabrian character is described as "short and dark with a simian face, who moved the heavy lower part of his face with animal rapidity and looked as though he might spring at my throat and not even feel that he was doing it."[10] At the very least, this could certainly be described as a depiction of animal baseness, particularly as in another of Langley's books, *White Topee,* an Italian from the north is described in somewhat more flattering terms. This is the character Domenico, "this Alexandrian from the cold north, a supple man intent on power, with his fine mocking mouth, aristocratic smile and slender hooked nose."[11].

There exists a wide variety of sources containing descriptions of the preference, overt or implied, for Northern Italians as 'superior'. The authors of many of these, however, often stop short of acknowledging the consequent reinforcement of a Southern stereotype and its implications for Southern Italians in Australia. This kind of coyness is also evident in a 1977 study by Rina Huber. She documents Northern immigrants' perceptions of the 'inferiority' of the Calabresi in their community and yet notes, somewhat dangerously, that "Southerners tended to be touchy about their origin"[12], quoting a Calabrese as claiming to have come from somewhere south of Rome.

It would surely have been more surprising to have found no such sensitivity. Southerners and their children have been faced again and again with the unpalatable stereotypes of the 'meridionali'. To this day, there are ample examples to be found - simply too many to document within the framework of this paper. Look in travel books, *La Fiamma,* talk to Italians[13]. What sort of identity are Southern Italians claiming when acknowledging their backgrounds?

Italian migrants to Australia have come from a country which is still struggling with the concept of unification. A country where the main perceived block to a sense of cohesive nationhood is the problem of the South. They have migrated to a country with, in effect, no national identity. In his essay, "Inventing Australia" Richard White has suggested that all versions of an Australian national identity are inventions,

"artificially imposed upon a diverse landscape and population, and a variety of untidy social relationships, attitudes and emotions."[14]

Indeed, all versions of national identity everywhere – including (and perhaps especially) in the so-called 'Old World' - can be said to be inventions. The 'nation' as a social construction is a relatively modern invention and a highly unstable entity. On the other hand, the construction of the nation as a somehow 'natural' phenomenon is a powerful tool in the operation of the hegemonic state.

"This myth of nationhood, masked by ideology, perpetuates nationalism, in which specific identifiers are employed to create exclusive and homogenous conceptions of national traditions. Such signifiers of homogeneity always fail to represent the diversity of the actual 'national' community for which they purport to speak, and, in practice, usually represent and consolidate the interests of the dominant power groups within any national formation."[15]

For the second generation of Italians in Australia this has created a challenge that might appear problematic at the very least. To begin with, this generation has had to struggle to secure some kind of Australian identity. This was almost impossible in the 50s and 60s when assimilationist policies deemed *Australian* identity British and the insistence was on an exclusionary myth of national unity. With the official adoption of multiculturalism in the 70s, it became at least nominally easier, but in reality it was probably in the aftermath of the immigration debates of the 80s that children of Italian immigrants were finally able to define themselves as 'Australian'. And only then because it was during that period that Australian identity came to mean 'not Asian' as opposed to 'British only' or "British and Northern European". Turning its attention to the Italian part of its heritage, this second generation might easily conclude that Italian identity may often mean "not Southern Italian".

In a 1992 publication called *Italians in Australia* a group of academics pondered the question of cultural change and concluded, amongst other things, that:

"The challenge for multicultural policies today is to ensure that pressures within established ethnic groups (including Italo-Australians) to maintain cultural integrity do not lead to a new eurocentric conservatism, that excludes Asians and Aborigines."[16]

This challenge is one facing individuals within ethnic groups, not just policy makers. Italo-Australians need also to go beyond the eurocentric view that is often held by those from the North of Italy to the detriment of those from the South. Until Italians in Australia can cross the

North/South divide that has followed them from the old country, they will hardly be well-equipped to practice a politics of inclusion which embraces "non-European" within the definition of an Australian identity.

The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci[17] elaborated a theory of hegemony which examined the idea that the individual is moulded into a vehicle of consent and conformity by means of the sociocultural institutions created by the ruling classes. The objective of the hegemonic state is to establish its own point of view as 'common sense'. In the current climate of market-driven globalisation, it is the market place rather than the state which sets the agenda, which decides what is and is not "common sense". In Italy there is evidence that many Southerners have turned their backs on their Southern roots and embraced the ideology of the federalist - and at worst, secessionist – extremists of the industrial North. One journalist describes the new world view as:

"The East-West conflict is over, and the centralized state's role as protector of the nuclear peace has withered. These are the new European faultlines: North versus South. Rich versus poor. Old versus new."[18]

In the same article he goes on to quote an Italian colleague who writes about youth culture. The Italian journalist asserts that "no one is more fanatic about supporting the Lega [the Northern League] than the children of the southern immigrants. No one is more Milanese than these first-generation Milanese."[19] For the children of Southern Italians in Australia, the challenge is to retain some sort of ethnic integrity whilst embracing the diversity of the society around us; to resist an identification as Italian that does not encompass the South and, therefore, avoid being swallowed by this 'new world view' which pits the rich North against the poor South worldwide.

My mother once told me a story about the time when she was a seventeen-year-old working in a cannery in Griffith. This was in 1950 and she worked with many young Italian women, the majority of whom were from the Veneto, Abruzzi and Calabria. She got on well with most of them but one, a Veneto woman, lost no opportunity to remind my mother that she came from the 'low regions' of Italy. This young Venetian gloried in her claim to 'alt'Italia' – literally, high Italy. Finally my mother could take no more and one day she pointed at the window which looked out on the farmlands surrounding the building. "Yeah?" my mother said. "You come from 'alt'Italia'? Well it's a shame you didn't stay there. Take a good look around. Here everything is flat!"

The truth is probably far from this – Australia is not a level playing field however much that notion may be part of our national mythology. In that same town, at the same time as my mother was asserting herself

against a co-worker's racism, an Aboriginal mission existed on the fringes of the community. My mother, her family and their compatriots knew little or nothing about those people and were not much interested in finding out more. For Aboriginal people the struggle has remained the same, they continue to battle for land and equity whilst the descendants of those Italian migrants have finally begun to feel part of the Australian multicultural fabric.

In the introduction to a book of his essays, Paul Carter noted that when he came from Italy to Australia he was coming "from one south to another […] to a country where the meaning of the south is simultaneously deepened and reversed. "[20]

In Italy the Southerner belonged simultaneously to the culture of the colonised (the South) – through local and oral traditions - and to the culture of the coloniser (the North), through the systems of state. In Australia, Indigenous people have been placed in this position by the European invasion – and Italians, Northerners and Southerners, are part of this European colonisation. A great insight into some of the issues of cultural inclusion/exclusion raised by this situation comes from the films of the American director, Spike Lee (I could find no Australian equivalent. While Black Americans have clearly been positioned by historically different circumstances than those of Aboriginal Australians, they operate within the United States as one of the most visibly marginalised groups. They also have been subject to the oppression of white colonisers, except in their case they were actually removed from their homelands in another continent). In his films *Do The Right Thing and Jungle Fever,* Lee casts Southern Italians "as different, but not so different, from Blacks, because in the end they too cannot achieve full acceptance. This re-establishes the Italians' ties with the typifications assigned them in their homeland and as immigrants, and thereby highlights their marginality." [21]

But it does not stop there. The Southern Italian Americans in Lee's films seize upon that difference in order to associate themselves with the dominant culture. "They, as [do] other groups selectively designated as ethnic depending on the circumstances, serve to maintain dangerous tensions between minorities, tensions that work to dissipate resistance to the dominant."[22]

These kinds of tensions may explain why Italians and their descendants in Australia so often fail to participate in or contribute to the struggles of other minorities against racism. Why there exists, anecdotally at least, so much evidence of Italian racism against Asians and Aboriginal people. It is not really an option for descendants of

Southern Italians in Australia to deny their ancestry by buying into the myth of a 'higher' Italianness. But it is equally important that they do not turn their own insecurities against those in this country who are visibly different and engaged in the struggle for the survival of their own cultural integrity.

I would like to conclude on a personal note. The daughter of Calabresi parents, I have finally overcome a sense of myself as a second class Australian, only to confront the idea of myself and my family as second class Italians. Where do I locate my "Italian" identity in an image of Italy which excludes the region of my family's origin at best and at worst describes us as a sub-class of criminals and layabouts?

One of my pleasures is to read the travel books of foreign commentators who have been to Southern Italy. One such that I recently acquired muses: "What, one constantly hears, has a Milanese in common with a Neapolitan? The answer is: a great deal more than they will ever admit."[23]This may well be so, but until the Italians accept this idea, the division between North and South will remain. And here, in Australia, moving into a new millennium, striving for a more inclusive sense of national identity, there should be no place for old stereotypes. Here we are not Italians, Southern or Northern. Here we Australian Italians and part of a very diverse society. Here, we need to move away from the old frameworks we have relied upon for describing our condition and ourselves. To quote Paul Carter:

"We need to disarm the genealogical rhetoric of blood, property and frontiers and to substitute for it a lateral account of social relations, one that stresses the contingency of all definitions of self and other, and the necessity always to tread lightly."[24]

Notes

[1] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies.* London: Granada, 1981, p. 129.

[2] Leslie Gardiner, *South to Calabria.* Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1968, p. 2.

[3] Peter Barry, *Beginning theory: an introduction to literary and cultural theory.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 192.

[4] ibid. p. 193

[5] ibid.

[6] Nino Randazzo and Michael Cigler, *The Italians in Australia.* Melbourne: AE Press, 1987, p. 33.

[7] Quoted in Robert Tierney, "The pursuit of serviceable labour in Australian Capitalism: the economic and political contexts of immigration policy in the early fifties, with particular reference to southern Italians" in *Labour History*, no. 74, May 1994, p. 149.

[8] Keith Stoddent, member of the Commonwealth Immigration Department, 1949 – 1981, interviewed on the Assisted Passage Scheme in the *IARP Collection* at: http://home.vicnet.net.au/~iarp/events/asspass.htm, pp. 2-3.

[9] Roslyn Pesman Cooper, "Italian immigrants in Australian fiction 1900-1950" in *Australian Literary Studies*, Vol. 16, no. 1, May 1993, p. 69.

[10] ibid.

[11] ibid.

[12] Rina Huber, *From pasta to pavlova: a comparative study of Italian settlers in Sydney and Griffith.* St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1977, p. 2

[13] A good account of prejudice against Southern Italians in Australia can be found in the "Discrimination" chapter of Stephanie Lindsay Thompson, *Australia through Italian eyes.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 160-188.

[14] Richard White, "Inventing Australia" in *Images of Australia: an introductory reader in Australian Studies.* St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1996, p. 23.

[15] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Key concepts in post-colonial studies,* London: Routledge, 1998, p. 150.

[16] Ellie Vasta, et al, "The Italo-Australian community on the Pacific Rim" in *Australia's Italians: culture and community in a changing society.* North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992, p. 230.

[17] A good introduction to the writings of Gramsci is the text *Selections from political writings*, 1910-1920, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.

[18] Frank Viviano, "The fall of Rome" in *Mother Jones interactive: daily news for the skeptical citizen.* Sept/Oct, 1993 at http://www.motherjones.com/mother_jones/SO93/viviano html, p. 2

[19] ibid, p. 3. The author quotes Romano Fattorossi, an Italian journalist.

[20] Paul Carter, *Living in a new country: history, travelling and language.* London: Faber and Faber, 1992, p. 4

[21] Pasquale Verdicchio, "'If I was six feet tall, I would have been Italian': Spike Lee's Guineas" in *Differentia,* issue 6/7, 1995, at http://members.tripod.com/~verdicchio/lee.html, p. 3.

[22] ibid.,p. 9.

[23] Peter Nichols, *Italia, Italia.* London: Macmillan, 1974, p. 21.

[24] Paul Carter, op. cit., p. 8.

Cultural and Ethnic Diversity in Australia, Italy and Some European Countries: a Policy Response
Krzysztof Batorowicz

Introduction

Internationalisation today is a fact. This fact we all are able to observe and many of us have experienced almost on an every day basis. Globalisation is taking place regardless of whether we like this or not – with some enthusiasm for many and concerns for others.

Cultural diversity is a product of many factors. International trade, tourism, mass and international higher education, modern transport means, widely available popular and mass travel by air at competitive prices, the need for political cooperation or immigration are only a few factors contributing to cultural diversity. The Time magazine has recently reported that 2 million people cross international borders every day (*Time,* April 3, 2000, p. 18) In almost all countries there are people from others.

Australian cultural diversity

Cultural diversity is very visible in Australia, one of the most, if not the most multicultural society in the world. We do not even have to look at statistical data about the countries of birth of inhabitants of Australia. We do not need to study statistical information on languages spoken in Australia. We do not have to talk about ours, our parents and grandparent's places of birth. The cultural diversity in Australia is visible on the streets - so many different faces in a variety of colours. We are able to hear different languages, those who speak English display a variety of accents, there are so many different names, which, regardless our own linguistic background, are so difficult to pronounce or spell. To experience this, it is enough to open any Australian telephone book, or list of students in classroom. This also applies to the names of teachers or lectures. Even the names of doctors or lawyers can create some difficulties when reading or writing them. Churches are also very diverse and even the Christian churches are so different from those in Rome. Newspapers are in languages other than English, although printed in Australia. If you need to go to the closest restaurant in any Australian capital cities because you are hungry, you can find a menu

but without the help of others you really do not what you can order or how the dishes will taste.

Italian cultural diversity

Contemporary Italy is also a diverse country although not to such an extent as Australia. Streets in Rome or Milan are also full of different faces. Perhaps less from Asia than in Sydney or Melbourne but more from Africa. The phenomenon of illegal immigration, a problem currently being tackled in Australia had been experienced previously in Italy.

For example, the *1999 Britannica Book of the Year* reported:

"Throughout 1998 Italy was dogged with problems of illegal immigration as clandestine groups of many nationalities continued to attempt to land unintercepted on the country's long coastline. The majority were ferried across the narrow Adriatic Sea to the shores of Puglia and Calabria after paying exorbitant sums to racketeers. Eastern Europeans mainly used land routes. In January the arrival in Italy of some 1,200 Kurds from Turkey and Iraq led to a meeting in Rome of European police chiefs reportedly concerned that Italy might become a gateway into Europe for illegal immigrants. In March Italy tightened its border controls under a new law that provided for the immediate expulsion of those arriving without documentation or for their temporary detention for checks of documentation. The Interior Ministry reported late in the year that there had been some 43,000 expulsions. In August difficult talks produced a signed agreement with Tunisia on deportation back home for some 3,000 of its nationals, most of whom had landed in Sicily, and on future Tunisian curbs on illegal migration. For its part Italy pledged Tunisia $90 million, part of which was to be used to improve coastal surveillance to prevent illegal migration" (pp. 454-455).

Cultural diversity in other countries, a recent example

Cultural and ethnic diversity is visible not only in Australia, United States, Canada – the traditional multicultural societies, but nowadays in Italy. Last year, I tried to look at one of the 'new' European countries. I chose Slovakia, to try to answer the question whether this country can be classified as monocultural or not.

The ethnic composition of Slovakia according to 1995 figures (as published in the *1999 Britannica Book of the Year*) is as follows:

- Slovak 85.7 %, Hungarian 10.6%, Gypsy 1.6%, Czech 1.1%, Ruthenian 0.3%, Ukrainian 0.3%, German 0.1% and other 3%. The

religious affiliation of people living in Slovakia (according to 1991 figures) is as follows: Roman Catholic 60.3%, Non religious and atheist 9.7%, Protestant 7.9%, Greek Catholic 3.4%, Eastern Orthodox 0.7% and other 18.0%.

Clearly, based on familiarity with the basic statistical information on ethnic composition and religious affiliation of the Slovak Republic, we can say that the country is ethnically and religiously diverse. Consequently, the Slovakian society can be considered to be a multicultural society.

Multiculturalism

The term multiculturalism simply means 'many cultures'. However, there are considerable difficulties in having a more precise definition of the term. This is acknowledged in the literature at both scientific and popular levels.

Multiculturalism often refers to the ethnic composition of contemporary societies, especially those with a significant number of people from minority or ethnic groups. The minorities are culturally different from the majority. For example, they use different languages, share a different history, profess a specific religion, have an established set of social values, share similar traditions or differ in family structure. When we look carefully at contemporary society in any specific country, very few countries can be classified as ethnically homogeneous. In some however, the ethnic minorities are particularly visible. Countries such as the United States, Canada or Australia are often classified as multicultural or plural societies as they have a significant number of people from minority cultures. This means that multiculturalism can be treated as a fact, a fact of existence of minority ethnic groups in a country. This is certainly the case of Australia where:

- well over 20% of Australians were born in another country, of whom more than half came to Australia from non-English speaking countries in Europe, the Middle East and South America. Combined with their Australian-born children, they constitute 40% of the population (OMA, 1989, p.3).

Consequently, multiculturalism, in the Australian context, in a descriptive sense is simply:

- a term which describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia. We are, and will remain, a multicultural society. (OMA, 1989, p.vii)

The Australian Multicultural Policy

Multiculturalism is also a policy responding to diversity in a plural society.

"Multiculturalism, as a systematic and comprehensive response to cultural and ethnic diversity with educational, linguistic, economic and social institutional mechanisms, has been adopted by Australia and Canada."(UNESCO, MOST, 1995, preface)

In Australia, multiculturalism is a public policy as it has been expressed in a number of governmental documents and programs. The most important document, which can be called the political manifesto of multiculturalism in Australia, is the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia (1989) issued by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. The document is the most significant for our discussion. Multiculturalism as a public policy is described in the document in the following way:

- "As a public policy multiculturalism encompasses government measures designed to respond to diversity. It plays no part in migrant selection. It is a policy for managing the consequence of cultural diversity in the interest of the individual and society as a whole."

Multiculturalism as a public policy has many implications in public life, for example:

- In terms of participation, it means that the cultural diversity of Australia should be reflected in key decision-making institutions (participation in the political system, governments of all levels, public service).

To ensure that minority groups enjoy the same basic rights as the majority.

Existence of social justice strategies (the Australian Government defines 'a socially just Australia' as one in which there is:

- a fair distribution of economic resources;
- equal access to essential services such as housing, health care and education;
- equal rights in civil, legal and industrial affairs, and
- equal opportunity for participation by all in personal development, community life and decision-making ("National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia", 1989, p.19).

Full utilisation of human resources by removing the barriers of language, culture, gender, race and religion; improving recognition of overseas qualifications, schooling, vocational training.

Cross-cultural understanding.

The need to improve community relations between all Australians regardless of their backgrounds.

The recent policy on Australian multiculturalism

In the document "A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia" (published in December 1999) the Commonwealth Government reconfirms its commitment to multiculturalism. This commitment is based upon the realisation of the importance of multiculturalism in Australia in the past and for the future. The document notes in particular that:

- "[Multiculturalism] has been central to our social, political, cultural and economic growth as a nation over the past fifty years, and is vital to our further development in the new millennium and beyond." (p.4).

Acknowledging the cultural diversity of Australians and the role of the Federal government to address the implications of the diversity, the Government committed itself "to ensure that all Australians have the opportunity to be active and equal participants in Australian society, free to live their lives and maintain their cultural traditions" (p.4).

The document also emphasises a balance of rights and obligations and the importance of "mutual civic obligations", in particular "all Australians are expected to have an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and principles common to Australian society" (p.4).

The basic structures and principles include:

- Constitution;
- Parliamentary democracy;
- freedom of speech and religion;
- English as the national language;
- the rule of law;
- tolerance;
- equality – including equality of the sexes.

The document, in its first part, does not define the term multiculturalism, unlike the "National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia" but uses the term "Australian Multiculturalism" and states that this term "summarises the way we address the challenges and opportunities of our cultural diversity. It is a term which recognises and celebrates Australia's cultural diversity" (p.4). However, the Government accepts the recommended definition produced by the National Multicultural Advisory Council. The full definition is included

in the document with a statement of the Government's support. As the definition has an important impact on the development of multiculturalism it is quoted below in full:

"Australian multiculturalism is a term which recognises and celebrates Australia's cultural diversity. It accepts and respects the right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage within an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and values of Australian democracy. It also refers to the strategies, policies and programs that are designed to:

- make our administrative, social and economic infrastructure more responsive to the rights, obligations and needs of our culturally diverse population;
- promote social harmony among the different cultural groups in our society;
- optimise the benefits of our cultural diversity for all Australians." (p.11)

The "right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage" is maintained, as in the previous policy (1989), but with the important addition that its acceptance and respect is "within an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and values of Australian democracy".

The "New Agenda for Multicultural Australia" also uses the term Australian multiculturalism for the strategies, policies and programs designed to:

- "Make our administrative, social and economic infrastructure more responsive to the rights, obligations and needs of our culturally diverse population;
- promote social harmony amongst the different cultural groups in our society; and
- optimise the benefits of our cultural diversity for all Australians" (p.4).

Stronger than previously a link between multiculturalism and citizenship has been made and it was acknowledged that the Australian citizenship "has played an important unifying role in the development of Australia's nationhood and the modern multicultural society which has evolved from it" (p.5).

The Commonwealth sees multiculturalism as a unifying force both in terms of the development of Australia as a nation and the building up of Australian identity. For this reason there is an emphasis in the new policy document that the concept "needs to be inclusive". This means, and this is a clear intention of the policy, that multiculturalism is about

and for all Australians. The rationale of this emphasis is to make sure that this is a national, broad policy, relevant to all. The policy, similarly to the previous "National Agenda", focuses on these elements that unite all Australians. It lists them: the common membership of the Australian community, the desire for social harmony, the benefits of Australian diversity, and evolving national character and identity.

The document also highlights the benefits of the multicultural framework for the Australian community and its particular sections including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as original inhabitants. Other benefits, according to the policy included: multicultural population and its influence in business with the rest of the world, modern communication, ability to communicate in other languages and its impact on trade, economic benefits.

The attitude of the Government towards cultural diversity is very positive and is described as "one of our great social, cultural and economic resources"(p.6). This diversity is not in conflict with Australian unity, as it is suggested by the new policy document that "diversity has been built on such moral values as respect for differences, tolerance and a common commitment to freedom, and an overriding commitment to Australia's national interests".

The document "A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia" formulates four (4) main principles on which all multicultural policies and programs should be based, in addition to the foundation of the Australian democratic system. As the principles have a fundamental role in developing multiculturalism in Australia and there are changes regarding these principles in comparison to the 1989 National Agenda, they must be quoted in full:

- "Civic Duty, which obliges all Australians to support those basic structures and principles of Australian society which guarantees us our freedom and equality and enable diversity in our society to flourish;
- Cultural Respect, which, subject to the law, gives all Australians the right to express their own culture and beliefs and obliges them to accept the right of others to do the same;
- Social Equity, which entitles all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity so they are able to contribute to the social, political and economic life of Australia, free from discrimination, including on the grounds of race, culture, religion, language, location, gender or place of birth; and

- Productive Diversity, which maximises for all Australians the significant cultural, social and economic dividends arising from the diversity of our population." (p.6)

Without discussion of the details, the "New Agenda" puts an emphasis firstly on obligations rather than on rights. All obligations and rights are included in the four principles, whereas the '89 document presented firstly rights and in the second group, obligations. The technique used by the "New Agenda" incorporates them together.

The record of Australian multiculturalism

Australia has established a specific record of multiculturalism. One of the best accounts of the Australian multicultural policy in a worldwide practical comparison was given by J. Jupp (1991, p. 132). Let me quote him:

- "[...] qualifications about Australian multiculturalism are not condemnatory. Australia has avoided the pluralist confusion of the United States. It has avoided the racism of Britain, The Netherlands and West Germany. It does not have the separatism movements of Canada, Wales and Scotland or the violence of Northern Ireland. Its Aboriginal policies have not been a marked success but the problem of native peoples in the United States, Canada and New Zealand have not been solved either. It does not have violent city ghettos based on disadvantaged ethnic minorities. Unlike West Germany, it aims to integrate immigrants into society as citizens. Australia is among the most successful multicultural societies in the world, even though its public policy in some areas has been modest and unadventurous."

However, anticipating that this account could be questioned on the basis that it was made by an Australian academic, I wish to supplement it by an impression made by an Englishman, Professor Charles Husband of the University of Bradford in his book Race and the Nation: The British Experience. Although his account is less admiring he noted:

- "To the occasional visitor like myself, Australia is already functioning as a de-facto multi-ethnic society. As I travelled on the bus, on the train or walked along the streets, there was an evident variety of people who were comfortably Australian. The demographic norm is richly multi-ethnic, and to the outsider this is accompanied by a collective civility that might not be found in certain cities in Britain, France or Germany. A complement to this is the absence in Australia of neo-Fascist racist political mobilisation, which has intruded into the political and social life of so many European countries." (1994, p. 120)

The relatively long-term multicultural policy had its influence on the educational programs at primary and secondary school levels. Some specialised units or even courses on multiculturalism delivered at Australian universities have contributed toward a better understanding of multicultural issues. Young people are more open and even enthusiastic about multiculturalism. In addition to better knowledge and understanding of multiculturalism they often act without racist biases or the prejudices of the older generation. It is no accident in my opinion that a UNESCO publication (1995, p. 15), analysing multicultural policy in Australia noted that:

- "an underlying factor of considerable importance is the emergence of a generation of Australians who have grown up under the policy of multiculturalism and accept the changes it has produced in Australian society. These include a much more inclusive approach to the attributes of Australian identity and a remarkably high level of tolerance."

Although the policy of multiculturalism in Australia is a part of every day political and social life and is well incorporated into the Australian way of life, the policy is mainly implemented in a formal way at the government level. We should realise that the process of implementation is not yet completed and the current political developments suggest also that constant evaluation and education is necessary.

The fact that Australia hosted the Global Cultural Diversity Conference attended, inter alia, by the Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation and the Director General of UNESCO, also shows how the Australian record is significant for the international community.

Immigration and Italy

The issue of multiculturalism is also relevant to countries with a limited tradition of multiculturalism. Italy was historically and traditionally considered as the nation of immigrants, a nation, which gives but does not receive migrants. Italian communities are strong in the USA, Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom. But nowadays Italy also attracts immigrants from other countries. According to recent Italian statistical sources, the number of immigrants to Italy exceeded half a million in 1993 (with the total number of immigrants 573,258). The tendency is clearly fast growing as in 1998 the number increased to almost a million (911,678), so an increase of 73 per cent. It is important, especially from Italian perspectives to realise that the increase took place not only in relation to the North of Italy (82.2%) but also in relation to

the Central area (65.5%) and the South of Italy (60.9%). (Source: Instituto Nazionale di Statistica, Italy http://www.istat.it , downloaded 5/04/2000)

I was very impressed by the document prepared by the Rome City Council titled "Program on Foreign Immigration for 1994 - 1996" which pledged to "safeguard the multi-ethnic character of the City and to preserve cultural diversities" (p 2). I have also noted a request for teaching of languages and cultures of the immigrants not only for the preservation of their cultures of origin but also for the benefit of ordinary Italian students (Rome City Council, Program on Foreign Immigration for 1994-96), p 6). This is an example that even countries with a recognised record of multicultural policies and practices can still learn in this area from other nations, such as Italy.

The potential to apply the Australian Multicultural Policy in other countries

A question can arise whether it is possible to apply the Australian multicultural policy that is so successful, recognised by the international community and works in the case of Australia very well in relation to other countries. If so, such an approach can be of significant value in order to minimise the ethnic and racial conflicts and the human tragedies and wars associated with them in many countries.

In a paper presented last year at an international conference on democracy in Central Europe (Batorowicz, 1999), I undertook a discussion of this possibility. It is not possible to discuss the problems within this, relatively short paper. However, I can state that my conclusion was that if we are dealing with any country with some features of cultural diversity it is possible and beneficial. If the multicultural policy receives acceptance from the majority of people within a country, it will contribute towards more harmonious relations within the whole community. The policy will also have some potential economic benefits because of utilisation of the skills of the minorities.

For the purpose of this paper I can note that the Australian multicultural policy can be applied, after some modifications into Italian society. On the other hand Australia can learn something with some Italian approaches, such as the above mentioned Rome City Council's program. I also believe that this is a very interesting area to consider for further work by the Italian Australian Institute for the benefit of both Australia and Italy.

The aspect of cultural maintenance

One of the specific aspects that should be addressed in this paper is the aspect of cultural maintenance by a minority ethnic group in countries that can be considered as plural or multicultural. In the light of the new Australian multicultural policy (1999), unlike under the policy of assimilation, the minority groups in Australia have the right to express their own culture and beliefs.

The right of preservation of ethnic cultural heritage can be interpreted based on many, documents published by the United Nations, including the fundamental "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" and the "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights"[1].

The Holy See, in the *Charter of Rights of the Family*[2] specifically stated the right of protection of the families of migrants. According to the document "the families of immigrants have the right to respect for their own culture".

The fact is that under the Australian multicultural policy, many ethnic communities, amongst them the Italian community with its distinctive culture, are able to preserve their cultures. But the opportunity, as I believe, benefited not only the Italian community but also the majority of Australians, including those from other ethnic groups (such as myself). In particular, I would like to state that I had more opportunity to learn about Italian culture and had direct contacts with the culture in Australia than in Europe outside Italy.

Rights of immigrants in respect to their culture in the teaching of John Paul II

In his teaching, John Paul II often concentrates on human dignity. As a result, he frequently refers to a number of disadvantaged people of the globe. A number of his encyclical, speeches and letters refer to immigrants. His persistence in addressing issues related to immigration can be seen in his systematic messages for the World Migration Day. Such a message was also prepared for the World Migration Day 2000.

The Pope notes the increase of migrants and refugees due to intense mobility by modern means of transport. He also notes that:

- "The new generations have a growing conviction that the planet is now a "global village", and they make friendships that transcended the differences of language and culture. Living side by side is becoming an everyday reality for many people." (John Paul II, Message for the World Migration Day, p. 2, downloaded 28/01/2000)

He also notes and requests that within the church the dignity of every human person is respected and that 'the immigrant is welcomed as a brother or sister, and all humanity forms a united family which knows how to appreciate with discernment the different cultures which comprise it' (p. 3) and further, the Pope explains it in religious terms that:

- "In Jesus, God came seeking human hospitality. This is why he makes the willingness to welcome others in love a charismatic virtue of believers. He chose to be born into a family that found no lodging in Bethlehem (cf.LK 2:7) and experience exile in Egypt (cf. Mt 2:14). Jesus, who "had nowhere to lay his head "(Mt 8:20), asked those he met for hospitality. To Zacchaeus he said: - I must stay at your house today - (Lk 19:5). He even compared himself to a foreigner in need of shelter: I was stranger and you welcomed me" (Mt 25:39). In sending his disciples out on mission, Jesus makes the hospitality they will enjoy an act that concerns him personally: "He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives him who sent me." (Mt 10:40) (ibid,p.3).

The Pope also understands the reasons for immigration very well:

- "In many regions of the world today people live in tragic situations of instability and uncertainty. It does not come as a surprise that in such context the poor and the destitute make plans to escape, to seek a new land that offers them bread, dignity and peace. This is the migration of the desperate: men and women, often young, who have no alternative than to leave their own country to venture into the unknown. Every day thousands of people take even critical risks in their attempts to escape from a life with no future. Unfortunately, the reality they find in host nations is frequently a source of further disappointment". (ibid, p.2)

The Pope teaches how to prevent unnecessary immigration and if this is not possible how to treat immigrants:

- "Working for the unity of the human family means being committed to the rejection of discrimination based on race, culture or religion as contrary to God's plan. It means bearing witness to a fraternal life based on the Gospel, which respects cultural differences and is open to sincere and trustful dialogue. It includes the advancement of everyone's right to be able to live peacefully in his own country, as well as attentive concern that in every state immigration laws be based on recognition of fundamental human rights" (ibid, p.4)

The key idea, in addition to theological explanation by the Pope is the respect for cultural difference. If the respect takes place, racism or ethnic conflict has no place. This is in line with earlier teachings of the Pope who recognised the rights of minorities in any social organisation, including a nation or a state. Amongst the rights of minority groups, the Pope included the right "to preserve and develop their own culture" (John Paul II, 1983, p.3).

Following this idea, I argued that the cultural rights of minorities in any social organisation means not only freedom from discrimination, the right to preserve cultural heritage of minority groups, but also its development, including languages of minority groups. (Batorowicz, 1995, p.66)

Conclusions

It is clear that not only Australia but also other countries, including Italy have become increasingly multicultural societies.

Australia has been very successful in its response to cultural diversity. There are no significant ethnic conflicts or ethnic violence and the level of interaction between the majority, ethnic groups and between minority ethnic group is higher. The Australian multicultural policy works well in practice.

Italy responded to the increased number of migrants through some programs which had a very positive character. It is important to remember that all relevant policies, to be successful, should take into account the rights of ethnic minorities as acknowledged in international law and other internationally significant documents.

Cooperation between Australia and Italy can be beneficial for ethnic minorities and both nations and can produce examples of the best practice for other countries less experienced in these areas. The Italians and people of Italian origin living in Australia who enjoy the rights of cultural maintenance can share their experience with others and be the best ambassadors of Australian multiculturalism.

Notes

[1] The "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights" was adopted and opened for signature, notification and accession by General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966 and entered into force 23 March 1976, in accordance with Article 49. The Covenant states in article 27 that: "In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language".

[2] Article 12a of the "Charter of Rights of the Family".

Thirty-six 'Whys', Some Thoughts, and One 'Why Not ?' on the Italian Presence in a Polyethnic Australia
V. Giorgio Venturini

1. Why should Italian-Australians (however defined) share in the rhetoric of "equality of opportunity" when it is clear even from a cursory view that, in all fields of business and economic endeavour, there is an overwhelming concentration of ownership and control, with some persons, families or corporate entities owning huge slices of the country?

For instance, the following: AMP, Kidman & Co., Elders, Fosters, MacLachlans, Packers, Holmes a Court, McDonalds, Oxenford, Prudential own respectively 12.7, 11.6, 6.5, 5.7, 5.0, 4.8, 3.6, 3.1, 2.3 and 2 million hectares of land, and thus for a total of 57.3 million hectares.

2. Why should people in Australia repeat the mantra of reconciliation with the Indigenous People to the point of stupor, when obviously the basis for that long-overdue act of restitution and compensation is impaired by the powerful "whites" of this country, who pretend not to understand the fundamentally different relationship with the land on which the life of the blacks is based, quite apart from the fact that people like the MacLachlans and McDonalds, extraordinarily influent in the Liberal and National Parties, cannot afford to act on the substance behind the processional songs?

To the 57.3 million hectares owned by Anglo-Australians, one should add the 4.9 million hectares owned by the largest eleven foreign owners.

3. Why is it that, when referring to the Persians, or the Romans, or the Ottomans, or the British, or the twice-attempted-effort by the Germans during this century, one would confidently use the word *imperialism*, whereas when it comes to the extension of today's most powerful nation on Earth, the word to be used is *globalisation*?

4. Why should one uncritically embrace this new form of cargo-cultism, in which the only new thing about it seems the manic logic of capitalism, simply because it is predicated by "neo-liberals" or "new-laborites" on the grounds that:
- it is inevitable,
- it will increase production and availability of goods and services at a cheaper price,

- a refusal would deny the Third World an opportunity to share in the common wealth,
- it symbolises the future?

Should none of the arguments to the contrary be considered: for instance, the existence of powerful nation-states, the presence of billions of poor who cannot afford to buy, the fact that there has been very little sharing in the past, and that the last point makes a circular assertion?

5. Why should the downside of "globalisation" not be considered from other points of view: for instance, that technological change in transport and communications has for centuries been dissolving time and space, breaking down the barriers which surround even most isolated cultures?

This process has accelerated dramatically in the past fifty years and is part of a wider tendency towards "globalisation". One consequence is that cultures are coming into increasingly close contact with one another.

Nevertheless, cultural contact has often been a by-product of military encounters and has been associated with violence, pillage, enslavement colonialism and imperialism. It has led to the introduction of alien diseases to those who had no natural resistance to them. This has been one of the effects of the contact between invaders and Indigenous People in Australia. Such contact has contributed to the spread of racism; occasionally it has resulted in genocide; more often it has led to the destruction of pre-existing social structures and the system of beliefs which sustained them.

Historically, "globalisation" has had a fatal impact.

6. Why should Australia follow in the wake of the moral relativism and intellectual decline heralded by the American Administration during the past fifty years?

Is it because the "hard power" necessary to defeat the Soviet Empire is no longer necessary? Until then American Presidents drew strength from the ideological conflict against external enemies, threatening them with a military might supported by a powerful manufacturing machine.

Before Prime Minister Blair's 'Third way' – now so much *en vogue* with the alternative government in Australia, there was President Clinton's "Triangulation". But for the far-away champions of such a hodgepodge this has meant no more than the continuation of the practice of clientelism, which was so obvious in the servile "All the way with L B J". That was, by and large, a slogan of reflexed policy, shining out of the glare that Washington produced to blind even the most recalcitrant camp-followers.

7. Why should "globalisation" be seen in its limited effects of reducing the confrontations between capital, management and high skills on the one hand, and capital and labour on the other, by enabling the former to opt out by going abroad?

And while one may share Albert Hirschman's view that "The community spirit that is normally needed in a democratic market tends to be spontaneously generated through the experience of tending the conflicts that are typical of that society ", one must keep in mind the warning of Dani Rodrik, that : "[…] globalization reduces the incentives to 'tend' to these conflicts. What if – he asks – by reducing the civic engagement of internationally mobile groups, globalization loosens the civic glue that holds societies together and exacerbates social fragmentation"?

Hence globalisation "delivers a double blow to social cohesion – firstly by exacerbating conflict over fundamental beliefs regarding social organization and secondly by weakening the force that would normally militate for the resolution of these conflicts through national debate and deliberation."

8. Why not take the warning by Richard Falk that "globalisation" may become predatory, with all the attendant risks that he has so superbly exposed, and the contradictions of which Stephen Castles has spoken so eloquently?

9. Why should Italian-Australians be so easily swayed by what has been called "the fusion of Washington and Hollywood – the light and the fantasy feeding each other in a triumph of entertainment over ideolog."?

In the process, while the United States and some other rich countries may still maintain intellectual resources in some precious isles of excellence, the vast majority of populations everywhere are drowned in trivia, "dumbed down" – as the expression (borrowed from the Americans!) goes.

Politics itself is debased to becoming soap opera; culture becomes the object of threateningly redefining exercises such as the "Unesco's World Culture Report – Culture Creativity and Markets" (1998). Values, entertainment, media image, financial flows, community reconciliation, technology and the Internet become the means-and-end of a listless, rudderless society.

10. Why should one forget that alongside George Orwell's dark vision, there was another – slightly older, less well known, equally chilling: Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*?

Orwell and Huxley *did not* prophesy the same nightmare.

Orwell warned that we shall be overcome by an externally imposed oppression. That might yet come, but not as an exercise in physical violence. "When a population becomes distracted by trivia, when a cultural life is redefined as a perpetual round of entertainment, when serious public conversation becomes a form of baby-talk, when, in short, a people become an audience and their public business a vaudeville act, then a nation finds itself at risk; culture-death is a clear possibility." As Neil Postman wrote: that is the triumph of "soft power".

In Huxley's vision, no Big Brother is needed to deprive people of their autonomy, maturity and history. As he saw it, people will come to love their oppression, to adore the technologies which undo their capacity to think.

What Orwell feared were those who would ban books; what Huxley feared was that there would be no reason to ban a book, for there would be no one who wanted to read one. Orwell feared those who would deprive people of information; Huxley feared those who would give people so much that they would be reduced to passivity. Orwell feared that the truth would be concealed from people; Huxley feared the truth would be drowned in a sea of irrelevance. Orwell feared people would be reduced to a captive culture; Huxley feared the coming of a trivial culture, preoccupied with some equivalent of the feelies, the orgy porgy, and the centrifugal bumblepuppy.

As Huxley remarked in *Brave New World* Revisited, the civil libertarians and rationalists who are ever on the alert to oppose tyranny "failed to take into account man's almost infinite appetite for distractions." In 1984 – Orwell showed – people are controlled by inflicting pain. In *Brave New World*, they are controlled by inflicting pleasure. In short, Orwell feared that what people hate will ruin them; Huxley feared that what people love will ruin them.

11. Why should one surrender to such mechanistic view as condemning the world to "the end of history", the triumph of consumerism, the victory of the markets and the homogenisation of values?

The consequence of this would be that *not* the profession of historians *but* the oldest profession in history should be honoured – resistance being fruitless.

12. Why should Italian-Australians accept a definition of poverty which may suit economic fundamentalists by excluding "externalities" such as deprivation of education and health services, lack of employment, discrimination against women, social exclusion, environmental degradation, insecurity, violation of human rights, lack of voice in the counsels of society, and lack of cultural expression?

13. Why should the voice of Barry Jones not be heeded when he warns that "Globalisation poses serious threats to national political economic and technological autonomy. It marginalises democratic processes. It has certainly contributed significantly to the sense of powerlessness felt by many citizens …"?

The result of all this are the Pauline Hansons of the world. They exploit tribalism, which " in its ugliest form, feeds on ignorance about, and fear of, globalisation, with the sense that the levers of power are completely out of reach in enemy hands."

Even from persons as remarkably successful in the corporate society as George Soros there have been repeated calls to debate whether "globalisation" is inherently anarchic, or monolithic. "Soros" – Barry Jones wrote recently, "now worries that globalisation is both anarchic and amoral. The market has no rules, no morals and no capacity to impose limitations on competition. With a growing imbalance between winners and losers, he fears losers could turn violent. US corporations are enormously strong, but only if international markets do not collapse. The United States itself, the world's only superpower, had its dominance challenged by Vietnam and Iraq. It cannot always get its own way, and victory did not come easily in the Balkans."

14. Why should people take little interest in Samuel Huntington's thesis that future clashes of civilisation will come along new boundaries: ethnic, religious and civilisational?

"Future wars" Jones agrees, "will be regional, not global, and not about politics or even economics. The flashpoints will be about culture – religion, ethnicity and language. Kosovo, on the historic frontier where Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam meet, illustrated this all too well".

The great democracies can still create an ethical, moral, political, social and juridical framework for globalisation, if they choose to act in concert to do it." But Jones adds disconsolately, "I see no sign that it is on the political agenda. Australia ought to initiate national and international debate."

Why not Italy, so exposed, one could add?

15. Why should Barry Jones' voice be regarded as a solitary one when he argues that headlong "globalisation" on the present pattern is far from inevitable?

On the contrary, he would be in the company of John Ralston Saul, from Canada, who has challenged the inevitability of *this* globalisation. He would join William Greider from the United States, who has pointed

out "the manic logic of global capitalism." Jones would be in the company of Richard Sennett, who warns Europe – and the United States, as well – against "the corrosion of character, by showing what happens to people in an economy which systematically destroys what has given meaning to human life."

To champions of leanness and meanness such as presently on both sides of the Australian Parliament this may just be "hot air", "externalities", for "The markets rule, OK?"

16. Why should Australia and Italy – or any other country – not follow the example of Japan, which has consistently held its own view on the question of "globalisation" models and culture?

According to the Japanese, "globalisation" does not compel adherence to a universal model through a uniform set of rules as set forth in the current economic and financial orthodoxy. By their view of "globalisation", the world would, therefore, become neither economically nor culturally homogenous. The Japanese hold that "localisation", or an identification with local cultural values, is proceeding hand in hand with "globalisation". The current orthodoxy – the so-called uniform model – consists of pluralistic congressional or parliamentary democracy on the political front, and of the neo-classical market economy on the economic one. The result is the marrying of the values of the counting house, the skills of receivers in bankruptcy, the vision of turf accountants, and the smug heartlessness which have led the Anglophone countries during the past twenty years.

Why should Japan be singled out for its view of "globalisation", as if there were no other countries "recalcitrant" enough to follow the "uniform model"?

In the area to which Australia's future and present economic fortune belongs there are *other* East Asian countries which are eager to modernise and industrialise but not so eager to trade their own tradition and culture for the experience of fast-this and fast-that.

Those countries – seemingly unlike Australia – worry that the juggernaut of economic "globalisation" will produce a culturally uniform world, a world of one-dimensional men and women, which – like monocropping, genetically modified agriculture – will have lost its creative potential and adaptive resilience.

18. Why should one regard the European Union as a monolith of tame copy-cats, when it is clear that even small countries such as Denmark, the government of which suffers the questionable distinction of having a revenue which is smaller than General Motors' corporate sales, have rejected the "neo-liberal" economic agenda espoused by the

IMF, the World Bank and the like, and have yet maintained some of the highest living standards in the world?

19. Why should Italian-Australians remain silent when confronted with the insensitive ignorance of Prime Minister Howard, who chose Paris to proclaim the differentness of Australian culture *vis-à-vis* the countries of the Asian region?

This was said at a time when those countries clearly seek to construct a degree of Asian unity outside hegemonic conquest, when there are moves towards the creation of a new regional organisation the ten nations of ASEAN plus China, Japan and South Korea – perhaps unified Korea.

Australia has not been invited, so by way of explaining away a comprehensive diplomatic failure, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Downer has attempted to snub the would be partners by declaring that there is a type of regionalism "born out of a community of interests, countries with a common history, a common culture, or at least rather similar cultures, and usually which are geographically proximate, which, for those types of reasons, want to work together." But, he went on, "[o]bviously, in terms of Australia's relationship with Asia, Australia does not fit that category, that is clear, because of the historic and ethnic and cultural differences that Australia has with its neighbours."

And to make it doubly sure that his *gaffe* would be remembered, he added: "If we describe regionalism on the basis of what you might broadly describe as an emotional community of interests, then Australia doesn't have those types of historic associations with the region, and ethnic and cultural associations, very obviously."

He never heard of regionalism as a way to overcome cultural or ethnic differences! He never understood even the meaning of *United* Kingdom – just *Great* Britain forever! And of course he never learned anything about Japan and Indonesia – one suspects nothing at all about France and Germany. Mr. Howard proffered platitudes at Gallipoli – never heard of Kokoda Trail to defend the home country! Never heard of that 10 per cent of Australians who have come from Asia, are linked to Asian partners, or families. And long live "multiculturalism!"

20. Why not ponder the intimation of Louis Emmerji, who has estimated, that by 2025, Asia is likely to regain its long-enjoyed place at the centre of the world economy?

By then Asia may account for up to 60 per cent of world income, with the West's share falling from around 45 per cent today to between 20 and 30 per cent.

21. Why do "Western" powers continue to call their policies and practice a form of "development", when in fact they are nothing of the sort but, rather, a path dictated by their "dialectical materialism" and "historical determinism?"

22. Why "Is globalisation only to benefit the powerful and the financiers, speculators, investor and traders?" asked Nelson Mandela.

The postwar era has produced the most remarkable rise in living standards in history. Despite world population growth from 2.3 billion to 6 billion, average per capita incomes are three times the level of the 1950s. Yet the number of the destitute exceeds 1.3 billion. For one-fifth of the world's population, mainly in Africa, living standards fell during the 1980s. More than 1.5 billion people lack safe drinking water and more than a billion are illiterate.

Why "Does it offer nothing to men, women and children who are ravaged by the violence of poverty?" Mandela asked again.

If the past is any guidance, it is more likely that "globalisation" will increase poverty in the world, and particularly in the so-called Third World, as well as in Italy and in Australia.

23. Why should a person from the Third World (and *who* belongs to the Second?, one may ask) accept that the future should be shaped by the market as the only result of "globalisation"?

She would articulate her reaction as follows:

The so-called Western World – broadly identified with the United States, Japan, Europe, Latin America, Eastern Europe and some parts of Asia and Africa – has held an iron grip on "development" thinking and practice; such influence has increased during the last twenty or so years through the force of global markets to a point that it is measured almost exclusively in financial terms; yet there are alternative development models with different cultural, institutional and historical backgrounds; and such alternative options are likely to multiply in the era of "globalisation", in spite of appearances, with the paradoxical result that there could be greater diversity than uniformity.

24. Why is this called "progress", when it is clear that it has left women behind, despite any proclamation to the contrary?

As Gisele Halimi has noted, in the all-men board-rooms of transnationals there is little time for philosophical niceties: when they say "man" they mean it, "us alone" and none of this non-sex differentiated use of the term with broad reference to the human species!

Those corporate men usually do not know much, but they do know why the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" created a strangely limited, "restricted citizen."

Sartre was right – Halimi says – when he wrote that behind the abstract man of that Declaration stands the *bourgeois* of 1789. The individual is therefore a man – *not* a woman, white – *not* "coloured", and a *bourgeois* – not a *campesino* or a "colonised" person. And she continues: "This shaky universalisation did not take long to rebound. It muzzled women who protested against inequality, who refused the identification of humankind as an all-male preserve and who pointed out that it was they, after all, who bred and perpetuated humankind."

Yet women are still being told that they are equal. The difference due to sex is denied and blotted out. The result is that the world and its future are still in the hands of men. Up to 90 per cent. And what is the upshot of it all?

"Is the Earth blue like an orange, as Eluard wrote? Or red with the blood of genocides from the Sho'ah to Rwanda, not forgetting Bosnia? Or is the atmosphere with the ozone layer perforated and dwindling, its cardinal constituents all spoiled?"

Following the international Rio Summit Conference on the future of the planet in 1992, the Denver Conference of June and Kyoto in December 1997, the heads of state – all men? – adjourned; without having accomplished their mission.

"They had done nothing about the greenhouse effect (the international corporations had successfully protested with one voice), nothing about the ozone-layer damage, nothing about pollution. Total failure" writes Halimi. An environment left to the tender care and destructive power of the lobbies and their profits. A starved world in which 75 per cent of the inhabitants live in a state of absolute poverty (women, of course, being hardest hit), while 358 billionaires (in US dollars) own more than the earnings of half of the world's populations. While at the same time, on the same planet, human rights go on shrinking. Could things possibly be worse?

If universalism is to be humanistic, then reasoning should be the other way round. Let us begin with the (undeniable) observation that humankind is sexed and that this unique distinction, upon which its survival depends, implies, for the purposes of genuine universalism, that the two halves accede – equally – to power. This is the price of democracy. Anything else is a mere travesty. Equality here denotes parity. In other words as many women as men involved in decision-making : war, the environment, hunger, unemployment, nuclear energy … it is as much women's responsibility too."

25. Why is no one asking who legislates for the 200 entities which rule the world : 40 nation-states *and* 160 corporations?

Who makes the rules for those 160 corporations? asked Canada's ambassador to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Mr. Kimon Valaskakis. Not the United Nations ! Nobody could seriously suggest it.

The market system has no rules and is, in the end, a basic threat to democracy. The United Nations has been having serious difficulties with the leading "neo-liberal" countries : the United States and Britain.

Why is no one asking the reason for it? Nelson Mandela seems to know why. Speaking in London last month, he said that it seems to have been the practice of both countries systematically to ignore the Secretary of the United Nations – in Iraq as in Kosovo. Mandela has a simple but very convincing explanation for that attitude: "Kofi Annan is black" [and, he commented] "It is an unpleasant sensation." The interview with *The Guardian* on 5 April was reported by all major European newspapers. Not a word in Australia.

26. Why is there so much gloom and pessimism around, when Italy is the fifth world economic power, and – as we are told daily – things are ever so good in Australia?

Well, yes, here Martin and Schumann's prediction of a 20 : 80 society seems – for the time being – to move in reverse. While about 80 per cent of the workforce are employed and living well as "insiders", some 20 per cent are unemployed, underemployed or disguised unemployed and poor "outsiders" concentrated in low socio-economic status neighbourhoods marked by low labour-force participation, high unemployment, poor educational achievement and poor health. An underclass is growing as unemployment *and* misemployment levels rise with each cyclical downturn. Unless fundamental policy changes are made speedily, the "insider" proportion of Australians could be further reduced, leaving more than one person in five to be poor "outsiders." All the fatuous predictions of the last 20 years as to the new ways in which the self-styled "clever country" would liberate itself from its dependence on agricultural and mineral exports, substituting sophisticated manufactures, have ended in little or nothing.

Technological change is taking the world through a second industrial revolution. Australia is just hurtling along, and the only policy which is almost religiously followed is that of keeping on downsizing in the interests of "shareholder value", using technology instead of human labour.

The 1999 U N Human Development Report found that Australia's richest 20 per cent take home almost 10 times that of its poorest 20 per cent. The Programme's human poverty index registered inequality in

Australia among the highest in the industrial world : Australia was ranked twelfth of 17 industrial nations. 12.9 per cent of people were living below the poverty line, and at least half of all single-parent households had income below the average poverty line. The average GDP per capita income in Australia – the Report said – was $ A 20,650, with men earning $ A 23,944 a year on, average, and women $ A 16,526.

Australia appeared to be following a worldwide trend towards an ever-widening gap between the have and the have-nots. Even for those lucky enough to have an occupation – rather, any job – the news was not that good. The proportion of working-age men in full-time jobs fell from about 80 per cent in the 1970s to below 60 per cent in 1996.

In 1966, 75 per cent of men aged 60 to 64 were in full-time employment. In 1996 that figure was 34 per cent – less than half. Part-time jobs increased around 300 per cent between the early 1970s and the early 1990s. Casualisation of the workforce has seen the percentage of permanent part-time employees fall from 38.1 per cent in 1985 to 32.5 per cent in 1996. Fewer than two workers in five now work the once-standard eight-hour day, 40-hour week. More than one-third of employees who work overtime are not paid for their extra hours.

Around 750,000 to 800,000 Australians are officially out of work at any time. In 1973 the average duration of unemployment was 10 weeks; by 1996 it was lasting nearly a year. In the mid-to late 1990s, around 170,000 Australians workers over 45 were unemployed. Of these, 62,800 were women; the rest were men.

Mature-age unemployment has risen disproportionately in the past decade, with the number of unemployed aged 45 to 64 rising at more than twice the rate of unemployment in general.

Sixty-two per cent of all unsuccessful job seekers are aged 45 to 69.

These statistics – official and only two months old – confirm the poet's saying

"Those who take the most from the table
Teach contentment
Those for whom the taxes are destined
Demand sacrifice
Those who eat their fill speak to the hungry
Of wonderful times to come
Those who lead the country into the abyss
Call ruling difficult
For ordinary folk."

At the same time, middle-aged Australians, particularly men and married women, are working longer hours than they were 10 years ago,

with particularly increased toil for men aged between 35 and 45 years. By 1998-99, almost half of the men aged between 45 and 54 were working more than 45 hours a week compared to 35.4 per cent in the age group a decade earlier.

Further data showed that tradespeople, plant and machine operators had all experienced growth in working hours, while sales staff had always worked long hours. Such data, once correlated, lead to the conclusion that there had been a "hollowing out of the middle" i.e. the broadly defined middle class, towards a greater income inequality.

At the other end of the economic spectrum, those most in need and who depend on welfare have dramatically increased in number. About one in seven Australians is reliant on some form of income support. There are 860,000 children living in households where neither parent works, and 21 per cent of sole-parent families with dependent children. 588,780 Australians receive the disability support pension.

These are official figures and came out two months ago from a recent Government appointed committee to "reform" Australia's welfare system and to expand the "principle of mutual obligation", under which welfare recipients have to take part in training or other programmes "to earn" their benefits. It is a novel way of putting pressure on the unemployed, single parents and the disabled to become a cheap source of labour, with few rights as far as working conditions are concerned.

Given the track record of this Federal Government in disregarding United Nations conventions and agreements administered by international organisations such as the International Labor Organization, it is not beyond the possibility that this be one more sinister manoeuvre.

One need not rehash old – and yet undisproven – theories whereby capital needs a large reserve of those who are kept out of employment to maintain pressure on those who work, keep their wages under control, and increase profits. It is sufficient to reflect that any government of a country with a sovereignty limited by the presence of large, inimical foreign interests, must account to large financial local and foreign pressures to remain "in power".

The review of the welfare system may be a hidden way of providing another subsidy to private business out of the pocket of wage-earners who pay nearly all taxes. Money which could be used to extend the welfare system on the basis of need will be used to cover part of the wage bill. And the bulk of it will go to big business.

From the point of view of society as a whole this is another way of shifting national income in favour of the haves. It is, ultimately, the price such Government managers of private business have to pay to continue travelling in Government cars.

27. Why should Italian-Australians gloss over the tremendous difficulties which are facing even the uniting of Europe and ignore the agonising question asked over 150 years ago by one who in his own many ways moved around a bit: " How could we have a universal society deprived of its distinct components, and which would be neither French, nor English, nor German, nor Spanish, nor Italian […] What uniform rule, what common law could sustain such a society?"

De Chateaubriand's *Memoires d'outre-tombe* (Memories from beyond the tomb) deserve exploration.

The meaning of that question is clear – even in Australia – to anyone who may think that a one-plate serving of *spaghetti, sushi* and *schawarma,* with dragon dances accompanied by a *bouzouki,* can make for a multicultural society.

28. Why should those who entered Australia on better terms than the ordinary migrants of the 1947-1972 period fail to assert ever so clearly that Anglo-Australians " thought it natural that migrants should be content to fill the lowest paid occupations, accept the costliest housing in the ugliest areas, send their children to the most crowded and least equipped schools and accept worse health services, worse public transport, fewer recreation amenities and poorer urban services than are available in any of the European cities and centres from which they come"?

These are Gough Whitlam's words in 1970. They should be remembered by anyone who is prepared to repeat the stolid myths about Australia put about by the beneficiaries of "keeping things as they have always been."

29. Why should Australian residents of Italian citizenship, birth, language, education, culture, or intellectual affinity accept any of the Government-packaged "three dimensions of multicultural policy" : "cultural identity […] social justice […] economic efficiency" when the "carefully defined limits" of that policy are to be left to the "confirmation bias" of the Anglo-Australian majority, expressed through institutions of which that majority is profoundly ignorant as shown by the A.N.O.P. Research Services national survey of 2,500 Australians designed to measure the level of knowledge of the system of government, and the *"Whereas the People … Civics and Citizenship*

Education Report" prepared by a Committee under the chairmanship of Stuart Macintyre – and both published in 1994?

Why should not those "Italians" conclude with Jefferson that
"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free,
in a state of civilization,
It expects what never was and never will be"?

30. Why should the rhetoric of "social justice" continue to hold sway, when it is glaringly obvious to everyone unpaid for his opinion that none of the goals – not "equality of treatment and opportunity" nor "the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth" has been met – witness the discriminatory treatment of Indigenous People, the enforced assumption of Australia as a "Christian nation", the continuing inequality between men and women, and the structural differences based on different cultures and on accident of birth?

31. Why should Italian-Australians perpetuate the myth of "tolerance and equality" as "basic structures and principles of Australian society" when a modest but serious incursion into the history of the country would confirm that every Liberal Prime Minister – from Deakin to Howard – has excelled in intolerant, divisive, racist and even genocidal statements; while most of the Labor Prime Ministers have been seduced by similar views and/or interests, with the exception of Whitlam and – arguably – Keating?

32. Why should Italian-Australians join the sycophantic chorus extolling "economic efficiency" without ever asking a very simple question: to whose advantage should such efficiency operate: the common good, that is the Common wealth?

Or is it the interest of those who belong to the richest one per cent of the population (about 190,000 people) who own $431 billion, averaging $ 2.3 million per capita; and to the nine per cent of the population (1.7 million people) who own $647 billion, averaging over $ 380,000 per head; so that the top 10 per cent owns $ 1,078 billion – that is 40 per cent of the nation's private wealth), averaging $582,703.

There are three further groups : one – the largest – is made up of about 7.4 million people. This group owns another 40 per cent – $ 960 billion. This is about $ 131,000 each. Another group contains about 3.7 million people, who own a total of $ 108 billion, averaging a net worth of $ 29,000.

The fifth group includes 5.6 million Australians – thirty per cent of the population – who own absolutely nothing.

33. Why is remembering ever so difficult in Australia? Why should one who does remember be made to feel like committing an act of intellectual subversion, an attempt on the tranquillity which comes from feeding what William Stanner called the "great national forgetfulness"?

Remembering, particularly for Italians in a polyethnic society such as Australia has become, is an extraordinary difficult task.

Erich Fromm devoted years to studying the basic requirements for a full human life (the need for relatedness, for rootedness, for transcendence, and identity). He criticised the social structures which form obstacles to their fulfilment. He described how the technically advanced nations have produced a new type of human being : homo consumans, an "eternal suckling" given to overpossessing and consuming, but lonely, bored, and anxious – and a dangerously obedient "organisation man". Those are prescient words from a person who died twenty years ago.

One of his reflections on collective memory may be read to lighten the burden of Italian migrants to Australia who may find the road still very hard – but have not surrendered their thinking ability to purveyors of myths and lies.

"[…] in Mexico" – Fromm wrote a few years before his death, "I observed that people who are illiterate or who write little have memories far superior to the fluently literate inhabitants of the industrial countries. Among other facts, this suggests that literacy is by no means the blessing it is advertised to be, especially when people use it merely to read material that impoverishes their capacity to experience and to image".

Fromm's words would apply to all means of communication, particularly commercial television and what passes as "ethnic" press. They have all accepted some of the most objectional elements of "multiculturalism".

So obtuse is the Prime Minister that not even his smugly heartless Minister for Incarcerating Refugees and Making them Pay could succeed in persuading Mr. Howard that, so long as migrants will be requested to pledge their loyalty to "Parliamentary democracy", as a condition for the acquisition of citizenship, democracy is used as a misnomer. In the hands of dissemblers it is the price of intellectual fraud unworthy of much time to be unmasked.

What these public malefactors call "Parliamentary democracy" is meant to protect "Parliamentary supremacy".

To put it in the words of Steven Churches, that of "Parliamentary supremacy", is "a doctrine which has developed in the United Kingdom

since the 18th century, and which reached its theoretical heights in the last two decades of the 19th century in the writings of Professor A.V. Dicey. The doctrine, sometimes referred to as Parliamentary Sovereignty, arose in response to the needs of melding England and Scotland together in the course of the 18th century, the Parliament at Westminster being the body which came to represent the new national sovereignty that surpassed mere English and Scottish interests."

Why should any of this have anything to do with modern life in Australia seven months from the third millennium?

The answer is : nothing.

34. Why should the people of this country be afflicted with the arcane concept of "Royal prerogative" – in Neal Ascherson's words : "the pantomime of misleading Druidic nonsense which passes for a British constitution"?

Does that mean the acceptance of a continuous exercise in government chicanery, on the purely gratuitous assumption that life is a long dialogue with imbeciles?

To quote again Steven Churches, "The collective vanity served by "Parliamentary sovereignty", which in reality serves only the vanity of the Ministers and senior public servants of the day, will, in a nation embracing civilized standards, be replaced by the communal wisdom of accepting restraints on the legislative process as part of the necessary restraint and moderation involved in good government".

35. Why should the Australian people continue to accept that sovereignty *flows* from the Crown, rather than rises from the People?

Why should it be so when it is clear that the royals are – in the words of Richard Littlejohn "a front for the corruption of the establishment"?

The Crown represents and sustains offensive privilege, unaccountable power and anti-social property. And it has been shown to everyone who has not been looking into the enchanted glass that the royals are all parasites and tax evaders, while some are adulterers and especially common whores.

An uncritical acceptance of tabloid and silverscreen-like expressions as "Parliamentary democracy" and "the Crown" may become people who believe that the essence of life is going along to get along.

It means falling into what Robert Manne sublimely called "The culture of forgetting". It amounts to living in "a world without a moral landscape. [In which] nothing has weight. Nothing has meaning. Nothing matters".

Such people may be mesmerised by the notion of big-ness-as-better-ness, but they certainly never learned from E.M. Forster in *Howard's End* that

"It is the vice of a vulgar mind
to be thrilled by bigness,
to think that a thousand square miles
are a thousand times more wonderful
than one square mile,
and that a million square miles
are almost the same as heaven."

These are unhappy times for Italy, what with the dark clouds brought by the recent regional elections and the possibility of a return of the re-combination of money-demagoguery-thuggery in 2001, but many Italians are accustomed to precariousness. After all the very creation or Naples or Venice was a hazardous venture. It needs a special temperament to accept disaster and re-build.

Perhaps the legend of Sisyphus, rolling his rock up the mountain and having it crash down again whenever he reached the top, originated in Greek *Nea-polis* – as John Haycraft mused. Perhaps, too, the Italian attachment to their *paese* or city enters in.

"Italians have not expected 'security' for thousands of years. It may not have kept them all alive, but the sense of continual danger has probably given them alertness and stimulated their ability to absorb themselves in the moment, and enjoy it".

A little knowledge applied to a limited reading may misguide on the true meaning of the Medicean motto about having money to gain power, to make more money.

Who knows what dangerous thing may come from such little learning? Maybe the idea of building the largest boat ever to take Prime Minister Berlusconi around Australia to thank those 'Italians' who contributed to his election in 2001?

Big "sellers" of this tonnage have "big" voices and sprout "big" verities on eardrum-breaking radios, mesmerising tittytainment television and forever glossy magazines.

It is out of the example set by such moneyed effrontery that acquiescence comes to the system – sublimated by the Westminster System.

All of which leads to the last question.

36. *Why should 23.7 per cent of the Australian population retain any allegiance to a system about which much of the remainder – that is the Anglo-Australians – know so little?*

Time to conclude.

- Next to the 'big' voices of 'moneyed power' there are, for Italians in Australia, smaller voices. Humble voices they are, which have left to those who survived a message, a legacy, a testament. It is embodied in the 1948 Constitution of the Italian Republic.
- It is in the fundamental principles and most articles of Part One of that Constitution that all Italians in Australia will find the yeast of their cultural heritage, an untreadable patrimony – no matter how much business one does privately with the CC from Atlanta or the RC from Rome.
- For, divided by geographical, cultural and historical differences as they may be, Italians come here with some values exclusively of their own, painfully gained through the sacrifice of the one hundred thousand dead of the Resistance against the nazifascists and their allies.

And so to the agenda for "the Italian Australian into the New Millennium":

1. to agitate – nothing less will do – for a Constituent Assembly charged with
   - the writing of a republican constitution, in which – alone – resides the possibility of one last act of trust by the Indigenous People that they will not be deceived,
   - the enactment in that Constitution of a Bill of Rights, clearly spelt out and entrenched – thus not to be subject to being legislated away. That Bill should cover at least the basic freedoms set down in the Italian Constitution (see Appendix) two years before the "United Nations Declaration of Human Rights" but cast aside by fifty years of Christiandemocratic regime;
2. to offer the most solemn apology to the Indigenous People of this country, with provisions for *restitutio in integrum* (restoration to the previous condition) – to the extent possible, and reparation when – as often – it is not possible;
3. most solemnly to affirm that what precedes is possible because of the sovereignty of the Australian People, which is naturally in them, could never be granted, will never be taken away or surrendered;
4. to articulate that sovereignty in a democratic, federal, secular structure of the Australian Republic, capable and actively engaged in responding to the duty of human solidarity at home and abroad;

5. to lay the foundation for those 'republican virtues' which – alone – may express the importance of reciprocal acceptance of, and amongst, equal members of a community.

Someone here may remember the words that Piero Calamandrei gathered from the lips of Alcide Cervi – the father of seven brothers who were assassinated by the fascists on 28 December 1943. Their only crime – if crime that was – had been that of providing refuge to former Allied prisoners, escapees from internment camps – all fighters for the common cause.

To my mentor, who was once again serving as the cantor for those one hundred thousand dead, that old *"contadino Papà Alcide"* said : "There is no time for tears. We must carry on. After a harvest there comes another."

As promised, one "Why not?"
"You see things
and you say why,
but I dream things
that never were
and I say why not?"
George Bernard Shaw, *Methuselah*, Part 1 Act 1 (1921)

Appendix

Without prejudice to the implementation of international obligations, basic principles guarantee to all citizens, and – insofar as applicable – all lawful residents, of the Australian Republic the following:

POLITICAL RIGHTS

- to live in a society which encourages the development of local authorities as an expression of direct participation by the people in public life and as a guarantee of civic responsibility;
- to reside and travel freely in any part of the Republic, save for such limitations as the laws may prescribe in a general way for reasons of health or security; and to be given asylum from political, social or economic oppression. No restriction may be prescribed for political reasons;
- to enjoy privacy and protection of personal information and correspondence from surveillance or interference;
- to practise, to propagate and to celebrate any religion, whether in public or private; or not to practise any;
- to express their thoughts freely, whether by words of mouth, in writing, or by any other means of communication;

- to assemble and associate freely, peaceably and unarmed for the purpose of expressing an opinion, without interference from the State;
- to organise freely for common political, social or economic ends;
- to participate in all electoral processes, to contest all elections and to vote in all elections. A vote is personal, equal, free and secret in a proportional system;
- to petition Parliament for legislative measures;
- to serve compulsorily in the defence forces, which are organised on the basis of the democratic principles of the Republic;
- to object on conscientious grounds to service in the defence forces.

LEGAL RIGHTS

- to equal treatment before the law, and in the community, without distinction as to sex or sexual preference, national origin, language, religion, political opinion and personal or social conditions;
- to freedom from retroactive legislation, from performing personal service; or being forced to any payment other than according to law;
- to freedom of domicile;
- to personal freedom from arbitrary arrest, inspection, search, harassment, detention or other restriction on personal liberty;
- to institute legal proceedings for the protection of their rights and legitimate interests;
- to be presumed innocent until guilty, to be informed of all charges laid and the evidence in support of them, and of the right to remain silent in court;
- to defence as an inalienable right at every stage of legal proceedings. An indigent person is entitled, through special provisions, to proper means of action, defence and services at all levels of jurisdiction;
- to a fair and impartial hearing by a jury of the citizen's (or lawful resident's) peers if accused of an unlawful activity, and to equal treatment before the law and equal access to legal representation;
- to freedom from torture or cruel and degrading treatment or punishment. The death penalty is not permitted;
- to obtain reparation from culpable violation of criminal, civil and administrative laws and for judicial errors;
- to freedom from extradition, unless expressly provided for in international conventions. Extradition is never permitted for political offences.

SOCIAL RIGHTS

- to live in a peaceful, neutral community, which values and applies peaceful means of conflict resolution, and promotes and encourages international organisations having such ends in view;
- to a healthy, sustainable, accessible and attractive environment and to clean water and air;
- to adequate housing and comfortable living conditions;
- to good health care and preventative medicine, free at the moment of need;
- to full access to personal information held by any public authority, subject only to a restriction signed by the responsible minister and reported to Parliament;
- to be recognised and respected as a member of a multicultural society and a valuable contributor to a society which is progressing to unity in respect of diversity;
- to see the cultural patrimony of social groupings retained and enhanced through special educational provisions;
- to the recognition and protection of the family and the moral and legal equality of its partners;
- to the recognition of the duty and corresponding right of parents to support, instruct and educate their children;
- to the safeguard of motherhood, infancy and youth and the promotion of institutions necessary to such purposes;
- in the case of women, to control of their own fertility and reproduction;
- to free and equal access to child care;
- to rest, recreation and leisure, to a limitation of working hours and to holidays;
- to lifelong and free educational provision;
- to the promotion and development of scholarship and scientific and technical research;
- to enjoy access to literature, music, the arts and cultural activities;
- to dignity and care in retirement.

ECONOMIC RIGHTS

- to useful work at a fair wage which provides an income sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living, with the corresponding duty in every citizen (or lawful resident) to undertake, according to one's possibilities and choice, an activity which contributes to the material and moral progress of society;

- to the protection of labour in all its forms and methods of execution, and of the vocational and professional training and advancement of workers, as well as the promotion of international agreements and organisations, and the protection of Australian migration and labour overseas;
- to protection of economic enterprise, which cannot, however, be applied in such a manner as to be in conflict with social utility or be prejudicial to security, freedom and human dignity;
- to compensation for expropriation;
- to limitation of private landownership, the transformation of large estates and the institution of productive units;
- to the promotion and encouragement of cooperation on a basis of reciprocity and devoid of any private speculative aim;
- to the protection of saving;
- to participate in all decisions, including those relating to health and safety, affecting the workplace and to information, representation and expression of opinion for all employed persons;
- to organise freely in a trade union;
- to withdraw labour in pursuit of an industrial dispute;
- to full and equal access to all State or social benefits at a level sufficient to meet basic needs;
- to the benefits of a progressive taxation system;
- to freedom from taxation in excess of ability to pay.

Carlton – an Imagined Community?
Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien,

As we look towards 2001 and the years ahead, the influence of global culture, the global economy and new modes of communication through the internet are creating rapid changes to social and cultural life and to the forms of social interaction. At the same time as our horizons have expanded through globalisation, there is a renewed interest in the local, in particular in local groups formed on the basis of ethnicity.

In studies of ethnic groups in immigrant societies there has been a tendency to conceptualise immigrant culture in terms of the maintenance of the culture of origin, or else to focus on assimilation as the loss of original culture. Both these positions fail to do justice to the creative process of identity and community formation in the new – the Australian - setting. Diasporic identities are a product of both the local experiences and interactions in the societies in which they settled, and of the historical and social circumstances of the original culture. I argue elsewhere[1] that the importance of local social and cultural factors in identity formation has not been given sufficient emphasis in studies of Italian-Australian communities. Harney and Scarpaci in their study of "little Italies" in North America[2] observed that in the representation of such communities, there was a need to understand the Italian enclaves in their own terms, as unique cultural artefacts. In Australia multicultural policies have encouraged the notion of maintenance of culture which, while praiseworthy in social justice terms, shifts attention away from the second factor, the new cultural synthesis which is created in Australia.

Amongst the Italian-Australians of Melbourne ethnic identity manifests itself most frequently as regionalism through the many clubs and associations based on Italian localities of origin. Italian-Australian community life has fragmented, and has few unifying institutions, representative processes and leaders. There has however been a tendency to symbolize Carlton as the centre of Italian Australian community life, based on the Lygon St precinct and the Festa. This paper asks the question "What remains of Italian Carlton? Is it the centre, the heartland, of Melbourne's Italian-Australian community? Does it adequately reflect Italian-Australian culture? Or is it becoming something frozen resembling a theme park promoting business and

tourism but unrelated to the community from which it takes its name?"

In the hey-day of Carlton's Italian period the sociologist Frank Lancaster Jones wrote his doctorate on Italian Carlton.[3]He wrote at a time when there were fears that a ghetto or permanent enclave would develop in Carlton, similar to the little Italies in the US. Jones found that Italians made up approximately 40% of the population of Carlton in 1958. For many of these immigrants Carlton was the starting place of the new life in Australia. Although it was a place of concentration, the Italian population was very fluid, as successive waves of new arrivals settled there as others moved on. However, while there were and possibly still are residents whose families have lived there for a lifetime, the fixed core of the community is small, and has rarely extended beyond two generations. Most moved to the spacious suburbs as soon as economic circumstances permitted. Carlton's history has been the continuing story of the replacement of one group by another: Irish by Jews by Italians by Italians then by university people and professionals.

The Italian presence began early in the 20th century with a concentration in south Carlton near the city. The history of Italian Carlton and the fluidity of the population are illustrated in the list of changing occupation of the buildings in a section of Lygon Street, sampled approximately every 5 years from 1900 to 1960. The data was compiled by colleagues assisting me with the preparation of the Carlton exhibition at the Museum of Victoria some time ago. It illustrates the origins and early development of the community.

Source: Maiuto and Veitch prepared for Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien
from Post Office Directories for Bridging Two Worlds: Jews, Italians and Carlton

LYGON ST

60	Di Giglio`s Band	1910
62	Di Giglio`s Band	1918
62	Di Giglio Misses	1926
98	Rouda	
110	Rouda S R	1956/1960 Cakes
112	De Marinis F	1950 Radio Retailer
112	De Mar	1956/1960 Electrics, Radio Retailer
120	Rouda A	1950
124	Studio Caruso	1960 Photographers, Photo Star
130	Zaccone & Petruccioli	1956 Coffee lounge
130	Mamba Coffee Lounge	1960
132	Fantoni L Mrs	1910 Laundry
132	Fontana Zifferina	1930/1935/1940/1950/1956 Boot Repairs
132	Fontana E	1956 Tlr
132	Conci Mario	1950
132	La Bussola Records	1960
134	Gagliardi P	1926
134	Gradito Lena Miss	1930 Costumer

134 Spangaro N	1930/1935/1940
134 Spangaro L Mrs	1935/1940 Costumer
134 La Rosa Edward	1945/1950
134 Fracaro F	1960 Boot Reprs
136 Gradito D	1930/1935/1940 Tailor
136 Fontana Z	1945 Boot Repairs
134-136 Fontana Z	1950
136 Zanotto G	1960 Shoes
142 Cerveri A	1926 Cafe
142 Bono F	1935/1940 Restaurant
144 Ferraro G I	1935/1940/1945/1950/1956 Fishmonger
146 Ippolito & Vanella	1950 Grocers
146 Ippolito V	1956 Grocer
142-146 Del Papa P	1960 Grocer

Among the first businesses was Lidia Fantoni's laundry at 132 Lygon Street. In the days before the first World War Italian immigrants in Carlton mostly originated in two parts of Italy, Potenza and the Aeolian Islands. Both these groups were identified with specific occupations. Those from Potenza were musicians who played string instruments on the streets and for private gatherings, while the Aeoliani were principally engaged in the fruit business. Prominent among those from Potenza were the De Gilio and Gagliardi musicians. Families from the Aeolian Islands – Bongiorno, Santospirito, Russo were located nearby in Bouverie Street. The first Italian newspaper in Melbourne, the *Voce d'Italia* was produced in Lygon Street by De Gilio, Santamaria, and others.

The Lidia Fantoni laundry at 132 Lygon Street. (From Co.As.It. Historical Society Collection)

Fontana the shoemaker at 132 Lygon Street twenty years later. Standing beside him is Gradito the tailor, whose shop was nearby at 136 Lygon Street. (from the Co.As.It. Italian Historical Society collection)

When immigration grew after the first World War, the Veneto and Friuli became an important source of settlers. One large group came from the Asiago high plain in Vicenza province. This area had been devastated during the wartime hostilities, and as there was little work after the towns were rebuilt, many came to Melbourne. During these inter war years terrazzo companies were established by Veneti and Friulani and these companies laid the foundations for the later Italian predominance in the building industry. Others came from Potenza, many now as tailors and other artisans, such as Gradito the tailor (photographed, above). Principal occupations of the men were in small businesses as tailors, bootmakers, as café or restaurant workers or in cement and terrazzo work. Carlton was a community of artisan businesses – tailors, shoemakers, barbers, musicians, factory workers and above all workers of cement and terrazzo. For women, work in the clothing industry or in family businesses became one of the main avenues of employment outside the home. The community was multidimensional, one where all the different facets of daily life - of home, work, recreation, religious and cultural activities, were interdependent.

The central institution was the parish centre at St George's, which included the church and church hall, the school and most important, the Lourdes grotto. Among ex Carlton residents, it is rare to find a family

A baptism recorded at St George's Grotto (from the Co.As.It. Italian Historical Society collection)

photograph album which does not include a group posed in front of the grotto, whether it was baptisms, communions, confirmations, Sunday groups, basketball teams, and most abundantly, weddings. All record an individual family milestone, but collectively they bear testimony to the centrality of the grotto in the religious and social life of the community.

The grotto was planned by Father Modotti, an Italian Jesuit appointed to the Melbourne Archdiocese as Chaplain to the Italian community in 1938. Newspaper articles of the day record that in its construction 120 tons of stone and cement were used, and the labour and transport was provided by Italian construction companies in Carlton. Several of these companies were involved in Terrazzo work. Immigrants from the Veneto and Friuli dominated the terrazzo industry in Melbourne, and they constituted the largest origin group among Carlton's Italians.

The construction and blessing of the grotto took place at a time when wartime restrictions against Italians as enemy aliens were in full swing and anti-Italian sentiment was high. Father Modotti's organisation of the community to construct the grotto can be seen as a form of protest against wartime restrictions. It was the most public of many actions designed to raise the morale of Carlton's and Melbourne's Italians during the difficult war years, and this lent a special significance to the grotto.

When social gatherings again took place after the war, the church hall was used for concerts and other social activities. Saturday night dances were popular and were a means of integrating newcomers into the community. Not only spiritual needs were met at Sunday mass at St George's. The church grounds were busy with aspiring businessmen and real estate agents who distributed handbills describing their wares or the services they could provide. The marriage statistics for St George's record the increasing Italian involvement with the church over the years, so that by 1960 nine out of ten marriages performed at St Georges were between Italians. Now, forty years later, the Italian association with St George's has ended. The church now practices the Maronite rite, serving the Lebanese population. The community's grotto remains forlorn in its isolation.

Giorgio Mangiamele's study of an espresso bar in the 1950s. Note the terrazzo floor. (from the Co.As.It. Italian Historical Society collection)

Another institution was the espresso coffee bar. Initially these bars were meeting places for the men, where meals were had, cards played and sometimes alcohol consumed. Sporting and other recreational activities were organised through the cafes. Here university students had their first contacts with Italian food, and it was here that pizza was introduced to Melbourne, at Toto's in Lygon Street. The cafes, now restaurants, are still there, some with the same names, although usually with different proprietors, not always of Italian origin. Unlike the parish, the cafes have been enduring, but many of the clients are not from the local community but from other parts of Melbourne. The cafes are now the most consciously Italian reference in Carlton.

In the post war migration surge there was a dramatic rise in numbers of Italian immigrants in inner-urban areas such as Carlton, and it was at this time that the Italian concentration in Carlton grew to form the majority of the residents of the area. In the 1950s almost all the regions were represented in the Carlton population, as the following table shows. The Veneti were still the largest group, and the longest settled, as the naturalisation figures suggest, while many of the newcomers were from Sicily and Calabria. The Veneti and Friulani gave a particular character to the community, by transforming many domestic back yard activities into social events, such as the making of wine and grappa, and by weekend bocce games.

Sample of Carlton Households, 1958
Source: Jones

Region of birth	Naturalised	Not Naturalised	Total
Emilia	3	13	**16**
Friuli VG	41	36	**77**
Liguria	1	8	**9**
Lombardy	8	16	**24**
Piedmont	15	10	**25**
Trentino AA	9	8	**17**
Veneto	237	174	**411**
Lazio	3	14	**17**
Marches	0	9	**9**
Tuscany	26	23	**49**
Umbria		8	**8**
Abruzzo & Molise	18	70	**88**
Basilicata	62	62	**124**
Calabria	31	100	**131**
Campania	8	20	**28**
Puglia	25	24	**49**
Sardinia	3	5	**8**
Sicily	44	108	**152**
Trieste	3	19	**22**
Other (not specified)	73	62	**135**
Total	610	789	**1399**

Perceptions by the host society centred on fears of the development of a permanent concentration or ghetto, such as had been the case with Italian communities in north America. At times journalists borrowed the north American terminology and described the suburb as a "Little Italy". The tone of such reports was patronising, and often negative. Italians were viewed as representing problems, and the concentration was considered undesirable. Despite the predominance in the building and terrazzo industry of the Italians and their repair and renovation of many of the residential buildings, slum clearance was proposed. Even the Italian transformation of the buildings came to arouse negative responses, this time from urban conservation groups. With the demolition of a substantial section of central Carlton residential buildings and their replacement by high rise Housing Commission apartments, the character of Carlton began to change.

The high point of Italian Carlton was reached during President Saragat's visit in 1967, when flags were flown from the buildings and people lined the streets in a great outpouring of self-confidence after many of the the difficulties of the arrival period had been overcome, but by 1967 the fragmentation of the community was beginning. The visit marked the Italian government's recognition of the immigrants, and also the coming of age of the community, which began to organise itself by establishing the welfare associations and regional clubs, such as the Veneto Club and the Fogolar Furlan. These clubs and most of the other organisations were in the new residential areas of the respective groups.

The Lygon St Festa, one of the other Italian institutions in existance today, began only in 1978 when Italian Carlton was already in decline. The Italian businesses in Lygon Street were heavily involved in the festa, and there was a strong Italian cultural focus. Over the years however the cultural activities have declined, and the festa has taken on the nature of a market, and has lost much of its Italian character. In large measure this is due to the continuing decline in the numbers of people of Italian origin living and working in Carlton, and to the shift in occupations and interests of the next generation of Italian-Australians. Now the festa is not so much an extension of the business and cultural activity of the street, but a tourist event to which people are drawn from other parts of Melbourne.

The transformation of Italian Carlton coincided with the end of immigration from Italy, when numbers were no longer replenished by new arrivals. At the 1996 census the Italian-born population did not register in the top 10 birthplace groups of Carlton residents. With the decline in resident numbers, the community is no longer

multidimensional. The employment, the crafts and trades, the residents and the parish have gone, leaving the cafes and the festa. An Italian ambiance has been created following the change of liquor laws to permit dining outdoors, and Italian is still heard on the street. This public dimension of Italian-Australian life remains significant. Now however it relies on a different sort of traveller – those from the suburbs - to give it meaning.

Italian Carlton is now an imagined community, whose existence rests more on an idea than a reality - on the imagined bonds of comradeship, of the rite of passage into becoming an Italian-Australian, and of the shared experiences of the settlement phase, where identities were given not constructed. When we return to the idea of Italian Carlton, to the cafes and the festa, we use our historical imagination to reaffirm an Italian-Australian identity.

Finally, we must remember that Italian Carlton was never fixed and static, it was always in constant change. It must remind us that Italian Australian culture is always being transformed. The Italian Australian Institute is part of another process of cultural evolution, and it has a vital role in fostering community development activities and research which recognize and support the continuing growth of our Italian-Australian culture and identities.

Notes

[1] Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien, 'Local, Globalisation and Latin Humanism' a paper presented to the Cassamarca Foundation Conference, New York, May, 2000, publication forthcoming.
[2] Robert F Harney and J Vincenza Scarpaci (eds), *Little Italies in North America,* Toronto, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981.
[3] Frank Lancaster Jones, 'Italians in the Carlton area: the growth of an ethnic concentration', PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1961.

The Role of Culture in Business Negotiations between Italy and Australia

Laura Bregu-Hougaz

"When in Rome do as the Romans do…"

As the new Millennium sets in and the emphasis on globalisation increases steadily, more importance is being paid to the internationalisation process of business. Competition has increased and few businesses, even the smallest, survive from any international contact. Businesses communicate internationally through personal interaction, interpreters and translators and it has become increasingly important for companies to prepare employees to function in international markets. Although many employees will not be in a position of having to move physically overseas, they will, however be required to work with others internationally via temporary travel or electronic communication.

However, the logistics of doing business with a foreign country can be a nightmare. There are issues such as financing, meeting government requirements and sorting through legal issues, the issue of actually getting the merchandise delivered and difficult customs requirement , and the issue of finding the right foreign partner. The pitfalls of conducting a business in a foreign country are many, but one of the greatest mistakes is assuming that every country does business in the same way.

Communicating across cultures is a skill that must be developed. However, the need for increased cross-cultural awareness is not a new concept. In 1930, in the UK, the Committee on education for salesmanship's Report on Modern Languages to the President of the Board of Education said that "when we have to go to the world to sell […] it is essential for the manufacturer at home and his representatives on the spot […] to get to understand the characteristics of the people of the country […] and to have a good grasp, not merely of trade conditions and regulations, but also of social and political factors […] It is obvious that these conditions cannot be fulfilled unless representatives abroad are expert linguists, and unless there is a sound knowledge among the staff and principals at headquarters in this country of the languages of the more important countries with which the firm trades" (British Overseas Trade Board, 1978, p.25).

In 1947 Ruth Benedict wrote:

"One of the handicaps of the twentieth century is that we still have the vaguest and most biased notions, not only of what makes Japan a nation of Japanese but of what makes the United States a nation of Americans, France a nation of Frenchmen, and Russia a nation of Russians. Lacking this knowledge, each country misunderstands the other" (p.13).

Anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1960) commented in a Harvard Business Review article "When the American executive travels abroad to do business, he is frequently shocked to discover to what extent the many variables of foreign behaviour and custom complicate his efforts" (Graham and Herberger, 1983, p.161).

In view of the increasing international nature of business today, there is a need to become aware of the cultural differences which may significantly influence successful cross-cultural communication. "When a firm needs to communicate with its employees, its customers or clients, its vendors or its suppliers, it is important to know enough about the culture and the language of the message recipient to avoid misunderstandings" (McIntyre, 1991, p. 19-20).

However, as Barnlund points out, for intercultural understanding "more than mere contact is essential. People must become capable of empathy, of being able to project themselves into the assumptive world, the cultural unconscious, of an alien culture. Yet this is a formidable task unless there are ways to introduce people to the assumptive world of others" (1975, p.140).

The literature on cross-cultural awareness in international business is abundant. Karlene Roberts (1977) reviewed the literature (526 publications) on this topic and concludes that although abundant, most of the studies are limited and offer little in terms of explanations or conclusions.

Nancy Adler, a distinguished scholar on cross-cultural management, also notes that "unfortunately, not many studies have addressed cross-cultural interaction within organizational settings, the creation of universal patterns, or the balance between culturally specific and universal approaches" (1984, p.61).

Obviously, the greater the cultural gap between the countries doing business together, the greater the associated problems. Medenhall and Oddous (1986) also found that some cultures were 'tougher' for expatriates to adapt to than others. As numerous articles state, some countries, Asian or Middle Eastern, are more culturally distant and different from our western culture and thus produce more culture shock than others.

Hofstede (1980) provides a theoretical basis for analysing cultural differences when he suggests that some national cultures are more similar than others when judged with respect to four variables: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, and masculinity versus femininity. A significant problem facing international business activity is the failure to recognise the role that culture and language play in achieving successful communication across different cultures. Therefore an understanding of culture is pivotal to achieving successful cross-cultural communication.

<u>The concept of culture and implications for business</u>

Culture has a multitude of definitions. Anthropologists suggest that culture is that part of behaviour which is learnt from a particular group and shared with others, and that cultures differ in the material things that they use, the manner in which they handle time and space, the things they value and how the things they value are context-related.

Organizational theorists suggest that culture is a shared system of meaning. It includes beliefs, values and norms, and implicit basic assumptions which condition the behaviour of a group of people. These elements are interrelated, "interlocked; influenced by each other and ultimately influence the behaviour of people and groups" (Aviel, 1990, p.9). Murdoch (1945) attempted to produce a comprehensive list of characteristics which make up culture. The list comprises the following:

Age grading	Food taboos	Music
Athletic sports	Funeral rites	Mythology
Bodily adornment	Games	Numerals
Calendars	Gestures	Obstetrics
Cleanliness training	Gift giving	Penal sanctions
Community organisation	Government	Personal names
Cooking	Greetings	Population policy
Cooperative Labour	Hair styles	Postnatal care
Cosmology	Hospitality	Pregnancy usages
Courtship	Housing hygiene	Property rights
Dancing	Incest taboos	Propitiation of
Decorative arts	Inheritance rules	supernatural beings
Divination	Joking	Puberty customs
Division of Labour	Kin groups	Religious rituals
Dream interpretation	Kinship nomenclature	Residence rules
Education	Language	Sexual restrictions
Eschatology	Law	Soul concepts
Ethics	Luck superstition	Status differentiation
Ethnobotany	Magic	Surgery

Etiquette	Marriage	Tool making
Faith healing	Mealtimes	Trade
Family	Medicine	Visiting
Feasting	Modesty concerning	Weaning
Fire making	natural functions	Weather control
Folklore	Mourning	

Many researchers, through their work, have described the rules, norms and values of foreign cultures which international negotiators should be aware of and adopt in order to achieve greater success (Hofstede,1980 and 1991, Hall and Hall 1987, Tung 1982, Adler and Graham, 1989 among others)

Geert Hofstede, a Dutch researcher in intercultural communication and organizational practices,interprets culture as a "collective phenomenon". According to him culture is "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another". He stresses that culture is learned, it is absorbed from one's social environment.

According to Hofstede culture displays itself in different ways: symbols, rituals, heroes and values. During the 1970s, he carried out the first major and serious analysis of differences among employees of IBM in 50 different countries and 3 regions, noted the cultural differences and developed a theoretical basis of 5 "dimensions of national cultures" for analysing cultural differences. Italy is one of the countries researched by Hofstede and his results overall imply some difference between the Italian and the Australian cultures of the 70s, although the two countries are not too culturally distant. His work is interesting and supports the explanation that basically there are some significant differences between the way Italians and Australians do business and expect business to be done. Basically, his study reveals the following results when the two countries are judged with respect to:

– power distance (boss autocratic and employees afraid) . Italy, placed 34th out of 53 countries, has a higher power distance than Australia which is placed 41st ;
– collectivism v individualism. Hofstede's findings reveal a strong relationship between a country's national wealth and the degree of individualism in its culture. Italy is placed 7th out of 53 countries and Australia is 2nd after the USA;

Both countries are strongly individualistic. Italy in particular, has quite a reputation for being individualistic and passive at the same time. Many importers are familiar with this aspect of Italian culture, particularly if a problem with an order arises. When one enquires, the

response will usually be something along these lines: "A problem? What's the matter? So this week the shipment is late and may not be enough. Next week it will come early and maybe we'll give you a little more! Non si preoccupi!"

Italy, like France and Belgium, reveals a combination of medium power distances with strong individualism. The two attitudes are in some way contradictory but Michel Crozier (Crozier, 1964, p.222) has provided justification for this by pointing out that "they can be reconciled within a bureaucratic system since impersonal rules and centralization make it possible to reconcile an absolutist conception of authority and the elimination of most direct dependence relationships". Another explanation provided by Hofstede is that countries, such as Italy, which have achieved fast economic development (through the Italian Economic Miracle of the 1960's) have experienced a shift towards individualism.

Femininity v masculinity (masculinity refers to societies in which social gender roles are clearly distinct ie. men are assertive, tough, focussed on material success, while women are considered modest, tender, more interested in the quality of life) . Hofstede's study reveals Italy as being in 4/5th position equal with Switzerland (more masculine), while Australia is 16th in rank. This reveals a society in which masculine (and fathers') roles are different from feminine (mothers') roles. Men deal with facts and women deal with feelings.

This has repercussions therefore for women in business who often find Italian men "openly macho, […] and degrading to women" "Italian men have very sensitive egos, and they find it difficult to take advice from younger, more technical women". "Other women found that being a woman could be an advantage sometimes, as the men were curious to see a foreign female in a high administrative role, especially if she spoke fluent Italian. They then would fall over themselves to be helpful" (Wilen) in uncertainty avoidance (the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations).

Italy is ranked 23rd out of 53 countries and Australia is 37th, demonstrating a higher level of anxiety in Italy. More anxious cultures tend to be also the more expressive cultures and are characterised by people 'talking with their hands', speaking and discussing in a loud voice and where it is quite acceptable to show one's emotions. In countries with higher anxiety, "people come across as busy, fidgety, emotional, aggressive, active" (Hofstede, 1991) – a characteristic commonly associated with Italians- while in low-anxiety countries "people give the impression of being quiet, easy-going, indolent,

controlled, lazy", Australians often perceived as being more 'relaxed, fun-loving and easy going people'.

An additional interesting characteristic is that, according to Hofstede's findings (Hofstede, 1980, p.178; 1984, p.134) in strong uncertainty avoidance countries, civil servants tend to foster negative feelings towards politics and politicians (an apparent Italian characteristic) and there tends to be more conservatism; in weak uncertainty avoidance countries, positive feelings.

As early as 1960 the American anthropologist Edward Hall began to research the "many variables of foreign behaviour and custom" (in Graham and Herberger, 1983, p. 161) by observing the characteristics which shape them, in particular, concepts of high and low-context cultures, and the concepts of space and time (Hall and Hall, 1990)

Aspects of space and time may be strikingly different in different countries. In some cultures more than others, space is power. The Italian concept of space is different from the Australian concept. With 56 million Italians living in a country the size of Victoria, personal space is restricted and this factor has shaped some aspects of the Italian culture, the way Italians relate to one another and has repercussions also in the Italian language where the formal level of address is used in order to maintain or create 'psychological distance' or psychological space. In the work environment, this "creates an atmosphere of teamwork approximating that of the Japanese. A Briton, American or German needs more space or "elbow room" to work effectively and this shows itself in such matters as office layout and use of space both in factories and in administrative areas. Be prepared to 'rub shoulders' with Italians" (Lewis, 1996, p.220). The Italian concept of space also means that particularly in small towns, everybody knows everything about everybody, particularly if you're female!

Space is also a multisensory experience. For Italians living close to one another, getting close physically and relating in a close, affectionate manner is considered normal. Thus people walk down the street arm in arm (women and sometimes men too), they handshake if on formal terms and they touch, hug and kiss friends and relations. Multisensory space also includes lots of noise everywhere!

Italians have a different concept of time. Comments such as this are common: "Everyone in Italy is always late! So a good suggestion is: if you want your meeting to start at 2pm, set it for 1.30 because people will arrive 30 minutes late". Time in Italy is frequently viewed as having a lower priority to other matters, so being late for an important phone call is quite acceptable.

Hall has developed the theory of two extreme kinds of time, one opposite to the other. On the one hand are countries which have monochronic cultures ie. due to time limitations they prefer to do one thing at a time, one after the other in some logical sequence. eg USA and Australia.

On the other hand there are countries which have polychronic cultures i.e people prefer to do many things at once, and there is great involvement with other people. eg Italy .

A good example of this: "Italians all have portable phones, and they bring them to meetings, where they carry on phone conversations in a way that we would consider rude."

Monochronic work places tend to be quiet, with private offices and look carefully organised. Workplaces in polychronic cultures are noisy and prefer large offices or reception rooms, lots of noise and movement and may look disorganised.

"I arrived in Milan for a business meeting […] As I walked closer, I could hear voices raised, all talking over each other. I peeked in the door to make sure it was the right meeting, and I saw the polychronic experience. Some of the Italian men were pacing the floor with cigarettes hanging out of their mouths. Others were scribbling on the whiteboards making wild gestures. They didn't speak one at a time, but rather talked over each other with multiple conversations in English and Italian at the same time. All the while espresso was getting passed around and percolating in the background. Finally someone noticed me, handed me the marker, pointed at the whiteboard and said "Well, what are you waiting for? What do you think?" (Wilen)

Time is also conceived in the sense of tempo: some countries are fast-moving. Others are slow. When these two cultures meet they should be aware of this and try to find some meeting point so that they can work "in synch".

When dealing with a particular culture it is important to understand what, in that culture, is considered "proper timing". When does/does not one take holidays? Which are the national holidays? We all know that it is no use going to Italy to do business at Ferragosto. It is just like Italians coming to do business in Australia during the Christmas-New Year break.

Hall stresses the fact that national and corporate characteristics are created and shaped by cultural traits. If basic cultural concepts (which include the historical background, regionalism, class structures, etc.) are not understood and appreciated, Italy's formal business climate where business people refer to each other, by surnames and courtesy titles

cannot be appreciated. To be so familiar as to use first names in business negotiations is reserved for close friends and if appropriate formality is not observed, the meeting could get off to a bad start.

An example of the recognition and appreciation or lack of cultural differences is Sunbeam in Italy. The history of two subsidiaries of the Sunbeam corporation in Italy (Sunbeam Italiana and Rowenta Italia) provides important insights into the importance of the role of language and culture in business negotiations. In 1977 Sunbeam Italiana appointed a Swiss manager who continued to live in Switzerland and returned from Milan to Switzerland every week-end. Basically he had very few Italian contacts and did not have a business network in Italy. Rowenta, on the other hand, appointed an Italian manager with a wide business network in Milan and the rest of Italy. His cultural and linguistic competence was obviously markedly superior to his Swiss counterpart. The result was that two years later Sunbeam Italiana was in deep trouble and went into liquidation. (Miller, 1990). Rowenta Italia understood and appreciated the Italian cultural environment and this supported its success.

Communication is difficult unless the culture is understood and when dealing with unfamiliar cultural differences, some situations may be interpreted as curious or even as threatening. Numerous cultural guides have been compiled attempting to analyse the cultural environment of different countries in the world and provide cultural do's and don'ts for diverse business situations. In Moran's chapter dedicated to Italy, he refers to Italians as the "masters of the mise-en-scene", experts in obtaining the right effects. This is supported by Wilen's description of the Italian 'art' of negotiating.

"Have you ever negotiated with an Italian? The experience I had was very much like attending an opera. Of course there is always a tragic story that you need to know before the negotiation starts. And the person you are negotiating with is the victim […] Unless you help. The overture starts and the scene is set. He rises before you, the room is dark, the people sombre. The first act will begin. The negotiator expresses his heartfelt sorrow over the situation, his despair, he shows you pictures of his children, and tells you how they will suffer if things do not work out for him in his work. Only you can help. He then goes into the second act with a higher-pitched voice, and his arms start swinging around as he shows you their agony through his voice and face and intonations. Then the negotiation story reaches a climax with his needs or plea to you (however outrageous it may be). He stops, checks to see if he has totally lost you, and then slowly lets you down to rest. The story is over. He sits

down. He pulls out a cigarette and takes a long draw from it. He wipes his brow. And you are left to ponder his tragic case." (Wilen)

In our "global economy", business people must be prepared to function efficiently at a "global level". There is extensive literature available regarding the need for individuals who work internationally to be well prepared not only to do the job itself (i.e. functional expertise), but also to understand the cultural context in which the person must function.

However, despite this extensive literature supporting the importance of the role of culture in business negotiations, the general perception of business executives regarding the type of preparation necessary in order to function successfully is quite the opposite, supporting the view that international expertise is gained simply by international travel and assignments abroad.

A study undertaken in the US by McEnery and DesHarnais (1990) revealed which are considered the most important factors when working in an unfamiliar culture. By far the most highly valued factor in organizations is regarded to be technical competence. The other factors are closely related skills: knowledge of business practices in the relevant country, human relations skills, foreign language skills. Knowledge of the target culture was considered the least critical skill. (Appendix 1). Yet all of these last few factors rely on the person's basic ability to understand the culture of the other country.

Another study by Czepiec and Hammonds (1994) surveyed executives' attitudes towards a variety of skills considered necessary in international business. The executives evaluated English communication skills (87.8%) and interpersonal skills (78.3%) as most important. Foreign language proficiency (27.2%) and knowledge of foreign culture (27.8%) were considered less important than communication, analytical and computer skills. (Appendix 2)

Training to function internationally does not feature as a high priority within business corporations or educational institutions and there is a lack of research regarding what kind of preparation is regarded as appropriate in order to function efficiently. Most information available about the needs for appropriate training is simply anecdotal. From most of the data available, the factor which is considered most critical for international success is functional expertise. It is unclear which other factors follow or in which order.

The individual's personality is certainly considered an important factor (McEnery and Des Harnais, 1988) and this is supported by

research in the area of personality characteristics and interpersonal skills from surveys of business executives.

Research (Kobrin 1984; McEnery & Des Harnais, 1988, 1990; Czepiec and Hammonds 1994) has found that support for training in cultural skills and language skills varied depending on the role of the individual and the geographic region, but that generally these are considered important although not of primary importance.

Acknowledging the perceived importance of all the above mentioned factors, Swinburne University of Technology has developed a unique training program which encompasses all these factors into one 'double degree' educational course: it has combined training in Business (majors in Marketing, International Business, Economics, Accounting, e-commerce, Business Law etc.) – thus providing the functional expertise- and in Italian and European Union Studies, a course which provides cultural training in Italian and European Union, with particular emphasis in the business context, plus proficiency in the Italian language.

Over the last few years, the number of double degree Bachelor of Business/Bachelor of Arts (Italian) students has been increasing and the program has gained a high reputation. It is planned to begin to track the graduates and their career paths over several years. Any study or survey undertaken will not be completed for a few years until course graduates settle into careers and the results may provide documented evidence of the impact and efficacy of the course.

Swinburne University is currently the only institution providing business training for young people to deal internationally with Italy in the future. At present much of the business and trade between Italy and Australia is being run by first-generation Italians. By training the right people in the right way, the trade exchange between Italy and Australia will continue to grow and strengthen well into the future.

APPENDIX 1

McEnery and DesHarnais (1990)

Most importance of skills when working in international positions

skills	*mean*
Technical competence	4.6
Knowledge of business practices in relevant country	4.3
Human relations skills	4.2
Foreign language skills	4.0
Knowledge of the target culture	3.9
(1 = definitely not important; 5 = definitely important)	

APPENDIX 2

Czepiec and Hammonds (1994)

Executives' evaluations of necessary skills for entry level in international business jobs

skills	*very important*
English communication skills	87.8%
Interpersonal skills	78.3%
Analytical skills	51.4%
Computer skills	44.9%
Knowledge of foreign culture	27.8%
Foreign language proficiency	27.2%

The Italian Heritage in Leichhardt: Sydney's 'Little Italy'
Anne Reynolds

Beginning towards the end of the 1920s, a small Italian community formed around the intersection of Norton Street and Parramatta Road, Leichhardt, later extending into Petersham to the south and Five Dock to the west. Italian chain migration to Sydney began in earnest in the 1920s, and by 1933 there were 400 Italians in the Leichhardt area. Originating in a small number of villages, settlers in the Leichhardt area came from Sicily, the Aeolian Islands, Basilicata, Tuscany and the Veneto, principally from Treviso. Over the first three decades of the twentieth century, the types of work carried out by the Italian residents of Leichhardt Municipality changed, reflecting the shift in the socio-economic composition of the area. According to *Sand's Directory,* between 1858 and 1933, 259 Italian-run shops and businesses were established, although this number never operated at the same time. More than half of the businesses were greengrocers. The majority were grouped along the then main business street, of the period, Parramatta Road.

Italian settlements and organisations set up prior to World War II served as reference points for the much greater numbers of immigrants from the early 1950s. During the post-war economic boom, the Italian community grew significantly, with the Italian-born population in Sydney reaching over 67,000 by the 1971 Census. A major Italian residential concentration extended from Norton Street in Leichhardt to Five Dock, Annandale, Petersham, Summer Hill and Ashfield. According to the 1971 Census, there were 5,000 Italian–born living in Leichhardt, and over 10,000 in the general area. Leichhardt received Italians arriving either directly from Italy or via other inner-Sydney suburbs, and it functioned primarily as a "zone of transition". In the first case, it offered immigrants what Seymour has referred to as a port of call, enabling them to become accustomed to the new reality before going elsewhere. In the second case, it was a stage in the process of immigration that marked the shift from single to married life. A consequence of this stepping-stone function was an ongoing renewal of the Italians living in Leichhardt. Relatively few families stayed in Leichhardt for longer than a five-year period.

Post-World War II Italian immigration brought large numbers of Italians to Australia (more arrived in the period 1945-1951 than the total number before the war) and many took employment in the construction and manufacturing industries. Before the war, the majority of Italians had worked in agriculture and independent businesses. This shift was caused by a changed emphasis in the post-war economy, and cities became the new focal point for immigrants in Australia. During this process, the suburb of Leichhardt took on a more important function for Sydney's Italians. Before the war, it had been one of the several suburbs in which Italians in inner Sydney had lived.

Demographic changes in the wider population after the war contributed to the early concentration in inner-city suburbs of immigrant groups. With the improvement of transport and the growing desire to live in areas with detached houses and gardens, the Australian-born population of inner Sydney decreased from 1947 to 1966. Immigrants in need of affordable accommodation partially compensated for the decline in the population of inner-city areas. Burnley uses Local Government Areas (LGA) for his study of the make-up and distribution of the population of metropolitan Sydney from 1947 to 1966, during which 34.9 per cent of the increase in population was a result of immigration. In inner Sydney, the Australian, United Kingdom and New Zealand-born population fell by 31.5 per cent during this period. Italian immigrants constituted 72 per cent of the overseas-born increase in the LGA of Leichhardt.

The number of Italian immigrants living in the suburb of Leichhardt before the war is not sufficient explanation for why it later became associated with Italians. Nearby Glebe and Balmain, with comparable socio-economic compositions and numbers of Italian immigrants and businesses, especially in the pre-war period, did not become similarly linked with Italians. The numbers of Italians necessary to serve as a basis for a heavy concentration are not shown in the pre- and post-war Census data for Leichhardt. As Burnley notes, there were groupings of Italians in the connecting areas of neighbouring suburbs such as Petersham and Annandale which, considered as a contiguous area, can be seen as the primary concentration of Sydney's Italians as early as 1933.

By the 1971 Census, there were 2,580 Italian-born living Leichhardt, constituting 19.21 per cent of the total population. Reasons for the high proportion of Italians in the post-war years include previous concentrations, pre-established social and occupational patterns, and the presence of St Fiacre's Church. Chain migration at its most advanced could mean that whole sections of some streets came from one village.

Immigrants who decided to come to Australia independently were drawn to areas of previous settlement for the sense of familiarity they provided. Leichhardt and adjacent areas had numerous factories employing men and women, as well as construction companies hiring men. Houses in Leichhardt cost less than in surrounding suburbs; this price difference was more marked in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Proximity to transport and the city meant that Leichhardt remained an attractive option, despite its perceived inferior status in relation to nearby suburbs such as Haberfield, Ashfield and Five Dock.

Early Italian immigrants settling in Leichhardt had chosen the suburb for its proximity to transport and industries, because it was relatively cheap and it offered potential for development. As Leichhardt was not sought after for aesthetic reasons in the 1960s and early 1970s, as were suburbs such as Balmain, Glebe and Paddington, the process of gentrification that began in the late 1960s did not place the Italian's claim to the area at risk. In both 1966 and 1976 the highest concentrations of Italians in Sydney were centred on Leichhardt, although this concentration had already started to spread by 1966 to close-by middle-class suburbs such as Drummoyne, Haberfield and Five Dock. Seymour describes Leichhardt as the "'hub' of Sydney's Italian population'" in the 1950s and 1960s, and notes its role as a major point of contact from which Italians gradually moved. The movement of immigrants to Leichhardt can be considered for a significant number of Italians in Sydney as a kind of bridge between an early stage of migration and more permanent establishment.

The escalating number of Italians in Leichhardt after the war meant a necessary expansion of businesses to meet their requirements. Estate agents, travel agents, wine and fashion shops were added to the businesses traditionally associated with Italian immigrants. Jamrozik refers to the period from the early 1950s to the 1960s as one of Southern European influence in which 'ethnic' food outlets began to proliferate (the first of these were opened between the late 1940s and the early 1950s) and the production of new foods – vegetables and fruit, the manufacture of small goods and pasta – expanded. Skills relating to the renovation and restoration of old buildings came to Australia mainly through immigrants, particularly those from Southern Europe. Jamrozik cites Burnley's study of 1966 Census data which noted that in the building industry Italians predominated in plaster, concrete and terrazzo work, as well as in bricklaying. Jamrozik describes the important role of immigrants in the renovation and preservation of old buildings in inner-city suburbs. In 1976 there were 175 Italian-owned

businesses operating in Leichhardt, just over half of the entire number. Only a small number of them catered exclusively to the immigrant community or sold only Italian products. There was apparent interaction between the Italian and Australian business communities. In the decades after the war, Italians made up 20 per cent of the membership of the Westgate Chamber of Commerce, the local business association, a network of different kinds of businesses and associations that encompassed professional services, newspapers and clubs.

Cultural manifestations of the Italian presence in Leichhardt include *La Fiamma* the newspaper founded in 1947 by the Capuchin friars. From 1951 with an independent editor, the newspaper first had its main office on Parramatta Road, Leichhardt, and was (and still is) Sydney's most important Italian newspaper. By 1967 *La Fiamma* had a readership of 44,000. It was established by the Capuchins to combat the radical newspaper *Il Risveglio* (The Awakening), building on an idea for an Italian newspaper which Father Domenico La Rosa had expressed in 1945 to the hierarchy of the Sydney Archdiocese. Permission to publish an Italian language newspaper was sought through the Department of Immigration and, after initial problems over conditions of publication, the Catholic Archdiocese sponsored the initiative, with the financial backing of Ulisse Pellegrini. In April 1947, *La Fiamma* Pty. Ltd. was formed and the first monthly issue appeared on 15 April. From 1971 La Fiamma's director was Dr Evasio Costanzo who had been its chief editor for many years. *La Fiamma* progressed from monthly to bi-monthly publication in 1948, to a weekly in 1949 and, by 1958, it came out twice a week, with a print-run of 28,000. The newspaper acted as a pressure group on various parts of government when issues concerning Italian immigrants arose. For many years, *La Fiamma* criticised the lack of organisation in the Italian community and included editorials promoting this missing organisation. For Costanzo, intense personal and public participation in the Australian community was necessary in order to attain the desired integration. According to Costanzo, the paper's best achievement was its active role in the Australian Government's decision regarding the transferability of pensions from Australia to Italy. Like the A.P.I.A. Club, *La Fiamma* is seen as having an authentic and important connection with the Italian community.

The creation in 1954 of the A.P.I.A ("Associazione Polisportiva Italo-Australiana", or Italian-Australian All Sports Association) was seen to prove wrong those who claimed that Italians were incapable of uniting in order to work towards collective goals. An editorial in La Fiamma at the time of the official opening of Stage I of the new club premises in

Fraser Street Leichhardt (19 March 1962) stated that the A.P.I.A. reflected "a transition from the amorphous community to social life, from agglomeration to organisation, from the indistinct and voiceless group to a society representing traditions and legitimate rights and interests" (cited in Di Nicola, 1984, p. 166). The A.P.I.A. was perceived as an association with the most legitimate connection to the Italian community, making it also politically significant. Italian participation in the majority of Australian organisations was minimal. In recording the early history of the A.P.I.A., in an article of 26 September 1967 *La Fiamma* noted:

"For the first time in the history of Sydney […] Italian emigrants have succeeded in creating a community for themselves, an order, an association. For the first time in the history of Sydney Italians have given generously, without self-interest, suspicion or fear. For the first time in the history of Sydney Italians have come of age, and provided proof of civic and democratic virtues."

(Per la prima volta nella storia di Sydney […] gli italiani emigrati erano riusciti a darsi una comunità, cioè un ordine, una sede. Per la prima volta nella storia di Sydney gli italiani avevano dato generosamente senza interesse, senza sospetto, senza timore. Per la prima volta nella storia di Sydney gli italiani erano diventati maggiorenni, avevano dato prova di virtù civiche e democratiche.)

In 1954 Tullio Bearzotti, Fernando Spessot and Ivo Clagnan spoke as friends about the question of soccer in Sydney. Their discussion was in part prompted by the problems which the Julia soccer team was experiencing in the Canterbury District. At that time there were other Italian soccer teams, the Pro Patria and the San Francesco team based in Leichhardt. A group of those interested, including Clagnan and the others mentioned, as well as Giuliano Hreglich, son of the manager of Lloyd Triestino, the two Celloria brothers, Mr La Ginestra of EPT and the Capuchin friar, Anastasio Paoletti, Evasio Costanzo, Jim (Giacomo) Bayutti, and Mr Arquilla met at CUSA House in the city on 4 November 1954 and formed a committee to spearhead the establishment of an Italian sporting club. Besides their interest in soccer and other sports, many of the group were concerned to provide an outlet for the numbers of single immigrant Italian men and, as the objects [sic] of the first constitution of 1957 stated: "The prime object is to promote and encourage the sporting activities of Italian migrants, thus assisting their assimilation into the Australian society". The name A.P.I.A. was decided upon and a committee was formed, consisting of Bayutti (President), Arquilla and Laureola (Vice-Presidents), Bearzotti (Treasurer), and Clagnan (Secretary), together with ten committee members. The first sport promoted was basketball, which did not prosper. In 1955, A.P.I.A.

promoted a boxing match at Redfern Oval. Boxing was much followed at that time, with visits from many famous Italian boxers, including Coluzzi, Visintin, and Falcinelli. Some of the frustrations of the new immigrants were vented symbolically in the boxing matches at which tensions were sometimes high and scuffles broke out among spectators.

In the early days of A.P.I.A., the question of where meetings could be held was solved when Callagahan's Real Estate Agency in Annandale offered use of an office and telephone in their Parramatta Road premises. For bigger gatherings in the early years, the first floor of the Chianti restaurant in Elizabeth Street was used. Funds were raised through social events such as balls: there were three balls in 1955, at the Maccabean Hall in Darlinghurst, the Dungowan Restaurant in Martin Place (where guests paid ten shillings per head for a "cena fredda all'italiana" and heard the Orchestra Arquilla), and on the Showboat, Kalang where 400 people paid 1 pound to attend. In 1956 the ball at the Trocadero in George Street had 700 guests. These events brought the older-established Italians to mix with the newer arrivals. Raffles were also held to raise money, and Italian business (Cantarella, Lucchitti, Fiorelli, and others) donated prizes.

True to its name, the association sponsored a number of sports, including swimming, tennis (first played at the Italian Legation in Ocean Street, Woollahra), basketball, Italian bocce, boxing, indoor bowls, and cycling. Mr V. Gasparini (later of De Martin and Gasparini of Norton Street) was an early benefactor and later President of A.P.I.A., who offered transportation for the soccer team. The A.P.I.A. soccer team played its first matches in early 1956. The team colours, maroon shirts, white shorts and maroon and blue socks, were chosen to commemorate the untimely death of the Italian soccer team in May 1954 in a plane crash in Torino. The A.P.I.A./Leichhardt soccer team played in the Canterbury District, against teams such as Hurlstone Park, and had its home ground at Lambert Park in Leichhardt. As Soccer World, the weekly publication of the N.S.W. Federation of Soccer Clubs, reported on 11 May 1957 (p. 11), "it is the policy of the A.P.I.A. club to create better understanding with their fellow men through sport".

In June 1957, the first premises for the A.P.I.A. were opened above Lucchitti's grocery store in Norton Street. In this year the A.P.I.A. Club Ltd. was registered. Lucchitti had started in business in Parramatta Road, Stanmore and opened a second grocery shop at the Norton Street premises in 1956. Meetings in Norton Street investigated the possibilities for a permanent location. Leichhardt Council offered a 49-year lease on waste land at the end of Fraser Street, Leichhardt. With donations from

members to purchase adjoining land, permission from the N.S.W. Government to resume a metre of parkland, and payment to Council for the lease, a design for the clubhouse by the architect Arena was chosen and work began on the site, under Kit Bates, an Australian builder from Sutherland who had offered 20,000 pounds in a non-interest loan on condition that he built the club. Bayutti provided heavy drilling machinery, Sergio Asquini together with the Fantuz company were involved with the project, and others such as Zaccariotto, De Martin and Gasparini agreed to payment for their work when the financial position of the club had improved. There was great enthusiasm for the project, and the building of Stage 1 took very little time. Soccer was a glamorous sport and the new club premises, with its marble and other decorative elements, was a fitting venue. The Fraser Street clubhouse was a prestigious symbol of the Italian presence in Sydney,

The building's Stage I foundation stone was laid on 9 July 1960 by the Minister for Immigration, Alexander Downer. A loan for Stage II was secured from the Commonwealth Savings Bank which later opened a small branch in the new club's lobby. The official opening of Stage II was performed on 14 April 1965 by Prime Minister, Robert Menzies. In 1966 the estimated cost of building and fitting Stage II was 230,526 pounds. The official opening was well reported in the Sydney press, with an eight-page spread in the Daily Telegraph. The club's restaurant soon achieved fame, and its variety shows and dances were well patronised from the beginning. In 1966 the club's membership was 4,000; by 1968 membership stood at 8,000. By 1970 there were more than 13,000 members, 49% of whom were non-Italian. This was a considerable increase on the 630 members of 1956. Other Italian clubs throughout Australia looked to the A.P.I.A. Club for inspiration and advice. The founders of the club had altruistic motives, and were principally guided by the desire to help immigrants.

In the early 1970s, four Italian welfare-related organisations were operating in Leichhardt: Co.As.It. (Italian Social Welfare Association), ANFE (National Association for the Family of Migrants), INCA (National Federal Institute of Assistance) and FILEF (Italian Federation of Immigrant Workers and Families). Established in Leichhardt in 1972, FILEF was involved from the beginning in social and workers' assistance, publishing (its newspaper Nuovo Paese began as a weekly paper, moving to a fortnightly edition, then became a monthly magazine), and school liaison, together with the publication of teaching resources. It acted as a referral centre for issues involving pensions and

workers' rights, and drew to it those Italians who were not affiliated with regional or religious associations. Its principles were fundamentally anti-Fascist. FILEF is part of a national and international movement that was promoted in the 1960s by the Italian Senator, Carlo Levi, who brought up at a parliamentary level the questions of Italian emigration and emigrants' rights. In the early 1980s FILEF for the first time received Australian government funding and it was instrumental in establishing, together with other immigrant associations, the Multicultural Theatre Alliance and the Multicultural Arts Alliance. In these years FILEF was vocal in the cause of community languages and language education, and collaborated actively with trades unions, women's health centres, evening colleges, community groups in Leichhardt and immigrant lobby networks, such as the Immigrant Women's Speakout. In the run-up to the 1988 Bicentennial, FILEF took part in a Multicultural Committee for Aboriginal Rights. During the 1990s, with the changing demographics of the Italian-born population, it moved towards an interaction with more mainstream social movements (FILEF was instrumental in the "Reclaim the Night" movement), and has been an active supporter of COMITES, the consular-appointed welfare committee which has its headquarters in Leichhardt, as well as continuing its education program of adult-learning courses and language maintenance through the Vacanza Scuola immersion program.

Co.As.It., established on 28 May 1968, was involved with Leichhardt in its structure (the Capuchins of St Fiacre's and the A.P.I.A. club had members on its central management committee) and in its social, educational and interpreting work. Co.As.It.'s origins were closely linked to the San Francesco Catholic Italian Association (SFCIA) which came into being in 1943, and the later group, the Italo-Australian Welfare association (IAW). IAW and SFCIA worked in tandem until 1951 when SFCIA made Leichhardt its base in Norton Street. The Italo-Australian Welfare remained at the Casa d'Italia in Mary Street, Surry Hills, until it moved to Ashfield in rented premises. They held social events such as dances, especially for the single men. Funding came from the Australian and Italian governments. In 1973 San Francesco built a kindergarten in Styles Street, Leichhardt and wanted eventually to create a drop-in centre for the elderly, for when the community aged. In the 1990s Co.As.It. decided that Ashfield was not a suitable location, and money from the sale of Casa d'Italia in Surry Hills and from other sources made it possible for Co.As.It. to buy and build the community centre in Norton Street, Leichhardt, which was officially opened by the Italian

President, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, on 11 December 1998. In the 1970s Co.As.It. made submissions to the Henderson Inquiry on Poverty and to the NSW Immigration Task Force (regarding schools and Italian children in localities with Italian concentrations). Smaller regional clubs in Leichhardt included the Associazione Emilia Romagna, the Associazione Trieste and the Associazione Sicilia. The Circolo Isole Eolie, established in Sydney in 1903, was the first Italian regional club. The regional specificity of these clubs reflected a level of division among the broader Italian community.

A major reference point for Sydney's Italian community in the post-war period was the church of St. Fiacre's in Catherine Street, Leichhardt, which passed into Capuchin hands in 1946 when Cardinal Gilroy granted the parish to the care of three Italo-American Capuchins. St Fiacre's also functioned as a welfare agency for Italian immigrants. Its services from 1947-1972 were used by an estimated 60,000 Italians, and the church registers include 10,000 baptisms and 5,000 weddings. Funerals are now a more common service. Through the church, social contact, housing, and employment were facilitated. In the early years, single Italian males were the primary group to benefit, and proxy weddings were common. St Fiacre's was and is a social and religious reference point for many of Sydney's Italians and, as a result of its representation on the central management committee of Co.As.It., it has an important role in the administering of welfare services. Celebration of the feast days of Italian saints represented an important part of the church's activities, particularly in the early years.

The tendency for Italians to at some stage move on from Leichhardt, either after achieving a degree of financial success or, less commonly, in order to return to Italy, caused the suburb's Italian population to fall from around 5,000 in 1971 to 3,922 in 1976. Burnley has noted that in 1978 that the number of young families in the suburb was small, and that those who remained living in the area were usually older Italians who had been there for extended periods, had attained low levels of education in Italy, spoke limited English, and carried on Italian traditions. Not owning cars at an early stage, particularly on the part of women, contributed to the residential concentrations of immigrants. Owner-occupancy was the initial priority of the majority of immigrants. Dispersion often occurred later, when families had improved their situation and were able to move to another area. The majority of immigrants had limited English on arrival. This influenced the conditions of their settlement and was a factor in residential congregation, at least in the beginning.

Using a term Pascoe applied to the suburb of Carlton in Melbourne, Seymour describes Leichhardt as continuing to act as the "emotional centre" of Italo-Australian life in Sydney, in part due to the vitality of the businesses in the area that still serve Italians from all over Sydney. Although the term 'little Italy' might be used to refer to centres of Italian settlement where there is a high density of outward signs of the group's presence (Italian language advertising, small businesses, churches, etc), this presence does not mean the existence of strong segregation or a ghetto-like situation, or that the majority of the Italians live there. This has never been true in Sydney. It would be more accurate to describe Leichhardt as a "zone of transition" (Jupp et al. 1990: 18), characterised by a transient Italian population which took advantage of cheap rents and housing prices, as well as employment opportunities in the local area.

At least until the late 1980s, the high proportion of population dispersal in Sydney was facilitated by a degree of flexibility in the social class structure and in employment. Immigrants experienced employment mobility and inter-generational social mobility within the first generation. The high level of residential mobility meant that the political weight of immigration and ethnic identification in Sydney are not easy to assess. Political influences exist, especially at municipal level. Italians have been elected as aldermen in wards of the Leichhardt Municipality. Immigrants have impacted locally on other community groups such as chambers of commerce concerned with small business, parents' and citizens' associations, Catholic parish committees (although it was decided in 1958 that separate ethnic parishes would not be created in Australia), the leaderships of leagues' clubs, together with large clubs and organisations like the APIA club.

Towards the middle of the 1970s, there were approximately 250 Italian-owned small businesses in Leichhardt and Five Dock, with the majority in Parramatta Road, Norton Street, Marion Street and the Great North Road. The businesses were varied enough to fulfill all the requirements of Italians living in the area, but usually did not cater solely to an Italian market. They included pastry shops, bridal and gift shops, butchers, delicatessens, clothing and furniture shops, taxation agents, driving schools and professional services. Some non-Italian-owned businesses employed bilingual Italian speakers. By 1991, Italian businesses in the area had decreased by a third and found themselves alongside small businesses which were either Australian-owned or belonged to more recent immigrants from other backgrounds. Despite the area's Italian-born population having decreased, Italian small

businesses persisted since they also served the needs of the Italian population living in other parts of the city.

In the 1996 Census, only 1,532 Italian-born residents were counted in Leichhardt, a decline from the 1991 figure of 1,872. However, as Livio Benedetti noted in 1999, "Leichhardt remains at the centre of Italian cultural and community life. Italians, now spread all over Sydney, still gravitate to Leichhardt for community and commercial services which remain geared to their cultural and linguistic needs".

I will conclude with a brief history of the Melocco family, a case study of the points I have made today, especially about the centrality of Leichhardt and its municipality to an understanding of the presence of Italians in Sydney and of the historical importance and influence of Italians not only in that municipal area but in the rest of the city.

Peter Melocco (Toppo, Udine 1883-Sydney 1961), the eldest of the three Melocco brothers, arrived in Sydney in 1908, inspired by a lantern-slide show in New York of a booming construction industry. He had been sent to America for his secondary education to an aunt and uncle who was in the building trade. Trained as a mosaic artist and marble worker at the Cooper Union technical college in New York, Peter rapidly established himself in the decorative building trades, including plaster, mosaic and terrazzo. One of his earliest commissions was for St Mary's Cathedral, after the young Peter approached Cardinal Moran with his design for the Chapel of Irish Saints and undercut by half the 1,000 pounds which the project would otherwise have cost. According to Peter's daughter, Jean, he transported materials on the tram. The extended Melocco family lived at 84 and 86 Johnstone Street, Annandale in the early years before Peter moved to Vaucluse with his young family, close to the main site of the company's business, in Booth Street, Annandale.

Activity on a larger scale was made possible by the purchase of cutting equipment from Anthony Hordern's who ceased stone masonry operations for the construction of their George Street department store in 1913. Peter's younger brothers, Anthony (Tony) (1887-1946) and Galliano (Gally) (1897-1971), arrived in 1910. Anthony, who had trained as a mosaic worker in Paris, joined Peter in business and was largely responsible for the execution of Peter's designs, as production manager for the finishing trades and as an inventor in the revival of the ancient craft of scagliola. Galliano, who was notable for his engineering skills, did not take an active role in the company until 1926. Each brother served a different function in the partnership. Peter ran the business side, Tony specialised in production, and Galliano managed the

construction aspect, later taking part in the other two areas as well.

Melocco Bros. was the first in the building industry in N.S.W. to have experience in mosaic work. The company completed important work in Australia, New Zealand and Oceania, using marble, mosaic, and terrazzo which they introduced to Australia, and granolithic. It also carried out excellent work with decorative plaster at the time when this material was extensively used. As decorative plaster declined in popularity, marble, mosaic, terrazzo and scagliola work became their main industries. The interior of the banking chamber and other public areas of the Government (later Commonwealth) Savings Bank in Martin Place were clad during the boom period of the1920s with marble and the imitation marble called scagliola, using a craft never previously used in Australia which Peter perfected with Tony. A major surviving work is this interior of the Commonwealth Bank; a major loss is the later Rural Bank. During this period the company employed up to 200 workers, many of whom were skilled workers recruited from the Friuli region. Anthony was the skilled tradesman and a perfect foil for the design skills of his elder brother, Peter.

The inter-war period, particularly the 1920s, was a golden age for the decorative arts in Sydney, associated with the neo-classical Beaux Arts idiom and the burgeoning Art Deco style. Peter's design skills drew on diverse sources, including Greco-Roman, Byzantine, Italian Renaissance and medieval, in particular, the Book of Kells which was a source for the late work on the crypt of St Mary's. Peter's extensive library, including a facsimile copy of the Book of Kells, together with the company archives were destroyed by fire in the 1950s. Jean remembers her father's sketch-books of buildings and designs collected during travels, and his collection of publications on the decorative arts, from Paris and New York. America possibly had more influence on him than his native Italy. Peter saw himself primarily as an artist, though clearly he was also a talented and energetic industrialist. During the 1920s Melocco Bros. worked on most of the large bank and insurance buildings in Martin Place, as well as on the many picture theatres which were constructed in the city at that time, including the State Theatre, the Prince Edward and the Plaza. They cut and laid marble in the interior of the War Memorial in Hyde Park and completed marble work in David Jones and Farmers department stores. Principal among Melocco's many achievements in the post-war period are the terrazzo inlay floor of the sanctuary of St. Mary's Cathedral, completed between 1945 and 1948, and the main floor between 1950 and 1958; the interior of the Interstate Booking office at Central Railway Station, with a terrazzo floor mural, with themes of

transport over the ages; and the marble and terrazzo inlay floor in the vestibule of the State Library, featuring Tasman's map. During the work on the crypt main floor, Peter became very ill and visited the site in a wheelchair. Major influences on the floor design were the Book of Kells, with its Celtic designs and motifs, as well as the floor of the Siena Cathedral.

During the Depression, when Galliano became more involved in the company, there was intense competition for work. The Meloccos were subject to vilification in cartoons in Smith's Weekly, allegedly for denying work to Australians. However, Melocco Bros considered itself an Australian company and insisted on English being used in the factory. According to John, any preference for Friulani was based on their skills rather than their ethnicity.

The concrete and construction side was built up by Galliano, the youngest of the three brothers, enabling the business to survive. Melocco Bros. developed a number of concrete batching sites across Sydney. It was the first private company to use mechanical cement mixers, and in 1941 Galliano introduced mobile cement mixers, believed to be a first outside of North America. During the 1950s, demand for terrazzo declined as concrete work increased. New products included reconstituted stone such as that used on the Sydney Morning Herald building on Broadway. Melocco's St Peter's site and works were sold to a Mr Shaw who supplied pre-mixed mortar. Shaw subsequently sold out to Tristan Antico who founded Pioneer Concrete, the first concrete batching plant in Sydney. Antico had been the Melocco company accountant from 1947-1952.

The legacy of the Melocco brothers is substantial. Many of the skilled craftsmen who worked for the company went on to make their mark on Australian architectural history. Aldo Rossi, responsible for the mosaic work on the Australian War Memorial chapel, later independently executed the Aboriginal-designed forecourt of the new Parliament House. Their contribution to the buildings and building industry of Sydney and Australasia parallels that of the De Marchi in Melbourne. They were followed by such companies as Pioneer and Transfield. The Melocco contribution to Australia lives on in the number of high-quality buildings principally in Sydney, the many of which have been preserved for their heritage value and in recognition of their style and beauty.

The Role of Campanilismo in the Italian Australian Social Aggregation. The Case Study of the Toscany Club of Western Australia

Adriano Boncompagni

About Campanilismo

Emigration from Italy has a complex history. The geographical and social differences between the many geographical areas of the country are quite striking. The Australian historian Robert Pascoe writes:

"It is impossible to speak of 'the Italians': despite the many myths and caricatures surrounding the Italians, the only truth about them is their extreme regional diversity. Almost every region of Italy is cut off from the next by geography and culture. Not only do specific landscapes change from one area of Italy to another, but so do building styles and townscapes, and also the people, their customs, language and family life"[1].

It can be argued that culture is certainly shaped by the external influences of the physical, economic, political and social environments. Traditions and customs are the 'moulders' of the Italian culture, later transplanted within the host societies where migrants moved.

If the geography of a place, with its physical conditions, certainly shapes its culture, economy and, consequently, the predisposition of its inhabitants to either prosper or migrate, in many areas of Italy *space* has contributed to generate the sense of diversity of the many Italian identities present in the country.

"Space was the Italian peasant's enemy. When it came to land for cultivation, the contadino never had enough; what he had, demanded backbreaking labor for only meager returns. When it came to exchanging goods and services, the cost of traversing lengthy distances condemned the peasant to reliance on exploitative local intermediaries and distant patrons. The need to control space, to understand and create order out of the seeming infinity of space, gave rise to *campanilismo*, a melodious word which literally refers to the sound of the church bell. In a curious symbiosis of space and person, Italian peasants perceived a fundamental distinction between their *paesani*, born within the bell's ring, and *stranieri*, outsiders"[2].

This is to say that, although figures tell of Italians as migrants from Italy, each Italian community abroad is not homogeneous at all, and statistics many times ignore "campanilismo", meaning those social, economic and psychological dimensions which affect the cultural identity of individuals and small groups, although all coming from the same 'Italy'.

There are extreme forms of campanilismo in virtually every single village of Italy. As an example, Cinel, in his contribution on the regional loyalties within the Italian community of San Francisco, reports examples of local frictions, as the ancient rivalry between the cities of Florence and Siena, both located in Tuscany, at a little distance from each other. This animosity, due to a military conflict between the two cities in 1260, in which Florence took control over the territory formerly of Siena, was still present in the conversations of the late nineteenth century among Tuscans in San Francisco[3].

These examples are extremely interesting for the purpose of this study, as they polarize attention on two different factors, such as the occupational patterns of a specific regional group, and its regional/sub-regional identity, as compared with other Italian groups of migrants.

As there were and, to some extent, there still are extreme forms of campanilismo in Italy and in some Italian communities abroad, so there are also regional – and, very often, sub-regional – loyalties among Italian migrants in Australia, as some have stressed[4]. This different sense of identity, often expressed as a form of pride to belong to a specific rural village or town rather than another, finds its origin historically within the Italian peasant culture, and is replicated into the Italian communities abroad. "campanilismo" is re-created with reference to the specific place of origin in Italy and the areas and time of settlement in the host country, such that it would be even more appropriate to speak of various Italian-Australian communities, rather than of one single community. As summarized by Rosoli, until a few years ago many scholars on Italian migration pursued the idea that many Italian communities abroad had slowly abandoned the campanilismo in a step-by-step process of identification into a generic sense of "italianità", of Italian national identity[5], as part of the socially gradual adjustment to the host community and the contemporary rise of a generic discover and acknowledgement of one's ethnic roots.

On the contrary, other works have noted the re-activation of regional and sub-regional "campanilismo"[6]. These processes, which are

particularly evident within the Italian Australian community[7], have a few reasons. First, regional loyalties are due to the intensity of the chain migration processes, which brought a marked number of migrants from the same communities to a foreign destination. Consequently, the size and the geographical dispersion of a regional or sub-regional group are important factors in determining the rise of a specific identity, especially in urban contexts. As it is evident, when a community from a given area reaches a critical density, sub-regional and, often, parochial "campanilismo" revives or emerges, as Harney has also observed in the case of the Italian community in Toronto[8]. These patterns reinforce the loyalty of the community group, as a little 'cocoon' protecting the migrants from both the host environment and from other Italian regional and sub-regional groups, perceived 'different', as "stranieri" (foreign), as previously described by Bell.

As Harney observed[9], a second reason for growing regional campanilismo among Italian communities overseas, is due to the administrative creation of the Italian regional councils in 1970, in which the Republic of Italy allocated financial and political autonomy to twenty Italian regions. As a consequence, many Italian regional politicians began to look at the Italian communities abroad according to their regional composition, with the aim of gaining a political consensus, which has re-animated 'sleeping' Italian "campanilismo" overseas.

The social aggregation of Italians in Australia

It has been suggested that for all non English-speaking migrants the possibilities of forming personal social relationships outside the family can be limited, as many migrant groups at the first stage of their settlement are restricted by language difficulties[10]. Single migrants, isolated from their own ethnic groups, can be therefore particularly vulnerable. As a definition, migrants move across different cultural and social environments, experiencing situations of risk and uncertainty that can threaten their behavioural models and even their lives. In her study of migrants' social networks, Italian sociologist Piselli writes that none of the cultural and social 'signs' that define the status and the identity of migrants before their departure has a meaningful significance in the new context of the host country. Uncertainty is not simply related to personal problems of integration into the new environment, but involves interpersonal relations and the overall society, such to push migrants to deeply re-define their own situation and re-locate themselves in a totally new symbolic field of behaviour. Nevertheless, at

the same time migrants will also tend to defend the boundaries of their distinctive culture, re-affirming their own values and preferences and finding meaning and continuity in their collective identity[11].

Migrants who, in Italy, probably never considered the possibility of cooperating and socializing or even of contacting co-nationals from other towns and provinces as a result of the previously examined century-long "campanilismo", found themselves forced to deal with these new issues, especially in Australian urban areas. In rural and sparsely populated areas, in fact, an ethnic community is forced in upon itself, or can maintain a desired isolation, in sight, for example, of a quick money accumulation to re-invest elsewhere. In urban contexts, on the other hand, contacts of one type or another with the Australian environment are (and were) unavoidable, thus requiring the cultural and social adjustments that associations could ease.

Some observers may assume that ethnic communities and their institutions reproduced homeland surroundings, maintaining the speech, the ideals, and the manner of life of the rural communities of origin of migrants. In reality, the Italian Australian community represents an important step away from the culture of origin. Neither the community nor its institutions are fully Italian in character; nor are they Australian. As Nelli noted with respect to Italian communities and associations in the United States[12], these institutions serve an interim group, the immigrant generation with its traditions as well as, to some extent, the host environment.

As previously explained, many newcomers sought – and still search – to solve life's complexities by joining benefit groups and cultural clubs, which are not transplanted institutions carried to Australia but newly-conceived associations bridging the gap between the Italian culture of origin and the sense of cultural displacement within Australia. This interpretation allows us to understand why in the early years of Italian settlement in Australia, associations and institutions were formed typically on the basis of place of origin, either villages, towns or provinces of birth.

The growth and development of benefit and cultural associations among Italian migrants add new components to the long process of adjustment to the host environment. It indicates a significant movement away from the wide-spread rural Italian distrust of anyone outside the family circle. In the new and, often, urban environments, and in the absence of sufficient family members to provide the resources necessary to meet all emergencies, Italian migrants found it necessary to co-operate with "stranieri" (outsiders), although many associations still

gather within people from the same geographically circumscribed area of Italy. The condition of being overseas shortened the cultural difference and diffidence towards people outside their own village. In other words, Italian migrants in Australia, who would have regarded each other as strangers in Italy, found that in Australia they had in common enough traditions to warrant banding together.

Not surprisingly, this pattern is expressed by most of the long-established Italian regional and sub-regional communities of Australia: often, in fact, Italian-Australian associations on a regional base gather first-generation migrations from geographically circumscribed areas of Italy, as a "necessarily reasonable communication between individuals, their families and the close community"[13].

Italian regional, sub-regional, community and family links fulfilled the function not of prolonging traits and patterns of the community of origin, which was rather 're-produced' within the host environment. Instead, they provided important first steps in introducing newcomers to the Australian society. The help, mainly provided by members of enlarged families, to newcomers to Australia, was often expressed as the provision of room and board at minimal expense or no cost, the granting of services and favours in emergencies, as well as the emotional support. These were all necessary steps for the introduction of settlers to the new host environment. Italian associations, such as the Toscany Club, which is the case study of this paper, have played within the first-generation migrants the role to introduce them directly to living patterns of the host culture, and thus served as an outside force influencing their social adjustment, which was certainly smoothened in the cases of personal economic achievement.

After an initial concentration within a few distinctive suburbs, settlers disperse to other suburbs within the city, mainly because of family and occupational reasons. Nevertheless, from time to time, they still need informal (and formal) social interaction and cultural reinforcement with their peers. Gathering in a specific area, as has been observed with respect to Italian migrants in Australia[14], or the establishment of a social club, as for Tuscans and other Italian regional groups, remain symbolic and practical foci for many.

The following statement acutely analyses the development of the social aggregation of many migrant groups within a host society, from the 'comfort zone' created by kinship and community ties at the arrival of newcomers to the creation of associations and clubs at a further stage of settlement:

"Individuals are the centres of webs of social bonds that radiate outwards to the people they know intimately, those they know well, those they know casually and then the wider society. Individuals create these networks but build them within constraints which include language, kin obligations, status, community of interest, the workplace, location, or level of maturity"[15].

This process applies to Tuscan migrants too. After the first logistic support to the newcomers within the family ties, once migrants found more permanent occupations and settled within a suburb, their need to socialize pushed them to gather with people of their own country, possibly of their closer regional or sub-regional area, or even of their community of origin. A generic principle of mutuality, brotherhood and sense of Italian national identity is identifiable in the intentions of the migrants from Lucca (Tuscany), founders of the association "Unione e Fratellanza" (Union and Botherhood), which was created in Cordoba (Argentina) in 1894. An excerpt of the association's statutory declaration states:

"Proteggersi reciprocamente in tutti i casi della vita sociale, risultando dal bene comune anche il proprio bene, e fare una continua propaganda onde inculcare questi principi che uniscono e stringono i soci nel pensiero di una patria comune"[16].
(It is necessary to mutually protect each other in all circumstances of social life - since the common good will generate also one's own good – and to disseminate these principles that unite and tie the members at the thought of the homeland).

The founding principles of the Lucchese Argentinean association suggest a strong sense of community within the host country. In particular, the recall of a close relation between common and personal interests indicates a continuity between the communal values of the subjects of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Republic of Lucca, within Tuscany, and the sense of community of these migrants abroad. The difference is that now – at the time of foundation of this association – the values are flagged under the common interest of the 'homeland', which is recognizable as Italy, rather than Lucca. This confirms what has been previously stated, that any Italian regional or sub-regional group abroad, although still 'visible' in its peculiar culture (dialect, values and traditions), will tend to 'widen' its boundaries and smoothen the *campanilismo*. As a matter of fact, within Italian communities abroad, the *stranieri* are often represented by the host environment, rather than the inhabitants of the neighbouring communities. Nevertheless, since the Italian mass migration of the 1870s and 1880s, associations of Italians abroad have tended to have a very high regional or sub-regional composition, acting as a 'buffer' between the family ties and the social

environment as a whole. It is a process that has been observed within the Italian communities at different stages of their settlement, both in many host countries[17] and in Australia[18].

The Australian geographer Ian Burnley, in his analysis of Italians gathering in clubs, institutions and religious associations in Australia, interprets these aggregations as a way pursued by their members to achieve more easily their own goals[19], since networking with long-established people from the same community of origin can facilitate the contacts with *stranieri* and the host community as a whole. While the outcomes of this research seem to lead towards similar conclusions, on the other hand, often these institutions simply give a sense of lasting identity to displaced migrants, irrespectively to their economic or lobbying utility[20].

As previously stated, while the ethnic community is still small, its institutions represent a generic Italian identity and *campanilismo* is softened, as other more important issues of 'survival' arise in psychological and social terms.

"The ethnic or immigrant enclave can be defended in social terms as a space whose interstitial character protects the psychological integrity of the newcomer. Given the economic costs of psychiatric disorder, this is not an inconsequential consideration"[21].

It is the first generation of migrants and the newcomers in particular who need to congregate with people of its own culture, as a social and psychological response to the host environment. Beyond the practical help offered by the settled migrants to relatives and friends arriving from the community of origin, gathering in associations re-creates that sense of community and social cohesion that the migratory experience had interrupted. Once the social and psychological balance of the migrants had been adjusted to the new environment and the sense of belonging, at least partially, to Australian society is reached, the association can certainly play other roles. These additional and, to some extent, optional roles can be identified in the reinforcement of the Italian national identity and in the 'exploitation' of the network in order to pursue economic and social goals. As a confirmation, it is within the first-generation migrants from Lucca of the post-WWII period in Western Australia that the idea to create a social club was born in the late 1960s.

The Toscany Club of Western Australia

A consistent number of migrants from Tuscany had arrived in Australia since the early 1950s[22], and their main destinations were

Melbourne and Perth. Consequently, the first associations of Tuscans to operate in Australia were opened in these two cities. The Toscana Social Club of Melbourne was inaugurated in 1969[23] and joined an already large number of other Italian-Australian associations, which had been flourishing during the 1960s, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney[24]. These associations varied greatly in size and significance, including sporting and social clubs, cultural, education groups, and branches of Italian overseas political parties and trade unions. All across Australia, some Italian associations of religious purposes often gather members with the sole goal to celebrate the feast of the saint patron of the village of origin of the migrants of their own association, as has been noted in Western Australia by Gentilli[25] and recently confirmed by the exhaustive work by Paganoni and O'Connor on the Italian religious festivities in South Australia[26].

Many Italian-Australian associations operated, and still operate, social activities swinging between solemn celebrations and recreational purposes, with a focus on local festivities and Italian national anniversaries[27]. Hence, they had and, to some extent, they still have widely differing interests and may be in conflict with groups from the same national background, as the Australian political scientist James Jupp noted[28].

The President of the Melbourne association so described the activity of his club at the third conference of Tuscan migration, held in Pontremoli (Province of Massa Carrara) in 1990:

"Noi con l'aiuto dei nostri soci, lavoratori, imprenditori siamo riusciti a creare delle sedi proprie, delle costruzioni addirittura, un lembo di Toscana nella lontana Australia. Ne abbiamo una a Melbourne con capienze non indifferenti, in particolare quella di Perth che mette a tavola 500 persone comodamente ed ha sette campi di bocce al coperto, cinque squadre di bambini di calcio"[29].

(With the help of our members, workers and entrepreneurs, we have been able to found real clubs, looking like real, little pieces of Tuscany in the distant Australia. We have one fairly big club in Melbourne and one in Perth, that can easily cater dinner to over 500 members, has seven indoor bocce fields and five young boys' soccer teams).

The pride for the constitution of an association is even more highlighted by the pride to have re-created a 'piece' of Tuscany overseas. This is also the case of the Toscany (sic) Club of Balcatta, a northern suburb of Perth, where the association joined a notable number of other clubs already formed on an Italian regional of sub-regional basis[30].

The Toscany Club was founded in 1969, and its first long-term President, as he remained in this position for almost twenty-seven years, was a migrant from Minucciano, in the Province of Lucca. A large

majority of the members of the newly-founded club was from the same Province of Lucca, and the first social function, a dinner-and-dance night, was organised within the premises of the Macedonia Club of North Perth, as the Tuscan association did not have its own premises. Since the early 1970s, monthly or fortnightly dinner-dance occasions, hosted within the premises of other ethnic associations, became a regular tradition of the Toscany Club.

The intention of the founding members was to keep - or to retrieve - the culture that many Tuscans felt they were loosing by migrating to Australia and by living in a different social environment. To this purpose, regular social functions, together with sporting activities and tournaments were the best 'excuses' to gather people from the same Italian geographical area and culture within the Australian host environment. As has been noted by Gentilli in his overall study of the Italian Australian community of Perth, the large majority of these social functions were linked to Italian religious and national celebrations[31].

Together with social functions, fund-raising activities have, on the other hand, contributed to render the club more 'visible' within the Western Australian social environment and with the "Regione Toscana", the Regional Council of Tuscany, when the money raised has been allocated for Italian-based initiatives. As has been stated, the Regional Council of Tuscany obtained its political, financial and administrative autonomy from the Italian central government in 1970, as part of a constitutional process of political decentralization, at the same time that the Tuscan associations of Melbourne and Perth were taking off. This timely coincidence allowed the clubs to be taken in serious consideration by the Regional Council of Tuscany, as representatives of a Tuscan identity abroad which now was going to have a political correspondent identity within Italian politics and society. This circumstance certainly favoured the support that the Regione Toscana gave to the Western Australian Toscany Club during the 1970s, to help in the construction of its own premises[32].

Other contributions came from the "Associazione Lucchesi nel Mondo"*,* the Lucca-based association of *Lucchesi* around the world that gathers members all over the world, wherever Lucchesi migrated. This association was founded in the late 1960s and its structure is financed by a local bank of Lucca and by the membership of the many members around the world. The "Associazione" has a monthly bulletin *(Notiziario Lucchesi nel Mondo),* which is distributed all over the world, and, although irregularly throughout the years, organizes international conferences on Lucchese migration[33]. Currently the association has

branches abroad in most countries. The sections of the association are around the world, reflecting the distribution of migrants from the Province of Lucca. To give an idea of the distribution and representation of the association overseas, it is worth adding that very few other organizations on an Italian regional and sub-regional basis have a similar presence of sections abroad, and none of them is from Tuscany.

The suburb where the club was built was in a central position with respect to the geographical distribution of migrants from Tuscany in the Perth Metropolitan area.[34]. Since the early 1980s, the association has operated within its new premises, hosting regular monthly dinner-dance functions. In particular, during these past two decades there has been a notable presence of guests from the above mentioned Italian associations and institutions linked to Tuscan migration. Several representatives of the Lucca-based association and of its branches overseas have visited the club, in order to keep close contacts and cultural links with the several colonies of Tuscan migrants across the world.[35].

These circumstances confirm once again how the number of Lucchesi among Tuscan migrants is predominant. Although the Regional Council of Tuscany has developed initiatives to spread interest over the issues of migrants from Tuscany, the number of Lucchesi, within its migration process throughout these decades, since the Unification of Italy, is overcoming. The Council has recently established a web site dedicated to the Tuscan presence around the world[36], but a more attentive analysis of the several newsletters dedicated to "Toscani nel Mondo" reveals how a high number of news items are exclusively related to migrants from the Province of Lucca. Even the appointed "Consulta Regionale dei Toscani all'Estero" (Regional Council of Tuscans Abroad), within the administrative Council of the Tuscany Region, is almost exclusively formed by overseas delegates of the "Associazione Lucchesi nel Mondo", thus their Lucchese origin.

The Italian regional and provincial composition of the members of the Toscany Club of Balcatta confirms the overwhelming presence of Lucchesi under the label 'Tuscan'. Table 1 shows that Lucchesi migrants represent over seventy per cent of all the members of the association, according to the latest figures released by the club[37].

Table 1 - Geographical Origin of the Members of the Toscany Club of Balcatta, Perth (calculated by the Author)

Origin of Members of the Toscany Club of Perth		
Province of Lucca	389	70.60%
Province of Massa Carrara	35	6.35%
Province of Pisa	3	0.54%
Province of Firenze	5	0.91%
Sicily	31	5.63%
Calabria	28	5.08%
Veneto	20	3.63%
Abruzzo/Molise	19	3.45%
Lombardy	9	1.63%
Other regions of Italy	3	0.54%
Anglo-Australians	9	1.63%
TOTAL	551	100.00%

The percentage of members from different Italian regions reflects the overall composition of the Italian community of Western Australia, Sicily, Calabria, Veneto and Abruzzo being the regions that have supplied the larger number of Italian migrants in this state[38]. Furthermore, the very limited presence of Anglo-Australian members reflects the cultural and social approach of the club towards non-Italian speakers, as has been outlined in the previous sections.

This high percentage of Lucchesi among the members of the Toscany has a few explanations. Migration from the Province of Lucca has always been relevant in the migratory patterns of Tuscany. Furthermore, the support of the *Associazione Lucchesi nel Mondo* at the moment of the foundation of the Perth club, as well as the community of origin of the co-founders have certainly influenced the composition of the memberships.

As previously outlined, most of the members of the founding committee were from Lucca and its province. At its beginning the club aggregated relatives, friends and supporters of the co-founders. Throughout the years, very few members have changed within the committee board. As already stated, the first president has kept this position for almost twenty-seven years, although he has been re-confirmed annually by the general assembly of the members[39]. Other co-founding members have shifted into different roles of the board so that a minimal turn-over of members has taken place within the hierarchical structure of the association. Hence, it has remained firmly in the hands of members originally from the Province of Lucca.

Although the membership is open to all, with no regard to nationality and culture, even the Regional Council of Tuscany, as previously outlined, has acknowledged the Lucchese 'supremacy' within the 'Tuscan' club. The Tuscan regional administration has allowed the Lucca-based "Associazione Lucchesi nel Mondo" to play the role of interface between the Perth-based club and the Tuscany Region institution. Many social functions related to the visits of representatives of the Lucca-based association, in fact, have been widely acknowledged by the "Regione Toscana", within its program of promotion of Tuscan communities abroad, as from the newsletter of the regional institution[40].

Direct Observation of the Club's Activity and Conclusions

The association keeps a strong Italian regional/sub-regional identity that reflects the Italian geographical composition of its members. The previous sections have demonstrated how forms of "campanilismo" are still present within the overall Italian-Australian community. Many members of Italian associations and clubs of Australia keep in fact an attitude of cultural closure towards "gli stranieri", the outsiders, no matter whether they belong to the Australian society or they come from different regions of Italy.

The direct observation of the Club's activity seems to confirm that similar circumstances prevail also within the Toscany Club of Balcatta. The presence of members of different Italian regional origin up to twenty per cent of the total memberships, may be deceiving, as often some first-generation migrants are members of one club for all sort of reasons. These reasons may include the proximity of the club to the residence, as it is confirmed by the residence of most non-Tuscan members of the Club[41]. Another factor is the belonging of family friends to the same association, so that many Tuscan families participate in the social functions of the Toscany Club and invite other non-Tuscan friends over. Conversely, they are invited to dinner-dance functions organized by other regional clubs and to which their acquaintances belong. An additional reason is the presence, within the Toscany Club, of good sporting facilities - billiards and *bocce* in particular - not available elsewhere, as confirmed by the president of the club[42].

Although the monthly social functions are open to all, invitations to other personalities of both the Italian-Australian community and Western Australian politicians and distinguished guests are sent only on the occasion of the annual ball, although in limited numbers. Recent studies confirm my personal observation of the activity of the club

during the years 1997 and 1998, that the invitations are aimed to "fare bella figura", to perform and show the organizers, the members and the guests themselves their mutual social prestige and power, as the American sociologist Nardini noted with respect to the members' performance of other Italian clubs abroad[43]. The committee and the members of the Club confirm to themselves their social achievement by sitting at the same tables with the Consul of Italy, other eminent members of the local Italian community, Western Australian State and local politicians. Furthermore, in the view of the Club's committee members, the guests will be impressed by the consistent number of members present at the function and will interpret this circumstance, respectively, as a sign of social prestige of the club (and, indirectly, of the Italian community) or as a considerable tank of votes for the lobbying of ethnic issues.

This reading explains why personalities of other environments, such 'non-Tuscan' Italians who have achieved prestigious positions in Australian 'non-political' milieus, are not invited to the annual ball of the Toscany Club. Reasons probably lay in the perception that this category of guests does not express the 'visible' power and prestige that, instead, the members of the club allocate to the leaders of the Italian community and of local and State governments[44].

The personal observation of the activity of the Toscany Club of Balcatta during 1997 and 1998 confirms most of the outcomes of the analysis presented in this paper. The presidents and the whole executive committee, as well as most of the members have given their full availability to have this study conducted. The support offered has been considerable, in terms of access to the memberships' records.

Nevertheless, a few considerations must be jotted down. Firstly, the expectations of some members of the committee were different from the purpose of this research, and for which reason they had been approached, although all the intentions of the study were tabled and clearly explained to them. At the initial meetings, the then Treasurer of the Club expressed enthusiasm for the research carried out, specifying that "the history of Lucchesi in Australia has not been written yet, although its importance is paramount in comparison to that of other Italians (from different regions)"[45]. During another informal meeting, the Secretary declared that "Lucchesi are very special people, who have always worked hard, harder than anyone else"[46]. Some of these considerations certainly cast light on the high sense of collective self-esteem of first-generation Lucchesi in Western Australia. The statements reflect a consolidated perception of Lucchese community identity that is

rooted within the socio-historical background of Lucca, mixed with patterns of local campanilismo. The value of this identity is then nourished by the necessity to defend it within the Australian host environment, and certainly reinforced by the sometimes apologetic action of the Lucchesi nel Mondo association about the lives and fortunes of Lucchesi throughout the world, as they are described within its newsletters regularly received by the Club.

Secondly, notwithstanding the clear statement of the research's limits for academic purposes, some members have perceived the study as a unique opportunity to finally cast light on what has been called "l'epopea lucchese", the Lucchese epos[47]. Hence, the confirmation that a pattern of a peculiar, extraordinary Italian (or Lucchese..?) socio-cultural identity, transplanted by migrants in the countries of destination, is still present in Australia.

Furthermore, although the relationship between the members of the Toscany Club and this writer has always been harmonious and has allowed the field study, whose outcomes are presented in the next chapter, additional considerations about unexpressed forms of "campanilismo" must be introduced here. As a first-generation migrant from Florence, the administrative capital of Tuscany, and resident in Western Australia, I would have been inclined to consider comfortably my belonging to the Toscany Club. This has in fact eased the approach with the members of the association in order to conduct the interviews and all other informal meetings held within the premises of the Club. Nevertheless, the contacts with the executive committee members remained semi-formal, without becoming friendly, as my identity (a Tuscan in Australia), the time spent together and the in-depth discussions, held throughout the years, should have rather suggested. The analysis of the factors affecting the identity of Lucchesi in Western Australia and their way to aggregate, as examined in this paper, is now casting more light on this apparently 'formal' friendship developed between me and them, and suggesting a few explanations. My identity, which has allowed me to gain easy access to the Club, is also my limit, if screened in the light of the Italian "campanilismo". I am Tuscan, but I am not from Lucca; even 'worse', I am from the capital of the Tuscany region, while Lucca kept its political independence almost until the Unification of Italy. These are already quite a few reasons to develop forms of "campanilismo". In addition, I have not been a resident of Western Australia for too long, and was not engaged in hard-working tasks within the Australia of the 1950s and 1960s, as many of the Lucchesi, now members of the Club, did in the early stages of their

migration to Australia. Doubtless, this circumstance plays a role in the cultural reinforcement of a pattern of campanilismo, deriving from hard-working men crossing the boundaries of the Province of Lucca in search of better opportunities abroad. Beyond a dissimilarity of geographical identities, finally, a different socio-cultural background has played its role in the interaction with Lucchesi. Migrants from Tuscany in Western Australia have in general a rural background. Furthermore, many of them arrived in the host country according to chain migration patterns. Hence, there are still strong links between the rural communities of origin and the members of the Lucchese communities of Australia. Conversely, I am from an urban background. As a consequence, the century-long rivalries of "campanilismo" and contrasts between country and city life are re-lit. In addition, access to knowledge, as my academic background involves, sparks once again the enmity between peasantry and academia, as both are representatives of different clashing socio-cultural values that have been so much part of the Tuscan society of these last two hundred years[48].

Although this paper has dealt with several issues related to the social aggregation and the cultural values of Tuscan migrants in Western Australia, these final personal observations can be taken as the conclusions, as they frame the topic within its aims. The goal of this contribution is, in fact, to demonstrate the tight link between the historical and socio-cultural background of migrants and their social aggregation in Australia, of which the belonging to the Toscany Club is the case study.

Notes

[1] Pascoe, 1987: 19
[2] Bell, 1979: 151
[3] Cinel, 1987: 333
[4] Bertelli, 1994: 25
[5] Rosoli, 1991: 15
[6] Harney, 1991; Franzina, 1991
[7] Boncompagni, 1999 (b)
[8] Harney, 1981: 44-45
[9] Harney, 1991
[10] Walters et al., (no date): 86
[11] Piselli, 1997: 13
[12] Nelli, 1970:87-97
[13] Tosi, 1991: 166
[14] Price & Martin, 1976: A141
[15] Burnley, 1985: 167
[16] Monterisi, 1993: 151
[17] Farnocchia, 1981: 566-567; Franzina, 1992: 100-101; Nardini, 1999.

[18] Huber, 1977; Martinuzzi O'Brien, 1982: 82-84; Cecilia, 1987: 138; Gardini, 1993: 146; Walters et al. (n.d.): 65-65.

[19] Burnley, 1988: 263-264

[20] Pascoe, 1992: 185

[21] Pascoe, 1993: 159

[22] Boncompagni, 1998

[23] Bosi, 1996: 281

[24] Huber, 1977: 104

[25] Gentilli, 1993: 22

[26] Paganoni and O'Connor, 1999

[27] Franzina, 1992: 108

[28] Jupp, 1993: 209

[29] Regione Toscana, 1991: 116

[30] Gentilli, 1993: 22

[31] Gentilli, 1993: 22-23

[32] Interview with Mr Mario C., 17 September 1997

[33] Newsletter of *Lucchesi nel Mondo,* 1998: 5-10

[34] Toscany Association Members list, February 1997 (typed)

[35] Interview with Mr Mario C. September 1997

[36] http://www.regione.toscana.it/ita/uff/polcom/sottoind.htm

[37] Toscany Association Members list, 12 February 1997 (typed)

[38] Gentilli, 1983

[39] Interview with Mr Mario C. September 1997

[40] Issues of Toscani nel Mondo, 1998 and 1999

[41] Toscany Association Members list, 12 February 1997 (typed)

[42] Interview with Mr Mario C. September 1997

[43] Nardini, 1999

[44] Associazione Toscana Perth, 1997:5

[45] Interview with Mr Alessandro D.P. July 1997

[46] Interview with Mr Oliviero B., July 1997

[47] Interview with Mr Mario C., September 1997

[48] Mori, 1986: 125-143

Second-generation Italo-Australians of the Canberra Region and their Custodianship of Italian Language and Culture

Stephanie Lindsay Thompson

I welcome the opportunity to participate in the Italian Australian Institute's inaugural National Conference, "In Search of the Italian Australian into the New Millenium". My paper discusses the outcomes of a study which I conducted during March to June 1998 into the maintenance of Italian language and culture among second-generation Italo- Australians aged 15 to 35 years living in the National Capital and adjacent City of Queanbeyan[1].

The object of the research was to examine the current state of Italian language and culture in the Canberra region some 25 years after the Italy-Australia migratory cycle had run its course, and 15 years after Italian immigration to the area had ceased almost completely. The research field selected is unlike Italian settlements elsewhere in Australia, as the Italian population of Canberra and Queanbeyan is numerically small and scattered across many suburbs. There are no identifiably Italian neighbourhoods similar to those in the larger Australian cities. In Canberra and Queanbeyan the houses belonging to Italian families are generally indistinguishable from those of the rest of the population. There are no clusters of houses where Italian families, brought together as a result of "chain migration" (Price, 1963:85), continue to live in close proximity to one another.

Italo-Australian culture has made little visual impact on Canberra's streets. Apart from the Italo-Australian Club, and a scattering of Italian restaurants, cafes and other businesses, it is difficult to think of locations in Canberra or Queanbeyan which are recognisably Italian. Almost the only place faintly reminiscent of Italy is a section of the Manuka shopping centre bounded by Franklin and Bougainville Steets, The Lawns and Flinders Way. Here the outdoor cafes under market-place umbrellas, the crowds, the aroma of coffee, and the sound of the bells drifting across from St Christopher's Cathedral, all contribute to an atmosphere which, if not exactly Italian, is certainly Italo-Australian. The Italian Chaplain appropriately has his office near-by at St Christopher's, and the Italo-Australian Club is only two blocks away.

Several of the teenagers interviewed said this area of Manuka was their favourite place for meeting friends, while others went there for a "passeggiata".

Canberra and Queanbeyan at no time experienced an influx of Italian immigrants such as occurred around the other capital cities, for example north Melbourne, western Sydney, and Port Adelaide where there was a continuing flow of immigrants as the early arrivals in turn sponsored the migration of relatives and friends from their province or town of origin. Most Italians travelled to Australia without government assistance as full-fare paying migrants and, on arrival, boarded with their sponsors in low-cost accommodation which the sponsors were required to guarantee. In the larger cities, the sponsorship arrangements led to the formation in inner-city areas of co-regional communities which played an important role in supporting the new settlers and fostering the maintenance of dialects from their areas of origin. The communities offered a form of 'halfway house' where recently arrived immigrants found a familiar social environment, familiar food and language, and protection from an Anglo-Australian community which was too often unwelcoming or even hostile to newcomers. As the economic situation of the new settlers improved, many paid off their debts to their sponsors and moved to more expensive housing outside the Central Business District.

The Anglo-Australian majority expressed apprehension about the Italian settlers' motives in seeking to recreate the living conditions of their towns and villages of origin, overlooking similar endeavours by the early British settlers in Australia to recreate the society, institutions and style of living which they had left behind them in 'the Old Country'. For the Italians, communities of paesani in Australia offered a measure of protection against a society which showed itself to be hostile to immigrants in general and to those from Southern Europe in particular (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:11).

Italians in the Canberra region

In the ACT, the emphasis which government planners and bureaucrats placed on the creation of a homogeneously uniform garden city was at the expense of the development of neighbourhoods which reflected the growing ethnic pluralism of the ACT population. During the 1950s and 1960s the ACT administration's policy of not housing families of the same nationality in proximity to one another was aimed at preventing the formation of 'ghettos'. By not allowing members of

ethnic communities to determine their own living patterns, policies such as this made it more difficult for ethnic cultures to become established and intensified the isolation of the new settlers.

The availability of institutionalised support services through government departments, welfare and ethnic organisations was not a substitute for the informal support networks which ethnic neighbourhoods were able to offer. In addition, the early settlers in the National Capital and surrounding areas would have been more exposed than settlers living among paesani to the effects of the Commonwealth Government's national assimilationist policies which discouraged the formation of ethnic communities or 'national groups', as they were then called, on the grounds that they were unnecessary and a potential threat to the smooth absorption of migrants (Martin, 1972:14).

However, it is important not to draw too many conclusions from the lack of evidence of an observable unified community of Italians living in Canberra and Queanbeyan for, as Tosi pointed out, "proximity alone does not guarantee a community":

"Apart from geographic proximity and common purposes, another major component which makes an ethnic group into a community is the ability to share the same beliefs beyond the same neighbourhood and organisations." (Tosi, 1991:203-4).

Italo-Australian population of the Canberra region

People born in Italy are few in number in the ACT. In 1996 the Italy-born made up less than 0.9 per cent of the ACT population and, in common with the experience of the rest of Australia, their numbers have been declining. This trend started some ten years later in the ACT than for Australia as a whole, and has been less obvious because of the small numbers involved. Table 1 shows the steady decline in the total Italy-born as a percentage of the ACT population from the Censuses of 1976 to 1996. Over recent years, settler arrivals from Italy have been too few to make up the loss, having decreased from a total of 2,513 for the years prior to 1981, to 56 in 1981-85, 19 in 1986-87, 30 in 1988-89, and 18 in 1990-91 (ABS, 1991:20). By 1991 the second generation (3,971) represented 1.2 per cent of the ACT population (BIPR, 1994:42-3), and outnumbered the first generation by 31.3 per cent.

The ACT population lost 181 first-generation Italo-Australians during the decade ending in 1996. In 1986 the Italy-born totalled 2,721 (just under 1.1 per cent of the total population of the ACT). By comparison, Italy-born in 1986 made up nearly 2.4 per cent of the

population of Victoria, and 2.0 per cent of the population of Australia as a whole. However, the picture becomes less gloomy if the Italo-Australian population is considered to encompass all those claiming Italian ancestry, who totalled 5,039 in 1986, or 2.0 per cent of the total ACT population in that year (ABS, 1991: 321).

Table 1: Total Italy-born as a percentage of the ACT population, Censuses 1976 to 1996

Year	Total Italy-born	Percentage of ACT population	Intercensal variations– persons	Intercensal variations– percentages
1976	2,697	1.4		
1981	2,772	1.3	+75	+2.7
1986	2,721	1.1	- 51	-1.8
1991	2,738	1.0	+17	+0.6
1996	2,580	0.9	-147	-5.4

As the Italy-born population declines, the continuity of Italian culture and language in Australia depends increasingly on the second-generation inheritors of Italian language and cultural traditions and, more broadly, on those with Italian ancestry. The process of language and cultural transmission raises some interesting sociological questions, which the pilot study sought to explore, about the nature of changes in the form of culture and language from one generation to the next, and the survival of minority cultures and languages within an increasingly homogeneous society.

Italian-speakers in the Canberra region

In 1986, 3,852 people, or an estimated 1.7 per cent of the ACT population aged five years and over, said they spoke Italian at home (ABS, 1991). By 1996, the number had fallen by 393 to 3,654 persons, or 1.4 per cent (ABS, 1997:24). In 1991, Queanbeyan had a higher proportion of Italian-speakers at 3.7 per cent, compared with 1.6 per cent for Canberra. The proportion for the combined Canberra-Queanbeyan area of 1.8 per cent in 1991 was similar to the 1.9 per cent at the 1986 Census, but lower than the 2.6 per cent for Australia in 1991 (ABS, 1993:13).

Among the second generation in the ACT, 1,571 persons or 39.3 per cent in 1991 said they spoke Italian at home, whereas 2,293 or 57.3 per cent said they spoke only English (BIPR, 1994:39,47).

Table 2: Italian-speakers in the ACT, 1981 to 1996

Year	Total Italy-born	Total speakers of Italian at home[2]	Percentage of ACT population[3]	Intercensal variations–persons	Intercensal variations–percentages
1981	2,772	-	-	-	-
1986	2,721	3,852	1.7 (est.)	-	-
1991	2,738	4,055	1.6	+2-03	5.3
1996	2,580	3,654	1.3	-401	-11.0

The research question

An examination of language maintenance among Italo-Australians raises a number of complex issues, first of all because Italian immigrants generally brought with them to Australia two languages: standard Italian, and the dialect of their province or region of origin as their familiar and generally unwritten language. While some of the early post-war migrants from rural areas spoke only dialect, most of the later skilled migrants were conversant with or had some knowledge of standard Italian.

Variations in language usage among first-generation Italian Australians resulted from multiple, interrelated factors. These included the languages which Italian immigrants brought with them to Australia, their educational and employment backgrounds, areas of settlement in Australia (urban or rural and whether in co-regional settlements), intra- or inter-ethnic marriage, and contacts with the Anglo-Australian institutions, particularly through their children's experience of the education system as shaped and remodelled by successive government policies of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and economic rationalism.

Sense of Italian identity

Several writers have pointed out that for Italo-Australians in general, language maintenance, whether it is the ability to speak correct standard Italian or to communicate fluently in dialect, is not the sole determinant of Italian identity. "For most Italian immigrants at the time of departure, 'being Italian' had many connotations but language was not one of them", Tosi suggested. (Tosi, 1991:339). In the context of an analysis of factors conducive to language loss among Italian Australians, Bettoni and Rubino noted the somewhat marginal role of the language which does not seem to be essential to the continuity of the group (Bettoni and Robins, 1996: 19).

The second generation Italo-Australians who are proficient in written and spoken English and in spoken Italian dialect, have taken on the role of 'cultural brokers' within the Italian community, and are responsible for maintaining "the links between themselves and the first generation, and between the Italian and Anglo-Australian and other ethnic communities" (Vasta in Castles, Alcorso, Rando and Vasta (eds), 1992:158). In addition, the businesses and services set up within the communities are instrumental in fostering Italian language and culture and establishing a channel of communication with the wider Anglo-Australian community and its institutions (Vasta in Castles, Alcorso, Rando and Vasta (eds), 1992:167).

Italians who settled in the ACT had migrated from every province of Italy, and from towns as diverse as Treviso and Turin in the north, Potenza, Catanzaro, and Catania in the south, and central provinces such as Umbria and Abruzzo (Gambale, Bongiorno and York, 1988:5). Not only was the overall Italian population a very small minority in the ACT, but its numerical strength was minimised by allegiances which were predominantly to provinces and regions of origin rather than to the Italian nation (discussed in Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:11; Jupp, 1989:21-23). The cultures and dialects brought from the areas of origin in Italy were so diverse that there was little sense of a core Italian identity binding together the early settlers in Canberra.

There was little communication between people from different dialectal areas as each dialect was a distinct language. Moreover, those who migrated immediately after World War II were mainly unskilled workers with little education or knowledge of standard Italian. These communication problems, in addition to regional loyalties, may have encouraged the establishment of Regional Associations which continue to be active to this day, operating in affiliation with the Italo-Australian Club.

Opportunities for studying Italian in Canberra

The opportunities offered for studying Italian in Canberra are surprisingly extensive and testify to the efforts made by first-generation Italians to transmit their language and cultural traditions to their children and grandchildren. Italian classes in the ACT commenced in the 1960s when CIAC ("Comitato Italiano Assistenza - Canberra") organised Saturday morning classes for children of Italian migrants. In the 1970s the Dante Alighieri Society began offering classes. During the 1980s in response to increasing demand for Italian courses, CIAC began to conduct 'insertion' courses[3] as part of the curriculum in a number of

primary schools, and later in secondary schools and colleges[4]. (Lo Bianco and Bagozzi, 1994:7-8).

The main providers of Italian language classes for school-aged children are the Italian Government through CIAC, the Commonwealth Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA), the ACT Department of Education and Training which administers the Community Languages Element of the School Languages Program, the Catholic Education Office and the ACT Ethnic Schools Association.

Student enrolments

Nearly all the students in the outside school hours classes are second- and third-generation Italian Australians with at least one parent born in Italy. The courses teach Italian language and culture and there are no formal examinations, although it is possible in Year 12 to take the test for admission into first year of Italian at university. Fees are $80 to $90 per year. Most students are aged 5 to 12 years, with a few aged 13 and 14 years.

Analysis of outcomes of pilot study

Consultations were held with Italian community representatives, language teachers and administrators, 36 respondents participated in the pilot survey, providing responses to a questionnaire: 29 respondents were from the ACT and seven from Queanbeyan. All the respondents were second-generation Italo-Australians, except for one who was third-generation. Ten survey interviews were tape-recorded with the consent of the subjects, while the remaining respondents provided written responses to the questionnaire. There were 16 respondents aged 15 to 19 years; 8 aged 20-29; six aged 30-39; two aged 40-49; and four were aged 50-59 years.

Perceived gains from Italian studies

For those studying Italian, many were doing so to be able to communicate with Italian relatives, and in order to be able to live and study in Italy. Some of those enrolled in courses with the Dante Alighieri Society were seeking to maintain their knowledge of the language and avoid language loss, to improve their writing ability and knowledge of grammar, to enhance fluency and understanding, and "to build and strengthen my language". One college student was hoping through studying Italian to get a job in the hospitality industry. Some said they were studying Italian "for the cultural experience", "for personal fulfilment, maybe a job, communication with others", and because they

had found Italian to be "a rich culture".

<u>Sense of 'Italianness'</u>

Knowledge of the Italian language for nearly all of those interviewed provided the key to understanding the culture. As one of those interviewed said: 'Being Italian means to be privileged in the sense that I can speak two languages and share in many cultures. The art and history, the sense of family and being part of the community are the most important things in Italian culture'.

Domenic Mico perhaps captured the essence of the meaning of being Italo-Australian in Canberra and Queanbeyan today:

"It is a very specific state of being. It is thoughts. It shapes how you live and interpret life. The way you produce art, food, literature, etc, are manifestations of that sense of being Italian. I may have difficulty at times in speaking Italian, but that does not make me less Italian. Your approach to art and community development is very much based on Italianness. It gets easier. When I first migrated, it was only a blink away from the last war. Therefore you tried very hard to lose your "Italianness. If I look around now, I see Italian culture manifested physically. I see restaurants and businesses run by the younger generation. Italians have not needed to maintain their cultural difference because of political or military conflict. They are independent and have not had to look back on past military events. Italians and Greeks are an important part of Australian culture as a result of their inheritance from their parents" (Conversation with Dominic Mico, 25 April 1998).

<u>Lifestyle in Canberra and Queanbeyan</u>

A majority of 72 per cent believed their lifestyle to be predominantly Italian, while 14 per cent thought their lifestyle was to some extent Italian. 14 per cent said their lifestyle was not very Italian. People in the last category tended to socialise with people of Anglo-Australian and of other non-Italian backgrounds.

Of those who believed their lifestyle to be very Italian, seven said they felt this way because of their parents, family and friends. One commented:

"My family lifestyle, and the organisations that I belong to make me feel very Italian, probably more so than my feeling of being Australian" (aged 34).

Eight others felt very Italian because of the food they ate, their network of friends, Italian social events, their traditions and language:

"Living in Canberra is very similar to living in Trieste. We go out and enjoy ourselves. The women are out studying at university" (aged 43).

Another (aged 24) said that she felt Italian "in every way, even though I don't speak fluent Italian".

There were several comments along the lines of: "My lifestyle is based on Italian customs, traditions and habits. My lifestyle is 100% Italian" (two aged 16), while another 16-year-old felt her lifestyle to be Italian "to the extreme".

Another teenager said: "I feel my lifestyle is Italian because I eat pasta and speak Italian, and through the influence of my grandparents".

Comments from those aged in their 20s and 30s were somewhat more qualified:

"Compared with Australians, my lifestyle is very much Italian. Compared with Italians in Italy, we do not have an Italian lifestyle. The passeggiata we have at Civic and Manuka".

Another comment: "My home life is 'Italian' but my social life isn't. Our family keep in touch regularly with relatives in Milan and Rome. We tend to eat Italian food. We have large celebrations for occasions such as birthdays and name days."

Other comments

Several of those interviewed observed that societies had been changing in Italy and in Australia and, in some cases, relatives in Italy believed that their standard of living was superior to that of Australians. In Australia, some people had observed some improvements in the attitudes of the general community to Italian Australians. As Italian food and style had become fashionable and admired by the general population, they were less often made to feel outsiders or subjected to racist comments. However, discrimination had not completely disappeared from Australia as one of those interviewed had recently experienced racial abuse from an Australian neighbour and others had experienced 'lots of conflicts' in day-to-day living.

Conclusions

One challenge with a study of this kind is the ephemeral nature of culture which makes it impossible to capture, except as an observation of life at a certain point in time. This is because culture and language are never static, but are all the time changing to reflect societal changes.

The perceptions of Italian culture varied significantly from the vantage points of first- and second-generation people interviewed. Evidence collected in the survey indicated that a number of the cultural

institutions established by Italian migrants in Australia were modelled on recollections of Italian institutions of the 1950s and 1960s, failing to recognise that Italian society had moved on and was now very much part of the European Economic Community. There was a sense of irritation and restlessness among the second generation at the resistance to change perceived among the first generation: for the second generation, their continuing reinventing of the past represented an attempt to control and restrain the present.

Many of the younger people echoed the views of Cousins:

"Whatever time migrants left Italy, that time stuck with them, and the values passed on to their children were of that older time in which they were trapped. The language and the dialect were also caught in this time warp, and did not change with time as they did in Italy." (Cousins in Pascoe, 1987:209).

While understanding their parents' need to look back and reflect on past achievements, the younger generation identified with the major changes which had taken place in Italy in becoming part of the European Economic Community, and in Australia in becoming a multicultural society in which the old divisions along ethnic lines had become an anachronism. While valuing their Italian background, they were outward-looking and keen to share in the development of all cultures, European, Asian, Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian in which many are already involved through networks of friends.

For the descendants of those who migrated from Italy, Italian language and culture create an important resource which enriches the entire community and affirms the value of Italian cultural traditions. For the Canberra-Queanbeyan region, the cultural traditions brought to this area by settlers from Europe and Asia are of very great value in opening up the majority culture to international and global cultural issues.

On the basis of the small sample surveyed, it is not possible to reach any firm conclusions. However, the evidence examined, which includes indications of falling enrolments in Italian, suggests that the Italian language in Canberra-Queanbeyan may not survive except among a few dedicated linguists after the disappearance of the first generation of Italian Australians. As discussed, there is evidence of some emerging problems in schools and colleges, leading to the practical difficulties reported in the survey in pursuing formal Italian studies. All of this suggests the need for a more comprehensive study of language maintenance among Italian Australians in Canberra-Queanbeyan. While some people contend that cultures may survive after a language is lost, the implications of language loss may be much more far-reaching than

is currently appreciated, as it would seem very difficult for Italian culture to survive without the language in which it is embodied.

Notes

[1] 'Australian National University Graduate Diploma in Australian Studies Research Project' (1998), "Report on a Pilot Study of the Maintenance of Italian Language and Culture among Second-generation Italo-Australians living in the ACT and Queanbeyan, NSW". Unpublished report. The research was supervised by Dr James Jupp, Director of the Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Research, Research School of Social Sciences, ANU. Dr Frank Lewins, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, ANU, advised on methodological aspects of the research.

[2] People aged five years and over speaking Italian at home.

[3] Percentage of the ACT population aged five years and over.

[4] 'Insertion' courses are integrated into the school system, and the teachers of these courses are employees of either the ACT Department of Education and Training or the Catholic Education Office.

I Left My Heart in Norton Street
Pino Migliorino

Introduction

The year is 1974 and I am in Leichhardt. It is Friday night and aged all of 16 I am in the back bar of the Bald Face Stag Hotel, drinking beer with my friends, playing the first video games and listening to David Bowie out of the juke box.

The year is now 2000, a quarter of a century past and a new generation on. For young people Leichhardt is now Norton Street. The venue is la Galleria or Café Gioia, the drink is latte or macchiatto and the music is Madonna accompanied by a pounding base emanating from the line of small fast cars in the parking lot which is Norton Street.

It is this change and this contrast which so interests me as it represents the passing of the generations from a conflicted and upwardly motivated second generation to a confident, materially wealthy and somewhat more complacent third generation.

This development of the third generation of Italo Australians is in itself an extraordinary phenomenon which is only just starting to be explored in its own right. It also holds the key to the central theme to this conference which is the development of Italian identity into the new millennium.

In this paper I seek to consider some of the core identity and cultural issues surrounding this third generation. I look at issues such as self-identity, lifestyle and perceptions of self within the larger and more diverse society. Through the issues I am most interested in whether the retention of a defined 'Italian' cultural profile is in itself a positive or a negative in terms of the development of these individuals within a modern Australia.

The Research

From my office in Norton Street and through my experience working with the Italian community I have been noticing a sea change in terms of the expression of Italianness in Sydney. These changes were also important to me subjectively as they represented a different reality from that which I had lived through and reconciled.

I wanted to speak to these young people and hear their views and experiences so I set up and ran a series of focus groups and in-depth discussions with young people whose parents were either born in Australia with an Italian heritage or who had lived the majority of their lives in Australia.

I used a structured interview set to question and quiz these young people about why it was still necessary to identify as Italo-Australians rather than Australians. This is of course a qualitative methodology so I am not holding up the results as representative of all young people from Italian backgrounds. This research type is important because it allows a far deeper consideration of the complex issues which make up a person's perception of self.

The results are discussed around the following topics: what is Italo-Australian culture and identity; the relevance of Italian language to the cultural maintenance model; the extent to which Italian identity will be passed on to future generations. The final consideration is whether this maintenance of a distinct ethno-Australian culture is a positive or negative feature in the positioning of these young people within the wider Australian society.

Italo-Australian Culture and Identity

In considering the responses to questions about identity I wanted to frame my reporting of them with reference to the present thinking about 'Australianness' to young people from non-English speaking backgrounds. I believe that the description provided by Loretta Baldassar is an important starting point.

"It is important to recognise that the label 'Australian' is not a strict reference to ethnicity at all. 'Australian' is rather a conceptual category against which Italians in Australia identify and define themselves" (Baldassar,2000)

The strong and consistent response to questions about identity by these young people was that their Italianness defined them more than any other demographic feature. They, to a person, identified themselves as Italo-Australians and felt that this definition was most appropriate for them. They indicated that they were far more comfortable having Italian background friends, they also had friends from other ethnic backgrounds, and only a few identified 'Australians' as friends.

"I feel much more comfortable with Italian friends. They understand the rules such as getting home by a certain time or not sleeping over."

"It is about being part of an identifiable group"

Yet this Italianness was more than a stereotype of fashion, cafes and cars, but encompassed a range of experiences and behaviours which reflected the different social and economic reality faced by these young people.

In the first instance this identity has a physical appearance which includes brand name fashions, specific haircuts, the obligatory mobile phone and early purchase of or access to an 'appropriate' motor vehicle.

The identity is also defined by a particular behaviour which is characterised by waiting outside church during Christmas and Easter festivities, going to coffee and going to restaurant dinners in Norton Street, going to dance clubs specifically themed Italian such as Pandemonium, Mondo, Lido, Bar Stardo, and Equinox.

In a far less obvious way the identity is also defined by an acceptance of what are seen as Italian cultural values. These include the value of family, a series of moral values which are used to explain if not justify continuing gender double standards, the value of tradition in terms of the wine and sauce making, the family function and extended family network:

"When I talk about being Italian, for me it is a set of valuables which are typically Italian and include compliance, upbringing and association (belonging)"

The fact that identity for these young people transcends the merely physical and stylish is an important cultural, maintenance consideration because at the end of the 'questa gioventù' will not stray and will not strongly challenge perceived community expectations.

So in essence there is both a discernable and accessible Italo-Australian culture that young third generation children can opt into and are doing so in large numbers.

It is appropriate to consider why so much has changed in the last 25 years, that full generation of time. There are a number of explanations which can be offered:

The first is that the parents of these young people are seen as far less oppressive than the previous generation of parents. This is played out in allowing young people to go out more freely, dress fashionably, and spend time in mixed company.

This increased freedom and increase in levels of tolerance can be seen as an effective cultural maintenance tool. While at first appearance a paradox, the effect of this increased freedom and tolerance is a lessening of the risk of rebellion or total rejection of the family and its values. The loss, which would result from rebellion, outweighs perceived issues of personal freedoms or deviation from the Italian cultural norms.

The second major reason for the change is that perceptions of Italian culture have changed within the broader society. Italianness has become the ultimate chic, with the 'Made in Italy' label being transferred from goods to people.

I was recently in a discussion with a person from Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. After responding to a question about origin in which I stated that I had been born in Italy and had come to Australia in 1964, the person responded, "you're so lucky having a culture, I'm an English speaking Australian and I don't have one". Apart from being floored by the silliness of this comment, especially as a student of history and the role of Anglo culture, I could not but wonder at the change which had taken place since my own youth in which being Italian was a major negative and merit was gained from being 'Australian'.

It is this environment and this style set that our youth are living today and is it any wonder that they are much more willing to embrace it. In essence it has provided a cultural relativism in which our young people are almost arrogant with their cultural identity as Italo-Australians.

The third reason for the change is quite simply wealth. These young people are not the product or working class immigrant parents wanting success for their children as a justification for their immigration. They are rather the children of mainly well off and middle class parents wanting success for their children and an upward mobility as least as rapid and spectacular as their own.

It is this new middle class with its private education, tutoring, ballet and sport, which facilitates the expression of third generation Italo-Australian identity. Even though the parents might resent the extra freedoms they now afford their children their material wealth will ensure that the children want for nothing and that they can take their place as peers within the wider society. It is still too early to measure the success of this generation but the unintended outcome of both wealth, and education has been a growing capacity to live out the urban coffee shop chic.

The Cost of Deviance

While overall the Italo-Australian identity is a positive one there was a strong undercurrent in the research that there was little if any tolerance of deviation from cultural expectations. The women in the research were keen to point out not only a continuing double standard in terms of freedoms between themselves and boys, but also their compliance to

'cultural standards' as a result of not wanting to be excluded from the family and the community.

The inference is clear. Deviation from the acceptable in terms of sexuality, pregnancy out of marriage, and even interracial marriages are a clear threat to the comfortable and happy Italo-Australian identity.

"I have the culture and want to carry it on, morals, food, stories […] Sure I have wanted to deviate, but in the end it gives you identity"

This not wanting to deviate does extend to the major challenge to cultural maintenance which is the interracial marriage. All of the research participants believed that though interracial marriages can work there were far greater problems with them in terms of the expectations and compromises which would result. Yet the discussions seemed to almost exclusively concern itself with the probability of intra-group marriages given the similarity of backgrounds and corresponding understanding which would make it easy for Italo-Australian girls in the development of relationships.

The value of intra-group marriage is also seen to support the desire to imbue future generations with Italian culture.

"I want to bring up my children with an Italian heritage – with linkages"

Marrying outside the culture can be seen as a threat to the successful and desirable identity which has evolved and as such I could suggest that a notional Italian identity is likely to be passed on to the next generation of children.

This was certainly the intention of the research participants who were keen to have children who could speak Italian and have links to the Italian culture. Within this intention the children would be brought up bi-lingually in the home where the parents spoke Italian or externally in formal education where the parents did not speak Italian fluently

The Importance of Italian Language To Cultural Maintenance

A common view over the past few decades has been that language has been central to notions of cultural maintenance. There is a growing body of research work in Australia which is suggesting that in the Italian community language has a valuable but not integral role in cultural maintenance.

The first observation that I would make would be that Italian language competence is not essential to the maintenance of an Italo-Australian identity. The reason for this is that Italian language can be defined in a number of ways:

The predominant one is the maintenance of dialect or dialect mixes

spoken in the family home or in extended family/community situations. While important in the maintenance of family contact it does not play out in a youth community context where the young people are notionally Italian rather than Sicilian, Pugliese or Friulani.

The second is the learning of formal Italian either through school, doppo scuola or at university level. This Italian represents the minority group as formal Italian is not seen as essential to belonging though it does have relevance to how young people interact with Italy.

The third and most interesting is the development of Italo-Australian Italian. This is not a formal language but the development and uses of Italian phrases, words and parodies of English spoken by the migrating generation. This has been used to successful effect in stageplays such as *Wogs Out of Work* and films such as *The Heartbreak Kid*.

This last language type is the one closest to the present Italo-Australia cultural identity which is Australian based, therefore the role of the Italian language is to define inclusion rather than be a means of communication.

Formal Italian grows in importance when considered in the context of visiting, or interacting with Italy. It is this situation which most confronts these young people who respond in a variety of ways to their Italian experiences. For some the Italian experience is seminal in their developing personal identity for other it confirms and confuses as it suggests that they are not native and therefore less valid as Italians.

Confronting as this may be what it does is assist in confirming the Italo-Australia reality as the culture of inclusion rather than one which is part of the Italian diaspora. So in effect the Italian experience can be see to reinforce group membership and group value as the place where "I feel comfortable and am surrounded by people who are like me".

It can therefore be safely concluded that Italian language is important to the maintenance of identity and culture. But the answer needs to be considered within a wider definition of what Italian language is, its vernacular and its contextual settings.

The Effects of Italo-Australian Cultural Maintenance on Mainstream Participation

As mooted in the introduction to this paper, one of the key questions I was keen to explore was the net effect of this Italo-Australian identity on the participation of these young people in a larger multicultural Australia.

If we accept that part of the maintenance of Italo-Australian identity

is as a response to the notion of being Australian which is not inclusive of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds then I believe that this is a most important consideration as the maintenance of an Italo-Australian identity could work to marginalise these young people by defining them out of the mainstream.

There were both direct and indirect references to the continuing sense of being different. That is being Italo-Australian did not mean being Australian which was defined as another set of cultural norms. The reality for many of these younger people is that they still do not see themselves as part of the mainstream.

"I am different because I am seen as different whenever I meet someone new who is Australian, they will ask me where I'm from and what they are really asking is what ethnic group do I belong to"

"When I wore silver jewelry a guy came up to me and asked me why I was wearing it stating, "don't you people only wear gold?""

The other clear reality is that these young people do not see themselves reflected in mainstream media or other public images. As such they feel that they do not belong to this mainstream.

While this is maintained in comments such as, "you never see Italians on Ramsay Street", there is another reality which is being played out in terms of access to education and the professions and white-collar employment.

There is an almost palpable expectation of success from the parents of these young people. Though this success is not just a monetary one. The Italian background parents of these third generation young people want their children to succeed across the board, financially, socially and in the arts. These parents have joined the Saturday taxi drivers.

This can be seen as a similar activity to the previous generation as this is indeed a form of work designed to give children the most opportunities. In previous times the Saturday work was in the factories and the building sites to make sure that kids could be financed through school.

These young people are therefore likely to go to university, likely to be well rounded, and likely to have developed a friendship network of similar people with more wealthy and professional parents. But will they themselves form part of the 'ruling class' in terms of access to the political, legal and social echelons in which structural power resides. I believe that this is the area which needs to be focussed on in future research, as the answer to my question as to the orientation of Italo-Australian identity, that is, whether it is a positive or a negative factor in a multicultural Australia.

Conclusions

This initial research has been extremely important in my consideration of the phenomenon of the third generation Italo-Australian. The study was by no means exhaustive and there are certainly a range of issues around how to present results from qualitative research but I do believe that pieces such as these are needed to inform and challenge perceptions around this most important issue of the long term survival of the Italian ethnicity in Australia.

The first and obvious conclusion is that there has been a major sea change in the way that third generation children from Italian heritage see themselves and the comfort with which they accept themselves.

In comparison to their parents generation these young people have been able to define an identity which transcends the different aspects of their lives. In essence they are able to be themselves in family, school and social situations without having to modify behaviour, language or value set. This stands in stark contrast to the experiences of the previous generation which while young lived lives of multiple behaviours being Italian with family and community and Australia in the external environment of school, work and social interaction.

This developing Italo-Australian cultural identity does not just rest on the material and external identifiers of group membership. There is a clear sense of a deeper and more personally meaningful set of cultural values such as family strength, morality and heritage which make the Italo-Australian cultural paradigm a positive and desirable one. It is these deeper and less obvious issues which strengthen the identity and provide the parameters around which behaviour is defined and expectations created.

The orientation of this identity is a positive one which perpetuates itself in terms of being tolerated by parents allowing a free rein, desired by outsiders as a 'hip' and 'stylish' culture and maintained materially by an increasing wealth and family stability which will sustain the future settlement and stability of these young people.

The desire to maintain the identity will act to influence beyond peer group to the choice of partner and the decisions around child rearing and linguistic tuition.

Italo-Australia identity has a validity outside of Italy. In fact, experiences of Italy are not essential to the group membership. One unintended outcome is that trips to Italy can reinforce group membership and belonging by showing the Italo-Australian experience as more meaningful that the Italy experience.

This group membership is also defined around language, but here the language is not formal Italian, but rather an evolved set of words, phrases and references which establish inclusiveness and group membership.

Finally I believe that a lot more consideration needs to be given to the effects and impacts of this Italo-Australian identification. My initial argument is that to a degree the move towards an Italo-Australian identity can be seen as a reaction to the subtle marginalisation of people from non-English speaking backgrounds. As such we are still to see if the resulting cultural identity acts to empower these young people within the Australian society or to resolve to being different from other 'Australians'.

Meanwhile I will continue to enjoy seeing the confidence of these young Italo-Australians drinking their macchiattos on a Friday night in Norton Street.

Italo-Australian Identity in Venero Armanno's Writing
Nerina Caltabiano & Stephen Torre

In an interview in 1997 Venero Armanno, a Brisbane writer of Sicilian ethnic background, said:

"[…] every artist has his or her area. And it took me a long time to realise that my area is apartness. Not being a part of the main society, always being on the outside. It's like everybody is having a party, but you're not invited, you can only go to the window and look in. That's my theme in life. In a way it's what I've taken from the migrant experience, never actually being a part of the new society. But I am aware of how limiting this train of thought is and I am aware that this is not true for all migrants. I hate to generalise. I'm talking only about my own experience." (Grau & Zamorano, 1999, p. 33)

Armanno has explored the theme of "apartness" in an imaginatively complex and diverse series of fictional works, beginning with a collection of short stories *Jumping at the Moon* (1992), and continuing with the first two parts of an intended trilogy *The Lonely Hunter* (1993) and *Romeo of the Underworld* (1994). *My Beautiful Friend* (1995), *Strange Rain* (1996), and most recently *Firehead* (1999) also develop themes of *liminality*, otherness and alienation. He has also written two works for young readers, *The Ghost of Love Street* (1997) and *The Ghost of Deadman's Beach* (1998). Armanno's use of the simple word "apartness" should not mislead us into underestimating the scope and depth of such a theme: in our deconstructed postmodernist world, apartness has become a problem of the human condition and the search for an antidote a pressing universal need. Also, apartness can only be comprehended within the contexts of belonging, understanding, self knowledge and love. The search for these crucial but elusive qualities is richly embedded in the human dramas which Armanno relates.

It is with this broad universal scope of Armanno's work in mind that we turn, in this paper, to the more specific exploration of ethnic identity in his work. Armanno has said that it is simplistic to label him as a "migrant writer" (Grau & Zamorano, 1999, p. 35) and we would agree. As he says (above), the "migrant experience" is what led him on to explore the larger question of "apartness", and indeed ethnic identity is inconsequential in some of his works (viz. *My Beautiful Friend and*

Strange Rain). In others however, the search for identity which his alienated characters engage in is enacted in the particularized context of migrant experience. These narratives focus on characters whose Italian-Australian ethnicity is foregrounded, and who interact in complex ways with firstly, migrant parents, grandparents and relatives whose identity is primarily self-conceived as Italian and secondly, those characters who see themselves as fully absorbed into Australian national identity in an uncomplicated way. In the course of these interactions characters (often the main narrator) explore and come to some understanding of what it is to be an Italian Australian. Armanno's writing is a medium through which he is able to explore his own apartness and his own experience. But as a professional writer he is able to fictionalize and universalize what would otherwise be autobiographical and personal. While not underestimating the global appeal of his work as fiction, his explorations of Italo-Australian identity have a valuable function for Australian readers. Each of us experiences a different Australia from one's neighbours. It is only possible for each of us to have a reliable perspective of what constitutes an Australian in Australia by immersing ourselves in the experiences of other Australians. An awareness of one's similarities and differences to other Australian experiences can be seen as strengthening one's sense of self or identity of who and what we are. In writing about the Sicilian-Australian experience Armanno provides a forum in which readers can explore identity. Though there are many factors that constitute an individual's identity, in this paper we concentrate on that part of an individual's identity and sense of self that comes from one's ascribed identity, namely, one's ethnicity.

Ethnicity has been defined as "the patterns of behaviour and beliefs that sets a group apart from others" (Keefe, 1992, p. 35). This paper uses social identity theory and self-categorization theory as possible explanations for the process that readers, and in particular those that share group membership, undergo when they encounter ethnic writings that may be said to possess contextual salience. Before focusing on examples of Armanno's work that demonstrate markers of Italo-Australian ethnic identity we briefly present the theoretical perspectives guiding this approach.

Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory is one theoretical perspective on group identification. In this theory, Festinger argues that individuals' beliefs about themselves and the world around them need to be subjectively validated. Our understanding of the world around us is rarely based on direct personal experience but more commonly on the validation of our beliefs by those whom we consider to be similar to us.

This social reality testing is achieved when individuals from within our reference group confirm our beliefs, attitudes and behaviours to be valid and appropriate. In short, confirmation of our perceptions means that there is a correspondence or identification between ourselves and the reference group. This process has thus reduced personal uncertainty. One of the vehicles for this process of validation can be through written discourses such as, in this instance, Armanno's narratives.

As a response to social comparison theory (which is an interpersonal model of group formation) in 1972 Tajfel developed social identity theory, a model which relies on "individuals' knowledge that they belong to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to them of this group's membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p.292). It is these intergroup social comparisons that confirm ingroup-favouring (Turner, 1975). Tajfel's and Turner's ideas on social identity theory are developed further in what is now known as self-categorization theory. [1] Self-categorization theory is essentially a cognitive explanation for group behaviour. It tends to downplay any motivational and/or affective components in the process of ingroup identification. Rather the focus is on "perceived similarity of the target to the relevant ingroup or outgroup prototype" (Hogg & Terry, 2000, p.121[4]) or stereotypical attributes be they beliefs, attitudes, feelings or behaviours. The effect that this has is that both similarities within a group and differences between groups are maximized. Any individual belonging to the same ethnic group would clearly share and be exposed to similar social information.

It is appropriate to apply self-categorization theory to Armanno's writings, because although they are fictional, he nevertheless chooses to construct some of his narratives so that he presents social information that is characteristic of a particular ethnic group. If readers belong to that category (that is ethnic group) then they will find cognitive confirmation for that shared social knowledge and in turn strengthen their ingroup identification. For readers that don't share that similar category, the content will go to highlight the intergroup differences between themselves and the social information presented. Drawing on his own ethnic background Armanno weaves into his stories the beliefs, attitudes, feelings and behaviours that convey what it means to be an Italo-Australian living in suburban Australia.

One ethnic study (Caltabiano, 1984) focussing on understanding what it means to be an Italian living in Australia found that this Italo-Australian identity is conveyed through such markers as (1) socio-cultural activities, (2) family, (3) ingroup and (4)conservative traditional

factors. In this paper we present examples of five markers of ethnic identity which are commonly found in Armanno's works: sexuality; family; language and narrative; religion; and food.

<u>Sexuality</u>

There are many instances in Armanno's novels where Italo-Australians both explore and challenge traditional attitudes to sexual mores. In *Firehead*, the narrator recalls the traditional courtship of Fortunata and Enrico Belpasso in Sicily:

"Something like this has simply never happened to Enrico: he has never sat next to a female who was not his sister or his mother or his grandmother, or at the very least some sort of relative.

Fortunata […] selects a fig from Enrico's ready little pyramid and surveys it with interest. Then she tears the skin with her teeth and puts the point of her tongue right inside the pink and purple of the fruit, and Enrico, watching this as closely as he has watched many a travelling magician's act in the Riposto market square feels […] pins and prickles cover his skin and he knows this for what it is – sheer and absolute desire." (*Firehead*, 1999, p. 57)

Two generations later in the Italian suburb of New Farm in Brisbane Fortunata's granddaughter Gabriella is not so desperate to fulfill the traditional role of wife as she questions the narrator Sam Capistrano about his sexual experiences:

" 'So, your virginity? I'm waiting.'

Speak-swaggering is an art, the only sort of art there was to learn at the mean-spirited little Christian Brothers school I went to.

'You must be joking.'

'You must be joking yes or you must be joking no?'

'The Big V is old news. That was two years ago at least.'

Normally she could see through a boy's speak-swagger like looking through a shop window, yet it touched me that a trace of anxiety crossed her brow. It touched me that she had just a trace of a teenager's gullibility.

'Well,' she said, 'I want to keep something no-one will ever get from me.'

'Your ma will be glad she's got a good girl who won't give in until she's married.'

'Who's getting married?'

'You. Sooner or later. Not like me.'

'You're not getting married? You'll be the first.' She was angry for some reason and reverted to rapid-fire Sicilian. 'Fuck you, I'm the one who won't be getting married, I can assure you of that.' Her voice went quiet. 'I really, really won't'." (Firehead, 1999, pp. 18-19)

Sam Capistrano is obviously less easy with his virginity than Enrico Belpasso who was content to sit under the trees eating figs, and similarly Gabriella is less concerned with marriage than Fortunata who saw marriage as the completion of her purpose in life. These scenarios have been observed in empirical studies. Baldassar's (1999) ethnographic work on Italo-Australian weddings in Western Australia shows the ethnic group expectations of 'sistemazione' (that is, fulfilling the traditional expectations of marriage and family life) have considerable influence on Italo-Australians. In the above scene Armanno shows the characters' awareness of these expectations but also their attempts to defy or adapt them.

Baldassar's work also draws a distinction between the category of Italo-Australian women whose sexuality needs "protecting" and the 'other' non-Italo-Australian women who are used as sexual objects and talked about by the menfolk. In the following passage Armanno has cleverly used English-sounding names to refer to the non-Italo-Australian girls. Sex and male-conquests outside of the ethnic group are trophies and things to brag about to one's peers:

"If we were the wolves then Andrea and Amelia Farmer were the lambs. A little bit of treachery goes a long way and I was sorry that we'd arranged to meet up with them by the rose gardens in New Farm Park. That was where I normally met Gabriella, but with one look at their pleated Saint Rita's sports dresses and long white necks and long, long legs I forgot about her and anything real we'd ever shared. All the boys called Saint Rita's Saint Rooter's and the Farmer sisters were good to their word; Andrea lit an Alpine with her new lighter while Amelia took Tony down to the now dark riverbank. She relieved him and then Andrea took me down to the same place while Amelia and Tony sat under a bottle boab and smoked and couldn't find anything to talk about. " (*Firehead*, 1999, pp. 27-28)

These are only two quite specific examples from one of Armanno's novels, which deal extensively with how Italo-Australian characters have to negotiate between the traditional views of love and sexual morality and their own desires.

Family

The importance of traditional courtship and marriage is that it is the precursor to family life. Although Armanno's novels show the complexities and conflicts of modern family life, he tends to present traditional family values as a reference point against which to judge

contemporary ones. Again, we could look to the characters of Fortunata and Enrico as representing the traditional position:

"In a week they've set a date and in a month that date has arrived, and after that the boy who was the laziest of the province is starting to be called the happiest, for his loneliness is gone and with it his dreaminess, and he can't stop smiling because of this, and he feeds Fortunata as much as she feeds him. Together they balloon with the sugar and meat of love, and he puts his seed into her as often as he can, and she always raises her hips and keeps them raised for long, long minutes after, so that the seed will take hold and sprout, and when finally this long-delayed fruit does, Fortunata swells and somehow Enrico with her, and they're fat as Sicilian hogs and twice as happy, and life for these two is as it should be - beautiful and agonizing and joyous …" (*Firehead*, 1999, p. 84)

For modern Italo-Australians life is never so simple. Yet despite the pull of less traditional lifestyles, in the end Armanno's characters often choose traditional family life and its responsibilities, as does the narrator in *Firehead*. At the conclusion of the novel he finally gives up his obsession with Gabriella, the first love of his adolescent youth, choosing instead to remain with his wife and children:

"[Gabriella] wanted belonging, or at least a road that might lead her to that particular corner of Heaven. It didn't make me feel guilty that I'd found a way to beat her there.

I ran further down the windy beach to where the last sunlight of the day was still bright in the silver waves, cracking the beautiful black and gold heads of my wife and children into what they are, a multitude." (*Firehead*, 1999,pp.399-400)

Language

Some research on dimensions of ethnic identity (Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1977; Giles, Taylor, Lambert & Albert, 1976; Taylor, Bassili and Aboud, 1973) have cited language as being a salient marker of a group's identity. In the following example taken from 'Firehead' the reader observes the powerfulness and the intensity of emotion that three simple words uttered by the father evoke in the son for his sexual transgressions. Quite clearly the words themselves are not outstanding or unusual but with them is a cultural association that as a father and husband his loyalty should remain with the family. In short, language conjures up those moral ideas associated with family:

"[…] 'Figlio, cosa c'è?' Son, what is it? There was not a time in my life that I'd heard the old peasant dialect of ours sound so loving. That

dialect of the fields and the mountains, untouched by Sicilian literature or culture, was a language for berating donkeys, for screaming hate or shouting passion, but this – this was something new. How many times had I trembled when my father had gone into one of his rages, shouting at me and the injustices of the world? Yet this now was somehow more frightening than any of that could ever have been.Because it made me ashamed." (*Firehead*, 1999, p. 333)

The frequent interpolation of fragments of Sicilian dialect, especially at climactic moments in the action, does more than just add verisimilitude and dramatic impact to Armanno's novels. These interpolations function to reinforce identity. Rom Harré has shown how identity is partly constructed by patterns of 'talk' and particularized language (Harré 1983) and Armanno highlights this, in for example, the following passage where the narrator is consoled by his lover's mother:

"Mrs Aquila's chosen to speak in Sicilian, the language I have faith in. It's dirty and clear, no elaboration, no airs and graces, no bullshit. You speak it with honest shit on your shoes. The proper tongue for anger and for love, for berating beasts of burden and for lulling children to sleep." (*Romeo of the Underworld*, 1994, p. 111)

Similarly:

"Accussi sunu i cosi, chi ci putemu fari?' he said, knowing I would understand. It was the common, thousand-year-old fatalistic rejoinder of Sicilian men sitting in wicker chairs smoking and gossiping with their friends about a world they couldn't hope to control: 'That's the way things are, what can you do about it?'" (*Firehead*, 1999, p. 361)

Narrative

Kevin Murray (1989), building on Harré's work, has shown how narrative is an important way of instantiating the self in the social order (p. 181). Murray observes:

"Narrative […] [is] a process for mediating between theories from the social order and individual lives. It is from such a mediation that identity is constructed: social identity through the instantiation of a romantic narrative structure of tests, and personal identity by means of the release of idiosyncrasies allowed in a comic narrative structure. These story forms serve as prescribed ways for the instantiation of moral values such as self-reliance, and commitment to social units such as the family, into the life of the individual." (Murray, 1989, p. 200)

For Armanno and his readers, the plethora of stories which make up the larger structures of the novels seem to function as narratives constitutive of ethnic identity. The narrative formation of identity is also

a major theme of Firehead. It is largely through her diary, that the narrator comes to understand the inner world of his lover, Gabriella:

"She said, 'Stories can be seductive just like wine and food. Maybe that's all you need to know. It means that even the ugliest storyteller becomes the most beautiful, if the story touches you deeply enough.

…I said, 'All those stories, I read them in your diary.'

'There's so much more and that's what makes my writing hard…At least I've discovered what my real theme is. Now I'm getting somewhere. Do you want to know what that theme is?'

'What is it?'

'Belonging.'

(*Firehead*, 1999, pp. 384-385)

A little later Gabriella adds:

"I lived all around the country, if that's what you want to know. I let myself be myself, getting lost and turning around and finding new roads—but it was really just confusing movement for progress. The main thing I've been doing for twenty years is writing different stories down. I'm getting close to finding a structure that works.' She looked at me with a little defiance. 'Va bene? she said, which means, All right?" (*Firehead*, 1999, p. 386)

Religion

Socio-cultural activities such as religion are markers of ethnic identity. Ianni (1977) claimed that "southern Italians who are deeply religious do not trust the church as an institution" (p. 103). In Armanno's novels religion does seem to have a different place in the psyche of the people to that of a more traditional Irish-Catholic persuasion. A personal, sometimes antagonistic relationship with God is often implied, as in this example from *Romeo of the Underworld*:

"In the vineyards neighbouring our town of Piedimonte, men and women picked black and white grapes and took cold water from the centuries-old well, and cursed the holy trinity for giving them a dynasty of padrones with so many vineyards and this hot day to labour in."(*Romeo of the Underworld*, 1994, p. 161)

In *My Beautiful Friend* the Australian couple Aaron and Rebecca McQueen provide a paradoxical perspective on religion: although Rebecca is portrayed as being very religious she ultimately succumbs to evil while Aaron who has "lapsed" survives the horrific ordeal presented in the novel:

"We slid into the very last row of pews at the back. Rebecca was more Catholic than me, but it still puzzled me that she could be bothered to

make the sign of the cross and join her hands together in her lap. At night, sometimes, when things were really bad, she would say her prayers. It always intrigued me that someone like her could carry such a devotion, and it bothered me too. Her favourite prayer, she liked to tell me, was the 'Hail Mary'. Now Rebecca leaned back and closed her eyes, and I took the time to look around at all the accoutrements of religion.

There is no one more cynical than a person who has lapsed from a belief, and I had lapsed from a strong belief indeed. Before my teenage years I'd been an altar boy, I'd known my Bible well, I'd believed in a loving God, and I'd even believed in an assembly of saints whom you could ask for special attention, as if they were accommodating whores in a whorehouse. And then my change came, just like that, because I watched too much television and read too many books and saw too many people's lives full of self-importance and vanity. The problem was that I didn't ever decide on something better to believe in, except for love, and how I paid for coming up with that fine solution." (*My Beautiful Friend*, 1995, pp.41-42)

Food

Cooking and eating are, or course, central activities of life, and the distinctiveness of a particular cuisine is invariably linked to culture. But few novelists could equal Armanno in his lavish and loving descriptions of Sicilian food, its preparation and its consumption. In both Romeo of the Underworld and *Firehead*, significant parts of the action are set in restaurants ('Il Volcano' and 'Ristorante Notte e Giorno' respectively). Long lingering passages, sometimes entire chapters (*Firehead* pp.312-15), are given over to detailed narratives of the preparation of traditional dishes. But cooking, eating and drinking are not just incidental to the novels; in every instance Armanno associates these activities with significant experiences. In *The Lonely Hunter* the wife makes soup for her husband because her mother has told her that this will insure that her husband remains faithful to her. In *Strange Rain* Santo knows he has found the perfect wife when he tastes the soup she has made. In Firehead, cooking and eating are major mediators in human relationships. The book is divided into three sections "Love:1975", "Blood:1985" and "Pasta:1995". There are chapters headed "Fresh Breasts", "It Looked Like a Salami", "Chillies for Courage" "Falsomagro" and "Puppetti o Suco di Carne". In the following passage the narrator's mother cooks for the family:

"This dish is called, properly, polpetti al sugo. In our Sicilian dialect it's puppetti o suco di carne. Keep serving that red wine through the

dinner, that's what my mamma does. And she doesn't show it too much—whereas everyone else does of course, because they're all smiling with this big peasant feast they're eating—but when she cooks this dish she's happy. Inside, I know she's singing. Well, I don't have to keep it inside. When I cook this dish, over its hours and hours, I do sing. Silly radio love songs that make you want to cry even with their moon—June—spoon little rhymes, and full-blooded Maria Callas arias I'll never have the voice for. You go ahead and do whichever one you want, but I assure you, one way or the other, your heart will be lighter." (*Firehead*, 1999, p. 315)

In Armanno's work, food is a major factor in sustaining marriages and family relationships and the meal often has an almost sacramental or eucharistic quality in the way it plays a part in affirmations of identity. It's perhaps appropriate to end this paper here, since everything comes together at the scene of a meal: the pleasure of eating is linked with the pleasures of sex, the joys of music, the happiness of family, a sense of origin and heritage, the completion and plenitude of self:

"The garlic and onions were sizzling and I gave them a good turning, over and over and over, letting them blanch but not burn.

'My mother used to say that when you get an idea about a person's life and what it's like, you start to fall in love with them.'

[…] I was going to add that my ma used to say the same thing about food, that the best cooking had the best of the chef's life and love in it, but I would have felt foolish saying something so Sicilian-romantic." (*Firehead*, 1999, p. 126)

Conclusion

Armanno uses narrative as a medium through which he explores the theme of apartness. Those works in which apartness is dramatised in the context of Italo-Australian experience provide a forum in which readers can explore issues of identity. Reader response to Armanno's narratives can be understood in terms of self-categorisation theory: through the use of categories readers can gain cognitive confirmation for shared social knowledge which in turn reinforces identification with the ingrown.

Note

[1] According to Hogg and Terry (2000) self-categorization theory is seen as "that component of an extended social identity theory of the relationship between self-concept and group behaviour that details the social cognitive processes that generate social identity effects" (p.121[4]).

Narrating Italy in Robert Dessaix's and Jeffrey Smart's Work

Paolo Bartoloni

One of the first things that surprised me when I arrived in this country ten years or so ago was the response that my origins triggered amongst people in Australia. Whenever I said that I was from Florence and that I intended to settle in Australia the expression on the face of my interlocutors changed rapidly, turning from genuine curiosity and interest into incredulity and stupor. After a short moment of dense silence an explicit request for explanation followed: "Why"?; "What for?"

My Florentine provenience spurred similar responses from well-educated and erudite Australians, usually academics and professionals, as well as ordinary people and those who had migrated here in the 1950s and 1960s. In their mouths lingered another question that was sometimes uttered explicitly or by way of allusions: "What was a young graduate from the University of Florence hoping for or expecting to find in Australia that wasn't already available in Italy?"

This situation has repeated itself time and time again. It still occurs today, to the point of submerging myself and my astonished interlocutors into a state of total embarrassment and uneasiness, originating from my initially enthusiastic and then increasingly laboured, vague and tired speculations on Australia's beauty, creativity, enthusiasm. These attempts at explaining myself, which I now steadily refused to embark on, became hollow and thin because of both my weariness and my interlocutors' invariable refusal to see in my arguments a legitimate motif. I believe that I have not been able to persuade a single Australian as to the reasons that convinced me to remain in this country.

Obviously we see Florence and Italy differently. And obviously we see Australia differently too. We seem to have a distinct perception of not only the culture, but also the landscape, food, people, in a word, life.

Over the years I have started speculating that perhaps while I see the historical beauty of Florence and Italy but also the ugliness of the suburbs with their huge blocks of flats where entire families share tiny spaces, others might see images from Forster's, Shelley's, Byron's,

Browning's, George Eliot's, Henry James', D.H. Lawrence's books; that while I see, or should I say touch, such is its thickness, the pollution engulfing Italian cities, others see romantic sunsets whose gentle orange light touches ancient buildings, revealing breathtaking details or dusty roads leading to secluded villas - "the light of Tuscany makes the landscape sublime. I felt my eyes were rested and renewed."[1]; that while I see unemployment and alienation others see freedom, liberation and joy of life. In other words, it might be that whereas I have a narrowing vision tempered by actuality, others might have a different mental perception of Italy.

This seems to be corroborated by a series of remarks made over the years by Australian authors and critics. Let us take a random sample: "Australians of a certain turn of mind are literary beyond the imagination of most Europeans. We live out of books. Isolation breeds in us, or used to, a particular intensity of imagination, and a kind of contempt for everyday experience, that makes the idea, for some of us, quite resistent to even the strongest assaults of the actual"[2]; "...what we know about Italy is often gained from guidebooks"[3]; "...such literary representations [Australian novels on Italy], no matter how strongly or mysteriously connected with so-called fact, are 'imaginary', they are created..."[4]; "The Florence of almost all the Australians in Tuscany, whether for a day or for years, was an imaginary land, the home of the Renaissance and Art. This land was constructed of Churches, galleries and museums and peopled by Dante and Michelangelo."[5]

It appears that in Australia, at least amongst authors belonging to a certain generation, there was a tendency to see Italy in an idealised, fictive light. However, and at least judging from my experience, this tendency is not only typical of a cultural elite or a historical period, but is rather more diffused, more entrenched. In a sense it responds to that old, and as such very much rooted, colonial feeling, which Malouf alludes to in the above remarks: isolation, provincialism, exile from the "real home".

It is by focussing on this feeling of incompleteness and loss that representations and interpretations of Italy in Australian culture and imagination enact a self-analysis and introspection whose results are not so much instructive in order to understand Italy as to explore Australian cultural values. In gazing on the other, the viewer's face is also revealed.

The 1950s, as Roslyn Pesman has argued, "were not only a period of mass immigration from Europe to Australia but also of mass travel in the opposite direction."[6] Australians went to Europe to rediscover their originality, their authenticity, to immerse themselves in the only culture

that really counted. For many Australians knowledge was equated with Oxford and Cambridge, creativity with the immersion, both sentimental and physical, into the cultural tradition and landscape of Italy and Greece.[7] Like most colonial countries, Australia saw itself as a mere translation, a copy whose ultimate aim was to be as faithful as possible to the original. The most expedient and unproblematic way of achieving faithfulness is by pretending to be the original. The cultural and intellectual story of Australia up until the '50s and the '60s is characterised by this pretension, based on the assumption that what really counts and matters is somewhere else. Therefore, remarks such as this by Martin Boyd are not surprising: "Rome is the centre of our civilisation, the spiritual capital of every civilised European, whatever his beliefs."[8] Surely this sentiment was shared by the great majority of Australians who, if they could afford it, lived in view of that essential journey which would reunite them with their real essence. And yet echoes of this characteristic Australian condition of the 1950s are still present today. Let us listen, for instance, to Shirley Hazzard: "The anthem of praise raised by foreign writers - and in particular by writers in English - to Italy, to Tuscany, to Florence, has consistently sounded a note of relief. Its theme is that of a heaven-sent rescue: the rescue of the self from incompleteness."[9]; or to Janine Burke: "I was trying to find a way of speaking about my grief and loss and mourning. And what I found was that my culture, an Australian, Anglo-Celt culture, did not speak of it at all."[10]; or to Peter Porter: "I have always esteemed European culture above everything else. I haven't esteemed it out of any programmatic idea but simply because it's what has interested me. From the moment I was able to take any interest in these things I found myself absorbed by European culture."[11]

These same themes are also found in the novel by Robert Dessaix *Night Letters*[12] and in the work of Jeffrey Smart. If the European tone running throughout Dessaix's novel is apparent (the setting is undoubtedly European - Switzerland and Italy -, and the cultural references seem to point almost exclusively in the direction of Europe), its inherent Australianness is also evident, and it is strongly exemplified by the journey the protagonist of the book, R. undertakes after being diagnosed with a terminal illness. It directly reconnects with the "Grand Tour" that Australians felt compelled, even obliged, one could say, to undertake to enhance their cultural education. R. does not go to England and he does not enrol at Oxford or Cambridge and yet his journey to Switzerland and Italy is a form of self-discovery, a sort of "sentimental journey" seeking both his cultural roots and a closer, more intimate

presence to himself. It appears as if this self-searching experience could not take place in Australia, as if Australia lacks the cultural references essential to enter a deep reappraisal of the self (let us remember Burke's and Hazzard's remarks on "Australian incompleteness"). If the European nature of *Night Letters* is located within the cultural paradigm of its protagonist, its Australianness is found in that typical colonial feeling of ultimately non-belonging, in that irredeemable severance from the land. Australia can be a comfortable and indeed obliging and fascinating host, but it remains a host even if one decides to call it "home".

As opposed to the fictive character R. in Dessaix's novel, the actual "Grand Tour" of Jeffrey Smart did not take him back to Australia. The artist decided to make Italy his home, a decision whose origins can be also traced back to that feeling of incompleteness, metaphorical exile. Dessaix's and Smart's debt to Europe are primarily cultural. In Smart it is mannerism and especially the work of Piero della Francesca that have left an indelible impression on his creative imagination. But to Piero one could also add the rational, rigidly beautiful and symmetrical architectural works of Palladio and the perfect, though eerie, deserted, still and soundless metaphysical canvases by Giorgio De Chirico peopled by mental and metonymical evocations and allusions.

Whenever I look at some of Smart's paintings I can hear some kind of cultural echoes which, through mannerism and its narcissistic attempt to carve out a special oasis in which the self can rest and indulge its personal obsession with beauty and perfection, connect with other western cultural constructs such as the cinema of Fellini and Greenaway. Clearly what links their visions of the world is the rarefied atmosphere in which silence and stillness prevail over the cacophonic and jarring sound of quotidianity, but also, and more importantly, their attempt to bring quotidianity within the precincts of the manneristic ideal site and then close the gates again. In other words, Smart, Fellini and Greenaway strive towards a contamination of narratives whose main function, in my view, is to explore how day-to-day reality reacts when plunged into an ideal zone devoid of all the constraints imposed by our prosaic lives. I also think that Dessaix is doing something similar.

If Dessaix's book is influenced by the cultural tradition of the "Grand Tour", it also problematises it by entering a representation of Italy which is open to, indeed looks for, the engagement with the "other", be it real Italians rather than stereotypical characters taken from the English imagination, or the contemporary urban landscape. The Italy that Dessaix represents in *Night Letters* is only partially mental and definitely

not an Anglo-American oasis as in previous visitors. Besides, the only way the protagonist of *Night Letters* can embark on his travel, on this kind of travel, is to remain open and never shut the "other" out by erecting barriers made up of his cultural, moral and social values. In his own words: "I've lived my life far too timidly, I now think, looking back. Not blandly, but taking too few risks. When the road has forked, I've almost always taken the better-lit, better-paved way, although I now suspect it's often the other way, the grubby lane or path through the woods, which most (I'm searching for a grittier phrase but fear I'm left with) enrich your humanity." (15)

In the same spirit of Camus,[13] R. accepts to be frightened, to face fear as the result and product of strangeness and unfamiliarity - the uncanniness of being removed from home - on a quotidian level. His nearly picaresque wandering along the narrow streets of Venice in pursuit of German Professor Eschenbaum, his encounters with the people at the railway station at Vicenza, his painful, but to a certain extent also comical, erring around the city of Bologna testifies to this openness and his will to continue travelling despite the temptation to go back home, to its cosiness and comfort.

Dessaix's position is somewhat reminiscent of David Malouf's "children of two worlds" where the crossing of two or more cultures, and the resultant in-betweenness of the self experiencing it, is no longer deemed disempowering or demeaning. On the contrary, it is seen as opening up a creative space. As Malouf has it: "our answer on every occasion when we are offered the false choice between this and that should always be, 'Thank you, I'll take both'"[14]. In Dessaix and Malouf the colonial metaphor of translation as discussed before is irrelevant in that it no longer makes sense to speak of an original or a translated identity. What they announce instead is a "third space". Dessaix has argued stimulatingly about the elemental hybridity of being Australian, or, in his words, "antipodean" which, as I understand it, equates to having an identity which is simultaneously here and everywhere.

Similarly in Smart's paintings, the manneristic perfection, instantiated by the cleanliness of the colours and the crisp definitions of the people and the landscape, is applied not to depict religious or pure visions of supernatural or subconscious origin but rather a mental envisaging of Italy which lies between ideal and actual land; in a zone where Smart's cultural baggage has encountered the Italian economic miracle and the transformation of Italy from rural to industrialised nation. "This unique juxtaposition", as Peter Quartermaine remarks, "in

modern Italy between a conventionally beautiful, but historically shaped, landscape and the interventions of modern industrial processes - the whole bathed in a magical clarity of light - lies at the heart of Smart's painting."[15]

Hybridity generates ambivalence. Notions of beauty, aestheticism and cultural richness are intrinsically connected with the mental idea that non-Italians have of Italy. Yet in recent years this expectation appears to clash with the increasing awareness of the harsh reality of a country divided between a glorious artistic past and a problematic present in which beauty cohabits with ugliness and the solid bastions of humanist culture with a sense of alienation and degradation. Further, beauty's metaphors of purity, silence and cleanliness, are increasingly intertwined with a fascinating, at times macabre, attraction to the bodily and dark side of sensuality and eroticism which, at least according to such interpretations, are typical southern traits.

The protagonist of Dessaix's *Night Letters* is attracted to Italy not only because of the culture but also because he interprets it as embodying a sensual and physical power and openness which is absent to more northern cultures. In a recent interview Dessaix remarks that: "The south, especially Italy, Spain and Greece, has had and continues to command a particular attraction for those who live in the North. Northerners feel the urge to reconnect with some elemental aspect of nature which they have totally eradicated in the north through the systematic need to impose the "human spirit" on nature and feelings. They seem to believe that in the south nature is still alive, mainly due to the eroticism and sensuality they see as an integral part of Mediterranean life."[16]

Night Letters is a book woven around a series of dichotomies ('I' and 'them', 'I antipodean', 'them Europeans', 'in' and 'out', 'centre' and 'periphery', 'north/south'), revolving around the all-encompassing metaphor of the 'in/out' dichotomy: the hortus conclusus or walled garden.

'The Herb Garden', says the protagonist of *Night Letters*, 'a sunny hortus conclusus with stepped pool, rectangular beds and small ivy-draped openings onto the lake outside, was nothing less than Koranic. […] The Arabs, I expect, had their own good reason for picturing Paradise as a walled domain of pomegranates and orange-trees, hyacinths and honey-suckle, crossed by rivers of milk, honey, water and (yes) wine. I don't live in a desert, but something about the Islamic vision appeals to me very strongly. On reflection, I don't think it's the date palms and roses that draw me so much, or the silver combs and

burps smelling of musk, or the absence of children and semen […]. No, it has more to do, I think, with the vision of interlocking enclosures, the cloistered, secluded design the Muslim vision entails - the firdus or djanna, as Arabs call Paradise, is after all a walled garden. But what is it I want to keep out? Might it in my case be the city?' (44) Yes, if by city he means the area surrounding railway-stations or the ugly and hellish outskirts of Italian cities implanted with enormous blocks of flats, grey and alienating, lacking light. From the walled garden 'you can stand beside the pink marble fountain as the marquises and their guests used to do in earlier times, and look out through wrought-iron grilles to the dirty jumble of concrete and brick beyond - the city' (46)

But despite his idealisation and craving for these culturally and physically protecting gardens, the protagonist of Night Letters finds his way out of them, plunging himself into the sordid and threatening underworld of railway stations and noisy and ugly suburbs as if his conception of beauty and pleasure (R. uses the word "bliss"), could not be totally savoured without the experience of its opposite. Hence the "contamination" I was speaking of before.

In the autobiographical novel A *Mother's Disgrace* the metaphor of the walled garden is found in the imagined-mental-ideal city Dessaix has constructed in his mind. He compares his mental construct with a painting of the mythical Shangri-la and says that: "There are no people in this round city, just houses and pavilions and a maze of alleys. Around this city, this Pure Land where perfection and non-being are somehow one, lies a ring of mountains, then a ring-shaped sea, then another ring of mountains and another sea […] It meshed quite miraculously with the pure lands I'd inhabited in my mind for most of my life".[17]

This city without humans, this pure land is not only reminiscent of Shangri-la but also of a series of anonymous paintings, known as the "Cycle of Urbino", in which a Renaissance painter close to the school of Piero della Francesca, perhaps Piero himself, painted different images of the "ideal city"; an empty, perfect, symmetrical, clean, ordered urban site, surrounded by a ring of roads converging in the centre which is dominated by a Basilica or a pantheon of some sort. These paintings are coterminous with De Chirico's metaphysical canvases, although lacking the mannequin-like presence of the latter, and exude a sense of calmness and peace but also of eeriness and spookiness, the product, no doubt, of the highly artificial, aseptic atmosphere surrounding them. On a close look they also transmit a sense of fear and panic induced by the feeling that they could suddenly be flooded by the wrong types of humans with

the result that their purity and beauty, their silence, would be forever scarred and disrupted by the corrupting barbarians.

The perfection and the beauty of a cultural as well as a mental *construct* implies and *subsumes* its opposite, the horror, *the*. To give form to something is also to deny form to its opposite. And yet by uttering one's own perceived notion of beauty, perfection and order, one is also forced, although implicitly, to summon, to immerse oneself, in its "other". These portraits of ideal cities were no doubt conceived to celebrate a set of cultural values, but they also testify to the existence of other cultural values, and implicit in them is the fear that the latter might one day replace the former.

This is precisely what happens in Smart's *The New School* (1989) where a deliberate re-elaboration of one of the ideal cities in the "Cycle of Urbino" is presided over by a young, ordinary woman, whose clothes, hair and demeanour testify to a transformation which has turned the calming landscape of mannerism into a suffocating, heavy even vulgar site where the lightness and sophistication of the former has been replaced by the gloominess of the latter. A basketball court has replaced the refinement of the symmetrical square, a rudimentary playground, with its background of anonymous flats the elegance of columned buildings, a bunker-like edifice the imposing structure of a classical pantheon, the presence of children the perfect, *aseptycal,* stillness of nobody.

What does this contamination achieve? Clearly a sense of awe and stupor in the spectator who, as he observes, finds a series of canonical values and tastes suddenly imbricated and tangled within a hybrid context generating curiosity, irony, as well as magic, lightness and ultimately impermanence. Contamination, at least in these instances, also opens up an in-between area where reality and the utopian ur-text, or paradise lost, are brought together and collapsed into one another. The effect of this fusion is the disappearance of the two originals and the emergence of a new site whose cultural aim is to question and challenge received cultural values by plunging the spectator into a new land which needs to be explored from scratch. It is in this interstitial space that the hybrid self can experience its inherent sense of vagrancy, giving it forms and structures above and beyond those of an inherited and increasingly problematic European cultural tradition.

Notes

[1] Janine Burke, "In the Light of Contradictions: Second Sight in Tuscany", in G. Prampolini and M.C. Hubert (eds.), *An Antipodean Connection,* Geneve: Slatkine, 1993, p. 53-64 (56).

[2] David Malouf, "Listening to the Voice of Tuscany",Ibid., pp. 81-91 (85).

[3] Peter Porter, "Interview with Martin Harrison", in *Australian Literary Studies,* Vol. 11, no. 4, October 1984, pp. 458-467 (460).

[4] Laurie Hergenham, "The 'I' of the Beholder: Representations of Tuscany in Some Recent Australian Literature", in G. Prampolini and C. Hubert (eds.), op. cit., p. 34-51 (35).

[5] Roslyn Pesman, "The Past: Australians and Tuscany 1850-1950", Ibid,. pp. 132-155 (139).

[6] Ibid., p. 135.

[7] See especially Gaetano Prampolini and Marie-Christine Hubert (eds.), An Antipodean Connection, Geneve: Slatkine, 1993; and Ros Pesman," Australian Visitors to Italy in the Nineteenth Century", in Australia, *The Australians and Italian Migration* G. Cresciani (ed.), Milan 1983.

[8] Martin Boyd, *Much Else in Italy*, London: Macmillan, 1958, p. 136.

[9] Shirley Hazzard, "The Tuscan in Each of Us" in G. Prampolini and M.C. Hubert, op. cit., pp. 75-82 (77).

[10] Janine Burke, "In the Light of Contradictions: Second Sight in Tuscany", Ibid., p. 61.

[11] Peter Porter, "Interview with Martin Harrison", op. cit., p. 464.

[12] Robert Dessaix*, Night Letters,* Sydney: Macmillan, 1996. Page references to this novel will be given in the main text.

[13] See Albert Camus, *Carnets 1935-1942*, Paris, Gallimard, 1962.

[14] David Malouf, *A Spirit of Play: The Making of Australian Consciousness,* Sydney: ABC Books, 1998, p. 79.

[15] Peter Quartermaine, "Imaginary Homeland: Jeffrey Smart's Italy", in Edmund Capon (ed.), *Catalogue to Jeffrey Smart's Retrospective,* Sydney: Art Gallery NSW, 1999, pp. 34-39 (37).

[16] Paolo Bartoloni, "Traveling with Dante and Sterne: A Conversation with Robert Dessaix", in *Antipodes,* The University of Texas, USA, vol. 13, no. 1, June 1999, pp. 21-24 (23).

[17] Robert Dessaix, *A Mother's Disgrace,* Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1994, p. 27. A similar discussion occurs in Dessaix's section of Secrets, Sydney: MacMillan, 1998, pp. 289-290.

Stitches: Domestic Crafts, Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Arts.
Ilaria Vanni

When I got married my mother sent to me from Italy a parcel of sheets, tea-towels and tablecloths she had embroidered and crocheted across the years in her spare time in Siena. My mother, however, is not the stay at home embroidering type: she is middle-class, educated, and quite active. She did not even go to embroidery school, and she only grudgingly learnt to embroider from her middle sister Assunta in her teenage years, when she would have rather gone to play volleyball with her girlfriends. This sister was a compulsive and dictatorial dress maker and later costume designer for a Russian dancer who had settled in Tuscany with his wife and his ballet company and who in his youth had danced the music composed for Vassily Kandynsky's watercolours. Aunt Assunta tried to teach me elementary forms of sewing and embroidering, as she had done with my mother and my cousins, I must add with no result. Instead I took up crochet, which I learnt from my mother and a cousin, partly because I grew up in the 1970s and my Barbie needed crocheted bikinis, and partly to distance myself from Aunt Assunta, who did not think much of crochet. Aunt Assunta made of embroidery a painful experience, conflating technical skills with ideas about being proper, being economically independent, and being extraordinarily clever. Embroidery in her mind was also used as a means of control as while embroidering one would not be up to any mischief. In this light my mother's minimal embroideries moved me. I imagined her looking for the right pattern - something simple, almost minimalist because baroque flowery profusion fills her with horror - and her hands patiently and not so patiently making them stitch after stitch. I tried to imagine what she thought while embroidering: probably about her mother, who of course had embroidered herself, and her sister, and volley ball and all the matches she had missed because she was stitching *giornino* around tea-towels, maybe she thought about work, and probably about one of those Russian dancers whose name pops up every now and then in her conversation.

I am telling you this story because that parcel I received from Italy and its contents, almost a contemporary version of the dowry, started for

me the process of rethinking my own unstable and ambiguous love∕hate relationship to domestic crafts. This rethinking also brings together and traverses other interests: contemporary arts, cross-cultural as well as multicultural perspectives, and theoretical issues around the slippery definition of 'tradition' and change. To clarify my position I will briefly outline a couple of points in the debate on crafts in their relation to art, and then I will map the presence of references to crafts in the work of four artists.

Embroidering, crocheting, knitting, weaving have a meditative quality and the power to unleash memories and to re-tell histories. Memories and histories hide, curled up in gestures, in patterns, in the texture of a piece of cloth or the weight of a ball of cotton. Although the nature of these histories is always personal and fragmented, it also speak of wider concerns of gender, domesticity, 'tradition', cultural heritage. Somehow there is a tendency to place these very concerns in the past, as if cultural heritage and 'tradition' could only belong to a remote time, as if through a process of ossification their relevance to contemporary lives had been lost. On the contrary, I want to argue, it is also through cultural heritage and 'tradition', of which I will use domestic crafts as an example, that contemporary identity is negotiated in the every day. When I started to look at the works of Italian Australian women artists it did not surprise me that the references to domestic crafts abounded, although of course they are not the only focus.[1] Images of these crafts figure sometime with persistence, sometimes in veiled form, sometimes in celebratory tones, but they always disclose the ambiguity of the place assigned to domestic craft within the sphere of the feminine.

In 1975 Anne Summers, speaking before the heady days of the revaluation of crafts and before the post-modern blurring of categories, argued that women's cultural practices had not been included in the canon of high culture. According to Summers it is only in everyday practices and everyday life that women have an explicit and acknowledged place and that the sum of these daily activities forms a female culture which possesses its own history and traditions.[2] These histories and traditions have, since 1975, been re-valued, starting with *The Doyley Show. An Exhibition of Women's Domestic Fancywork,* held at Watters Gallery in Sydney in 1979. As the name suggests this show traced for the first time a social history of doyleys, needlework and textiles.[3] It looked at the changes in patterns and styles from the models imported from England through pattern books, to the slow inclusion of more Australian themes, such as wattle blossoms and eucalyptus leaves.

It outlined a history of textile workers, in factories or at home, in this country, from the establishment of the Female Prison in Parramatta in 1822 up to the 1970s.[4] It is only in the last section of the catalogue that migrant women's contribution to the textile industry features briefly, although domestic production is not investigated.[5] By the end of the 1980s, largely thanks to the groundbreaking work of British art historian Rozsika Parker, needlework had been re-inscribed into the history of art, although in a peculiar British and middle-class way. Parker argued that embroidering was both an imposition on women of a certain type of femininity and at the same time the linguistic tool they had to speak of their experience.[6] In Australia, in the same years, something called 'the art and craft debate' largely criticised the fundamental tenet of Western modernism, the canon built around negative notions of craft as opposed to art.[7] Today the debate is well over, and studio craft practices have entered art galleries. Yet domestic crafts, with the exception of quilts - possibly for their pictorial quality - and Indigenous crafts, have not, and the visitor is more likely to find lace and embroideries in museums of social history.

I chose not to look at needlework and crochet through Anglo-Celtic lenses, reading them as a successful challenge to the modernist hierarchy of arts; as a rediscovery of feminine cultural practices; or as a breaking away from patriarchal modes of expression through re-appropriation of those linguistic and artistic tools conferred to women by that very patriarchal society. Similarly I do not want to project on to domestic craft any desire of authenticity salvaged from the drift of history, nor to nostalgically consider these practices as something located in the past, in the magic world 'before': before migration, before Australia, even before modernity.[8]

I would like to look at needlework and crochet from a cross-cultural perspective, as a thread woven through generations of Italian Australian women. I want, in brief, to bring together the interpretative angles of gender and ethnicity, and argue that in this perspective domestic crafts become the site where not only cultural traditions are transmitted across a female line, but also the site where cultural difference is maintained and tradition is negotiated. Similarly it is not the making of domestic crafts that interest me per se as the study of a 'tradition', but rather their persistence, their overflow as practices, images, metaphors or even as actual objects, in contemporary arts.

As I suggested above crocheting or embroidering both encourage and embody reflection and recollection. Likewise the actual works are entangled with memories and stories.[9] In Italian metaphors of weaving,

weft and warp, textures, textiles are used to signify different aspects of the telling of a story (intessere, ricamare, fare il punto, punto, trama, tramare, ordito, ordire). Objects become the catalysts for storytelling and the story of the objects blends in with the story of the maker. These stories are rarely complete, and like stitches in a crochet piece they make sense through the alternation of gaps and threaded spaces. Opaque to narrative the stories solicited by domestic objects refuse to unravel orderly memories, and return only fragments. I talked to my mother about the 'things' she had sent me, I asked her about the time, the place, the season, where she had found the pattern, what she was doing in her life while she was making that tea-towel or that tablecloth. In response I only had sketchy narratives, and it was my task to stitch them together. But it is through this 'stitching' process, followed by my own going back after a period of interruption to actual crocheting and studying of pattern books sent by my mother to me from Italy that I realised how this activity was also my way to re-negotiate my own culture. This culture predates my acculturation, and as a thread links me with the women in my family, and now that I live in Australia - and precisely in virtue of this antipodean perspective - with my country.

Caterina Zangari's *Va ziccotti sotto il letto e fatte la cuasetta* (1999) engages with similar concerns. This work started as an exploration of the relationship between Caterina, her mother and her grandmother, who had passed away 10 years earlier. This idea led Caterina to stitch together the histories about her grandmother from her aunties and from her mother. From her auntie she received a prayer, un'orazione, which, the text says, had been written by Pope Leone to Carlo V the Emperor, who was tired and in the middle of a battle. The prayer if carried close to the body could help to overcome any kind of obstacle, from bleeding nose to relationship problems between husband and wife. The stitching of information process finally led Caterina to revisit a garage where her grandmother's possession were still kept, intact, as she had left them and as Caterina remembered from her own childhood. One of such objects was the suitcase her grandmother had come to Australia with from Lipari, full of pictures, of rosary beads, of bed linen embroidered for the dowry. Caterina grandmother embroidered and crotched, and as it happens started a crotched bedspread for Caterina that she never finished. Caterina's Auntie Anna was the daughter who inherited the eye and the hand for crochet and embroidery and she finished the bedspread. She also made replicas of the bedspread fragments in *Va ziccotti sotto il letto e fatte la cuasetta*. Images of her grandmother's perception of Caterina's mother as the dutiful daughter completed the

material necessary to tell the story. Caterina transcribed her grandmother's prayer in her own form of stitching, using liquid light to print the text onto a series of pillows. She superimposed some of these pillows with religious and everyday images - some of them alluding to her mother's role as 'dutiful daughter' - and with doyleys. The fragmentary character of this work, the alternation of images, doyleys, texts allude to the process itself of stitching up juxtaposed memories, to their incompleteness and the gaps in the narrative. Similarly the fashioning of pillows and their repetition reminds us how the stories that make up cultural identity and 'Italian heritage' reside not so much in high-brow culture, as in the everyday, in the domestic spaces, in the regular and fine tuned repetition of words and gestures.

Anna Ianni Ilacqua , who made the doyleys in *Va ziccotti sotto il letto e fatte la cuasetta* simply by looking at the fragment of a bedspread, brought with her the knowledge and the craft of crocheting and embroidering from the island of Lipari off Sicily. There as a child she learnt this craft from a local woman. In Australia she continued to crotchet and embroider to make domestic objects for her own house, but also to maintain the knowledge of something that she had learnt in her childhood in Sicily. Her bedspreads, tablecloths, bags and doyleys, made from the 1950s onward, are very much the sign of an Italian aesthetic, and as such they stand for 'Italian-ness', but also for a domestic cultural practice passed down the female line. Through these objects Anna shapes spaces charged with her own history and with her cultural heritage. 'Italian cultural heritage' does not imply simply some form of remembrance of things past: old narratives, black and white photographs, childhood memories of migration, or the original recipe for lasagne as they used to make them in Italy. 'Italian cultural heritage' is here curled up in the taste, aesthetics, and gestures of domestic life.[10]

Anedina De Luca arrived in Melbourne in the 1950s from Calabria. In Calabria she had learnt to embroider from the nuns at school. Embroidery became for her the means to embody memories and to retain her own culture, once she moved to Australia. Again: repeating the gestures, tuning the skills she had learnt as a child, buying the Italian pattern book *Mani di Fata* and following the latest Italian designs in the field of embroidering are the threads that link her with Italy. Although she still embroiders Anedina now alternates this practice with oil paint. In 1975 she went back to Italy. This going back allowed the artist to start the process of remembering. With it the desire came to record in a narrative form those memories that had been stitched up in her embroideries and her experiences of travelling to Italy. That is when she

took up painting. Since then she has been painting her recollections of Italy and other places she has visited in the form of tales of isolated episodes: an Easter representation of the Calvary (*Il Calvario* 1998); the story of when they were picking up daisies (*La raccolta delle margherite* 1998); that time when invited as a child to a wedding she was told to throw confetti - the Italian ones, sugared almonds - to the bride and groom, but somehow in the confusion of the moment she was not told to throw them lightly and the bride and groom did not appreciate being pelted with confetti (*La sposa*).[11] Her work reads like a succession of snapshots in the family album, documenting events, people, traditions with the significant difference that as it happens with memory, images are disjointed and there is no apparent or chronological order.

Rox De Luca, Anedina's daughter, refers to her mother's domestic crafts in her own work, as a comment on the keeping of cultural memories through artistic practice. Rox's trade mark aluminium panels, sometimes painted with oil, sometimes embossed, reconstruct her history as an Italian Australian through a series of images of her family, her childhood. Often this history is isolated in a brilliant succession of everyday objects. Where Anedina's paintings are narrative memories, in Rox's panels there is no trace that indicates the telling of a story. On the contrary Rox concentrates on single 'things' which become small epiphanies able to conjure up a stream of personal and family histories. For instance a childhood dress is inscribed with Rox's memories of growing up Italian in Australia as in the case of *Il grande vestito di wog* (1998). A pair of undies, the same model we all wore, speak of bodily memories (*Le mutande,* 1999); a letter written to her by her mother in Italian, so that she does not lose the language, is patiently embossed in another panel (*Cara Rosicella,* 1998); in the new series Rox is working at, she incorporates old patterns from the *Mani di Fata* books used by her mother in her embroideries. The lace patterns she embosses in her aluminium panels stand for her mother's link with Italy after the experience of migration and the consequent desire to maintain intact and alive cultural difference. At the same time the embossing technique, her own particular form of 'stitching', alludes both to Rox's distance from domestic expectations of a certain type of femininity and to a desire to recover this craft as a means to maintain cultural memory. The result is a series of cool, 'designed' pieces which share an 'inner city' contemporary aesthetic, while re-elaborating a 'traditional', Italian domestic craft. This too, is 'Italian cultural heritage': the ability to operate within and across cultural continuities and disjunctions without fear of losing one's identity.

Notes

[1] I first became aware of the abundance of references to textiles, embroidery, crocheting, in contemporary arts during the Visual Arts Workshop organised by Nadia and Rox De Luca within the 1998 Sydney conference *La Donna Italiana - Mappa di un'Identità*. Some of the women who attended this workshop decided to meet on a regular basis, and this paper owns a lot to them, to their insights and stories.

[2] Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: the Colonisation of Women in Australia,* Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1975, p. 113

[3] Women Domestic Needlework Group, *The D'oyley Show, An Exhibition of Women's Domestic Fancywork,* catalogue of the exhibition, Watters Gallery 1979, Sydney: D'oley Publications, 1979.

[4] ibid, pp. 58-61

[5] ibid., p. 62.

[6] See for instance Parker, R. *The Subversive Stitch, Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine,* Women's Press, 1984; and Parker, R. and Pollock, G., *Old Mistresses, Women Art and Ideology*, London, Sydney, Wellington: Pandora Press, 1989 (1981).

[7] See Sue Rowley (ed), 'Introduction', *Craft and Contemporary Theory*, St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997, pp. iv-xxvi.

[8] I borrowed the definition of 'salvage paradigm' from James Clifford, 'Of Other Peoples: Beyond the "Salvage Paradigm"', *Discussion in Contemporary Culture,* Foster H. (ed), DIA Art Foundation, No. 1, Seattle: Bay Press, 1987, pp. 121-149.

[9] Sue Rowley and Ann Brennan have explored respectively the link between craft and storytelling through re-reading of Walter Benjamin's 'The Storyteller' and between stitching and autobiography. See Sue Rowley '"There once lived ..." craft and narrative traditions', and 'Running stitch and running writing: thinking about the process' in Sue Rowley (ed) *Craft and Contemporary Theory,* pp. 76-84, 85-97.

[10] Caterina Zangari spoke with me about her and Anna Ianni Ilacqua's work in the course of an interview on 20 May 2000.

[11] I have to thank Nadia De Luca for telling me this story.

Damiani….How Do You Spell That?
Has Being Italian Helped or Hindered Me in Business ?
Lara Damiani

Introduction

I have my own business which provides a range of communications and business services to the Australian seafood industry and it was really only when I was asked to speak at this conference today that I had an opportunity to delve into the question which forms the title of my presentation.

In one big nutshell – I could not be prouder of my heritage nor is there any doubt that it has significantly and positively impacted upon me as an individual as well as me the business operator.

I would like to share with you today the impact that my heritage has had on where I am today.

First I would like to start with a brief history on my work background

Background of my Working Career

When I completed matriculation, in 1985, I went to University to study for an Arts Degree. Two and a half years later I realised that I did not want to be a teacher which is the only place I thought at the time that such a degree would have taken me. So I left University, with no degree and no idea about what I wanted to do. I enrolled in a one year Office Practice Certificate with TAFE and completed that, still with no idea about what I wanted to do. I got my first job with the Daughters of St Paul's at their bookshop in Adelaide selling rosary beads and other religious items. I still remember my very first sale, it was a $70 nativity set and the sister in charge was so proud of me that she even went to tell my father!

I had been working in the St Paul's bookshop for some months when I decided one day to walk into the local CES office to see what sort of jobs were on offer. I saw a job advertised with this place called the SA Fishing Industry Training Council and I thought that it would be interesting given that I had been enjoying some fishing with my brother and a friend of ours who had a small fishing boat. The job was for a clerical officer.

I applied for the job and had an interview and was told that I was the second choice for the job and that, unfortunately, the committee had appointed a woman who had been working in the fishing industry as a clerical officer in Port Lincoln. I did not think any more about it until about six weeks later I received a letter in the mail from the Executive Officer informing me that the woman did not quite work out and that I was now being offered the position. I took it gladly, still not knowing what I wanted to do or where I wanted to go. And never, for a moment, thinking that I would establish a career for myself in the fishing industry!

So I started my "apprenticeship" as I call it today in a male dominated industry, fresh out of university, naïve but willing to learn. I remember thinking to myself that if I listened for long enough, I could learn a lot and so that is what I did. I do owe a lot to the Executive Officer of the time, Ian Fraser, who had enough faith in me and saw something in me which I could not at the time. It was Ian who gave me my first big break.

A year after I had begun working, Ian Fraser left the Fishing Industry Training Council and with his encouragement I applied for the job. Needless to say, I did not get it. The committee appointed a new Executive Officer who was also a Ships' Captain and an ex maritime studies lecturer with TAFE. Having been fortunate enough to have worked under an Executive Officer who was visionary, understanding, supportive and full of empathy, my life under the new Executive Officer now took a totally different turn. I had discovered that my new boss was a true male chauvinist.

Looking back now, I learnt more and did more during that time with my new boss than ever before. I worked harder to prove myself and I did more than ever before, not only because I wanted to but because I was being ordered to. My new boss was taking the credit for a lot of the work that I was doing at that time while making sure I knew his thoughts about his male superiority. On a few occasions I nearly walked out but I remember vividly someone at that time saying to me "he who angers you, masters you".

So I stayed.

About a year after my new boss was appointed, his daughter was tragically killed in an horrific car accident just three weeks after her wedding day. My boss was shattered, but at the same time, his whole attitude towards me took a complete 180 degree turn. A few months later, he left and in fact, he and I still today keep in contact.

I knew that this was now my chance. I had proved to myself that I was capable of doing the work that needed to be done in this job and I could see the opportunities for new projects and ideas to come to fruition if only someone would give me the chance. I applied for the position of Executive Officer and underwent a gruelling interview with the committee of eight. I was fortunate enough to have the supportive advice of the only female member of the committee of the time (the union representative) encouraging me to apply. So I did. And I got the job.

And I have never looked back since.

A year later, I was instrumental in establishing the first fishing industry education centre in Australia (the SA Fishing and Seafood Industry Skills Centre which is now the Australian Fisheries Academy) and a year after that was one of two key players behind the establishment of Australia's first Fishing Industry House at Port Adelaide.

During that time, up until early 1997 my whole life was my work and my work was my life.

I knew that being a female in such a male dominated industry was not going to be easy and so I devoted that period of my life to making a success of what I was doing.

In early 1997 however, everything changed. I literally woke up one morning feeling totally unhappy and unsatisfied. Something was not right. I knew I had to get off the merry go round that I had created with my work and follow a dream that I had had for years and that dream was to write. So I left everything behind, packed my bags and travelled to France where I wrote two books. After France I spent some time in Italy with my family and then in Greece. It was while I was overseas that I rediscovered a lot of things, learnt many new things and just decided that it was time for a change.

I came back to Adelaide four months later and worked for a while for the Australian Fisheries Academy and did some work for the Seafood Council and then decided, by default, that I would set up my own company. At the time I was asked to work on the inaugural national seafood industry conference being held in Adelaide and I wanted to formalise the structure under which I was working.

And that is the story of how I got to where I am today and how my company was formed. Today, I incorporate my love of writing into my work….

So How has Being Italian Helped Me in my Business?

Understanding and appreciation of the Italian language

Up until the age of five, my parents spoke to me and my brother and sister in Italian only. It was not until we started school that we began to learn English. This has had a significant impact upon my knowledge and appreciation of the Italian language today, although, I must admit, it is not quite as good as I would like it to be!

Empathy for Ethnicity

My growing up in an Italian family has enabled me to have an understanding and empathy for all ethnics and, I believe, has created a capacity which has enabled me to develop strong communication skills at all levels.

Empathy for Industry

Throughout my work, I have been able to build upon the communication skills that were given to me as a foundation during my childhood to utilise these to establish an empathy for the industry that I work in.

My Family's Support

Without any doubt, I am so fortunate to have such a supportive and loving family. Throughout my life with them and even today, our Italianness is an everyday part of our existence from the food we eat, to the friends we have, to the way we talk, to the jokes we make, to the humour we share, to the functions we take part in.

My father has been a tremendous and positive influence on me having always displayed his pride in his heritage in every facet of his life and especially through his involvement with the Italian community. He established the first Italian radio station in Adelaide and has been involved with that ever since; he is heavily involved in his much loved "Marche" club and is involved with the Italian mission group. He taught me always to be proud of my background and this has provided the backbone which I have used to also give me pride in my work and my career.

Faith

While I am not strictly religious, I do have faith in god which was instilled in me during my years of growing up in an Italian household. The faith I have has played an important part in giving me the strength to be where I am today.

<u>Strength to Challenge</u>

Being Italian, and a female in a male dominated industry, has given me the strength to want to work hard and survive and carve out some sort of career by challenging myself and those around me.

<u>Sense of Humour</u>

This has been critical for me in my survival in a male dominated industry and I believe that my background was responsible, to a great degree, for providing me with a sense of humour strong enough to allow me to survive.

I would like to end my presentation with a poem that I wrote four years ago. It was written for my father, in Italian, but it refers also to the father that is "being Italian" … the father that is my heritage and which has had a significant impact upon the core of the person that I am today which has helped me get to where I am today.

O Babbo Mio

O Babbo Mio
Sei gentile, sei caro
Sei forte, sei bravo
Come Napoleone hai battuto la vita
E vittorioso, mi hai insegnato
Le lezioni più preziose della vita
Rispetto, amore, coraggio e umiltà.
E durante i miei viaggi,
non li dimenticherò mai.

Sulla strada lunga e stretta
mi hai tenuto nelle tue braccie.
Ho sentito il tuo cuore che batteva,
e il sudore sulla tua faccia che scendeva.
Ho visto le lacrime nei tuoi occhi scuri
e capivo la lotta nelle tuoi mani duri.
Sapevo i tempi quando avevi paura,
quando si era nascosto il sole addietro la notte scura.

Ma fra tutto il buio, e fra tutta la pena
eri tu, Babbo Mio,
che ridevi, che cantavi
che baciavi via tutto il dolore.

Con le tue mani grandi e sicure
mi tenevi alta, alta, sempre verso il cielo.
E mi hai guidato, amoroso
sulla strada della mia vita.
Una strada che arriva alle fine del sole.

Musical Bridges: Collaborations between Italy and Australia
Maria Vandamme

In a millennium of mass communication, 'dot coms' and the Internet, the notion of a 'bridge' between communities and cultures almost seems quaint or anachronistic. Indeed, many of our younger generation could not imagine a world where a trip from Australia to Italy, for instance, *required* something other than the click of a mouse or the opening of a computer window. But where is the increased collaboration, the cultural exchange, promised in the early days of our virtual and 'borderless' on-line community? In the Arts, and especially music, whatever bridges have been built in the past are clearly in need of urgent repair. Italians and the local Italian community have certainly played an important role in enriching the musical culture of Australia for well over a century but where are the visiting artists and the opera companies today? And why are our own classical musicians choosing destinations other than Italy when planning their next international tour itinerary? In this paper, I will attempt to provide an historical context for these problems and draw upon my own experience in the business of dealing with European musical organisations to suggest the ways and means of improving Italian-Australian cross-cultural collaboration.

The story of Captain Cook's journeys to Australia provided Italy's first taste of the great southern continent through the operas of composers like Giovanni Paisiello in the late 18th century[1] but the dangerous and long sea-voyage, as well as a developing colony ill-equipped for the grander forms of musical art, did little to inspire visits by or the migration of musicians. With the discovery of gold in Victoria in the 1850s, the situation changed almost overnight, leading to an enormous influx of migrants, firstly from the other colonies followed by Europe and America. An Italian composer and adventurer, Rafaello Carboni, participated in the Eureka Stockade and not only lived to write about it but composed works for the stage that had Australian themes such as the goldrush and democratic freedom – works that later saw production in Italy.[2] And, with the burgeoning of an affluent society, these hitherto unknown luxuries such as the theatre and grand opera finally flourished.

With the taste for opera came the interest in producing Italian repertoire. Enter William Saurin Lyster, the Irish-American impresario in the early 1860s who almost single-handedly introduced Australia to the bel canto school of Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini, repertoire that was remarkably contemporary for its time. By 1868, his company had produced over twenty different Italian operas, including Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* and Bellini's *Norma.*[3] Lyster's achievement, combined with the advent of the steamship, encouraged travelling opera companies to visit. The inevitable rise and expectation in performing standards prompted our own artists to embark on study in Italy, with the contralto Lucinda Chambers enjoying success at La Scala in 1865.[4] Later she would act as musical adviser to Lyster when he himself became the first Australian impresario to visit Milan to obtain quality singers for his own company in 1869.

It is at this time that many of these visiting musicians and singers decided to remain in Australia instead of travelling en-route to the Californian goldfields, as was the custom. Paolo Giorza, the most significant nineteenth century Italian composer to come to Australia, arrived in late 1871 with the Agatha States Opera troupe and later conducted and arranged for the Italian opera companies of Lyster and Cagli & Pompei; his own works often contained Australian themes.[5] The tenor Pietro Cecchi also came with this troupe, remained in Melbourne and taught singing at Allan's music house from 1873. Amongst his pupils would be the young Nellie Melba, which provides an unexpected Italian connection with my own recording label, *Melba Recordings.* Unfortunately, a quarrel over money[6], and Nellie's association with her next teacher, the influential Madame Marchesi, ensured that Melba herself would deny the fact that the Italian tenor had given her the crucial basic training that held her in such good stead for her entire career.

The standard of symphonic music also gained from these otherwise purely operatic tours. Trieste-born conductor Alberto Zelman Senior came to Australia with the Cagli and Pompei opera company in December 1871 and quickly established his conducting credentials, culminating in his numerous appearances with the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition Orchestra in 1888. The success of this orchestra – giving over two hundred performances during the Exhibition year alone[7] – provided a much-needed benchmark for future Australian orchestras, including our own Melbourne Symphony Orchestra founded in 1906 by Zelman's son, Alberto Zelman Junior.[8]

Recognition of the importance of Italian folksong in Australia, as opposed to Italian classical "art music", was much slower and more or less coincided with the significant post second world war migration from Italy. Founded by Rolando di Bari, the first *Australian Festival of Italian Song* in 1966 was intended to demonstrate how Italian song acted as a cornerstone of the Italian community, for composers, performers and artists from every quarter of society. The Festival Secretary in 1979, Tony Iacovino, wrote that it was an inspiration for co-operation within the community to achieve Australia-wide acclaim and recognition, a model to us which should not be allowed to ever falter because of individual aspirations.[9]

The festival remained under the joint patronage of the Hamer State Government and Dr. Lanfranco Vozzi, then Consul-General of Italy, and co-sponsorship deals with the Italian newspapers, *Il Globo* and *La Fiamma*, Alitalia Airlines and the local Carlton & United Breweries were already well in place by this time. It was hoped at the time that the festival had reached the stage where it could travel to Italy and Europe, or take part in television specials.

In the late 1970s, the Italian Arts Festival Society had similar global aspirations for its own festival, which aimed to show the contribution of the Italian community to the cultural life of Melbourne. Always conscious of its community roots, the festival not only launched the popular Lygon Street "Festa" in Carlton but embarked on an ambitious series of conferences to not only discuss community issues, but, following a visit to Italy from the then Victorian State Minister of Ethnic Affairs, Peter Spyker, wider issues and the implications of multiculturalism with representatives from no less than fifteen key Italian Regions. The success of the collaboration with these regions[10] – which in the music sphere alone brought out the *Orchestra da Camera di Padova, the I Ciavoroli Folkloric Ensemble,* various cabaret acts and folksingers in 1984 – prompted representatives of the Italian community[11] to approach the director of the Ministry of Arts, Paul Clarkson, suggesting that discussions be held with Gian Carlo Menotti. Menotti was the Italian composer who had achieved world-wide acclaim for his *Spoleto Festival of Two Worlds* held in Spoleto, Italy and Charleston in the United States.

Menotti, looking for a third venue for Spoleto, and conscious of the sizeable Italian community in Melbourne, visited here for one week, and was impressed with the older theatres and the central locations that would give the festival the feeling of a "village". He insisted that the majority of funding be from the State Government, the rest from private

sponsors – ironically, none would end up having connections with Italy.[12] Funding agreed upon, a board of management was formed, including community and political representation. The General Managers of the board liaised directly with the management of the other two Spoleto festivals, and the Victorian Government also went to four festivals in Italy and one in South Carolina for on-site experience. Nonetheless, industrial problems in Melbourne ultimately delayed the original 1985 starting date for the festival and even then, an embargo was placed on the number of international artists that could visit.

If that were not enough, Menotti himself did not want purely Italian content for the festival[13] and, apart from a few Italian productions in the first few festivals, there has virtually been no Italian presence since. The Festival's transformation into the Melbourne International Festival in 1990, a replacement as part of Victoria's failed Olympic bid, ensured the festival lost contact with its joint local and international Italian origins.

And what of the current state of play in the Arts in Australia?

Opera Australia and the Australian Opera Foundation

The formation of the *Australian Festival of Italian Song* coincided with the Australian Opera Foundation's *La Scala Scholarship* in 1965. Itself formed only two years earlier, the foundation was and remains a philanthropic body dedicated to broadening assistance to Australian singers and opera artists of proven potential, through grants, scholarships and other means. Lady Mary Fairfax was instrumental in creating the *La Scala Scholarship*,[14] and its many recipients include the well-known Australian soprano, Yvonne Kenny.

Although the dominance of Italian opera in the repertoire of the Australian opera companies has never waned,[15] Opera Australia can credit much of its earlier success to the efforts of conductor Carlo Felice Cillario, whose musical directorship in 1968-71 – and later as guest conductor – not only inspired many of our finest singers, but whose flamboyant style was much admired by attending audiences. However, direct attempts to create partnerships with Italian opera companies have been less than successful; Moffat Oxenbould's attempt in the 1980s to have Australian Opera productions tour Italy was compromised by the tyranny of distance, with its associated expense tending to scare potential investors.

Symphony Australia

Symphony Australia, currently the umbrella organisation for what used to be known as the ABC Concert Department and the ABC

Orchestras, has a long history of bringing out world-class Italian artists to our shores, artists such as conductors Gianluigi Gelmetti, Marcello Viotti, Paolo Olmi and Carlo Rizzi, as well as the cellist Mario Brunelli and pianist Roberto Comminata, who was placed third in the 1996 *Sydney International Piano Competition*.

According to Symphony Australia's David Garrett, with high profile artists liaison rarely presents problems as they have agents based elsewhere in Europe, particularly London.[16] Lesser-known artists, on the other hand, tend to have Italian agents, based in Italy. One would assume this would be ideal; however experience has often proved otherwise, with these Italian agents often being unpredictable and the artists themselves tending to leave their options open much later than usual. This of course makes artist contracts less certain.

Musica Viva

Musica Viva, with its distinguished fifty-year history in presenting the finest chamber music from around the world, has an established import and export program. The well-known *Quartetto Beethoven di Roma* has visited Australia five times, and the Australian early music ensembles La Romanesca and Capella Corelli also toured with assistance from Foreign Affairs and Musica Viva. Most recently, Europa Galante was one of the major featured ensembles to tour for Musica Viva. Export is somewhat more problematic, although between 1975 and 1992 alone, there were no less than thirteen scheduled tours to Italy, including the *Australian Chamber Orchestra* (1982/86/88), the *Sydney String Quartet* (1981/85) and the *Alpha Centauri* contemporary music ensemble (1992). After 1992, however, most export tours through Musica Viva ceased. Funds that were previously available centrally through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) were instead devolved to each diplomatic post to use more or less as they saw fit.[17]

Tours were usually undertaken in conjunction with Italian agents and promoters to co-ordinate the tour itself, with funds for airfares available from DFAT or the Australia Council (the Australian Embassy in Rome occasionally assisting with larger tours). Lateness in planning in Italy usually forced the ensembles to place it first or last on a tour in case of last minute cancellations, which affected the Sydney-based Song Company recently. In their case, written confirmations were never provided even at the point of departure, permissions were handled with difficulty from Australia and a number of scheduled concerts were cancelled with two weeks notice due to local elections – all this despite having a manager with fluent Italian![18]

Arts Victoria

Arts Victoria, on the other hand, has a specific Cultural Exchange Fund that has targeted funding for projects that strengthen and develop Victoria's international cultural relations. One of seven cultural exchange priorities is Italy,[19] with the strong community base here being the main reason for its inclusion. A spokesperson for Arts Victoria's international program, Amanda Browne recently commented that in recent years, classical music in Italy is perceived by performers to be a small market, compared to other art forms, a springboard to other European destinations rather than the basis for a complete tour.[20] As Arts Victoria's supported activities are artist driven, Browne feels that it is up to the Italian cultural organisations and government to be more pro-active in informing and providing musicians with the necessary mechanisms. Yet, at the same time, Italy has been popular with young Australian rock bands.[21]

Australia Council

The Australia Council, unlike its Victorian counterpart, does not have targeted territories as such, but has a special International Pathways program devoted to artist touring, co-ordinated jointly between the specific arts fund – in this case, music – and their new Audience and Market Developing Division.[22] Chiefly involved in government-to-government exhange, this Division also handles the Commonwealth Government's *Contemporary Music Development* program, which handles an Export Marketing Advances Scheme, the marketing of Australian artists at international music events, a major website for marketing Australian music, business/marketing development strategies with key industry bodies and a co-operation with industry bodies from the individual States and Territories.[23]

Vanessa Chalker, one of the program staff of the Music Fund, feels that there is adequate dissemination of information regarding festivals and opportunities, the responsibility being on charter organisations such as the Australian Music Centre in Sydney to inform their members – although of course these listings are of necessity passive in nature and require direct follow-up from individual members.

In terms of touring, Chalker has observed that the contemporary music ensembles – unlike jazz groups, which appear to flock to Italy like Victoria's rock bands – are now heading away from Italy and looking to Germany and Scandanavian countries such as Norway as their preferred destination. Australia's premier contemporary music ensemble, Elision, would seem to embody this trend.

The Elision Ensemble

Inspired by a series of concerts of Italian avant-garde music given by the Italo-Australian composer, Riccardo Formosa in the mid-1980s, Elision brought out the Italian composer/conductor, Sandro Gorli to conduct their ensemble and proceeded – at their own expense – to commission over a dozen works from leading and emerging young Italian composers,[24] including Franco Donatoni, Giuseppe Soccio and Alessandro Melchiorre. Problematic assistance from the Italian Institute of Culture[25] (which was supporting tours directly at this time) and various Italian Ministries almost prevented Gorli's visit, however the success of the concerts under his direction enabled Elision to tour Italy on three occasions in the early 90s with Gorli, and with the generous assistance of the Australia Council.

Yet, after 1992 – as with Musica Viva's export program – Elision's contact with Italy ceased, and its reasons bear careful consideration. According to Elision's artistic director, Daryl Buckley, the situation has drastically changed in Italy over the past decade:

"Ricordi, the major Italian music publisher, has now downsized their contemporary catalogue. Whereas in the late 1980s, it acted as a clearing house for contemporary Italian composition[26] – the publisher has now been overtaken by a German group and acts in an entrepreneurial capacity for a few selected composers. Young composers such as Alessandro Melchiorre and Mauro Cardi are no longer published. Internal political changes have impacted on concert organisations with few remaining that are dedicated to contemporary music, and even those only utilising established 'star' composers. Even the conservatorium system has its teaching positions for contemporary musicians full. Where is the younger/middle generation to go?[27]"

John Stinson and the 14th Century Music Recording Project

Australian musical scholarship has also been nurtured by and contributed to the rich heritage of Italian musical culture. From 1984 to 1998 the Fourteenth-century Music Recording Project, a joint undertaking by La Trobe University, and the University of Melbourne and funded by the Australia Research Council, researched and recorded some 150 musical works of the late middle ages. In the course of this project, the entire corpus of Italian poetry set to music in the fourteenth century was edited and translated by Professor Giovanni Carsaniga, now at Sydney University. Four CDs of Italian medieval music were published by Move Records.[28] While these are used by specialists worldwide, they have generally not been available in Europe because of

difficulties in marketing and promotion of Australian recordings. Also eminating from this project is the La Trobe University Medieval Music database, through which users wordwide can have access to bibliography, modern musical scores and colour images of original manuscripts via the Internet. While not exclusively of Italian material, this important resource has made available a complete annual cycle of Gregorian chant from Italian sources and the complete corpus of medieval Italian secular music. Its creator, John Stinson, pioneered electronic access to musical scores and manuscripts by creating innovative software especially designed to deal with the particular problems of medieval music. However, with the closure of the La Trobe University Music Department in December 1999, the continuing existence of this invaluable resource is uncertain.

Melba Recordings

My own experiences through Melba Recordings have been a mixed blessing. I produced a documentary film on the French opera composer Jules Massenet,[29] and wanted to use footage from a Bologna RAI co-production. Countless calls were made to RAI and the Opera Company, all of which ultimately proved fruitless. As time was running out I asked the Italian Cultural Institute in Melbourne for assistance: I was given a different fax and phone number, but these produced nothing as well. In desperation, I rang a colleague in Italy who managed to find the person in Bologna RAI who knew where the tapes were. Yet, even he had no idea how we could licence them, thus we had to abandon the idea.

Naturally, I was extremely disappointed – the production was otherwise exquisite, and I was counting on using the RAI footage – we had the budget, and the film was written to highlight this Italian production, but it had to be changed at the last minute. Our dealings with Canadian Television, and Austrian Radio were a model of speed, efficiency and ease of negotiation, with the result that our film highlights the Austrian and Canadian opera productions, instead of the beautiful Bologna ones.

On the other hand, Maria Zilstra, a producer at the Australian Broadcasting Corporation who produces a weekly current-affairs programme called The Europeans has had no difficulty in dealing with Italy, due to the agreement between the ABC and all members of the EBU. This agreement allows her to pre-book studios with ease to interview commentators for elections, or other relevant issues.

My own experience in Germany could provide a model for collaboration to promote culture internationally. Having completed a

German language course at the Goethe Institut, I subsequently received a scholarship to spend three months in Munich. Whilst learning German, I reported back to the ABC on the operas I saw. Back in Australia, I was later awarded an Internaziones Besuch – a visit to six German cities with a guide in each city, and appointments made with anyone I chose to see; in my case, opera and musical administrators, as well as record company executives. The result of this official visit was the ability to use this German government department to assist me in any projects at any time in the future. Everything is thus now possible – negotiation with anyone in any German city can now be facilitated – a dream come true.

One of my current projects would also potentially benefit from a specialist liaison body in Italy. Nigel Paul, the director of the Melbourne-based early music group, Fonte Musicale, has discovered a work that, after sourcing it on microfilm, was very similar in style to Monteverdi's celebrated Vespers (1610) but pre-dated that extraordinary work by some two years. Written by a little known Italian composer – Arcangelo Crotti[30] – the music appears to have never been recorded before and modern performances, if any, would have been rare or non-existent. A performance score has now had to be prepared, allowing the piece to be placed in its historical and social context in the Marian Vespers, adding plainsong where appropriate within the liturgy at the time in Ferrara.

My intention now is to record it onto compact disc for international distribution, and make a film of the first performance in Australia, then to follow the group to Ferrara for a performance in the church for which it was written. The film would trace the steps of discovery of the work in Australia, and cover the life of the composer and allow for a comparison with the Monteverdi work.

<u>The Future</u>

Acknowledging the problems of bridging the apparently widening cultural gap between our two countries – as virtually all of the artists and artistic bodies I have spoken to in preparing this paper – is an important first step forward. Creating an appropriate liaison body in Italy is perhaps the most obvious solution, beginning with our own Australian Ambassador in Rome, Mr Rory Steele. (A former ambassador, Keith Douglas-Scott, was active in Italy for the genesis of the Melbourne Spoleto Festival, and was happy to assist with the scheduling of performances for larger tours).

In Australia, a committee should be formed in the first instance with government, arts, business and Italian community representatives to

discuss the wider implications of some of the points I have raised. Youth representation is extremely important, as many second and particularly third generation Italo-Australians have lost or are losing interest in their own culture and language. The Australian Festival of Italian Song, in its hey-day at least gave young Italo-Australian musicians a voice and an opportunity to combine their heritage with their Australian experience and upbringing. We now need to create something appropriate for the twenty-first century, possibly through the use of a targeted internet web "portal",[31] dedicated discussion groups and live collaboration using conferencing and streaming technologies.

But what of Italians knowing of Australian musical activity? I believe establishing a festival in Italy featuring the finest in Australian groups would go far to market our cultural wares, and Italian groups would similarly be encouraged to perform Australian music, something I believe has yet to be attempted. In many ways this would be similar to the recent Australian ∕ Italian Arts and Fashion Festival that Sir James Gobbo and the Victorian Government organised in a Villa in Veneto, near Vicenza. The Victorian Government and various Fashion and Trade organisations were involved, with Richard Divall and Claudio Scimone sharing the conducting in one of the concerts with the famous Italian ensemble, *I Solisti Veneti.*[32]

Of first importance is the work done by Australian Jonah Jones. He managed the 1998 Australian tour of a group from the Tosti Insitute in Ortona, Abruzzo, and is now very keen to set up an office in Rome to facilitate exchanges between the two countries. Speaking fluent Italian, with an extremely wide network of associates in Italy (having lived there for five years), Jones wants to create an independent office working on making connections, perhaps with the DFAT as a primary stakeholder. Jones' vast experience in Australia, and his connections with business, and government, would indicate that any such endeavour would be extremely important for Australia.

Just as the history of Italian ∕ Australia cross-cultural collaborations began in such an interesting and exciting way, I believe the future can be as vital if we all contribute to building that elusive bridge.

Chalker (*Australia Council)*, Trish Ludgate (*Musica Viva Export*) and Amanda Browne (*Arts Victoria*), for their collective insight and knowledge of past and present Italian / Australian collaboration.

Notes

[1] According to conductor Richard Divall, Paisiello's opera - based on Cook's written voyages – was first produced in 1785.

[2] The mechanisms behind these Italian productions of Carboni's stage works are unfortunately not documented.

[3] Harold Love, *The Golden Age of Australian Opera* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1981), p. 116.

[4] Lucinda Chambers was to stay at La Scala for four more years, later enjoying engagements in Lucca, Venice, Bologna and Turin, where she sang with Adelina Patti. See Harold Love, pp. 190-1.

[5] Works such as the Belles of Australia Waltzes, Australia March and the Manly Beach Polka. See Roslyn Maguire, "Paolo Giorza" in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music,* ed. Warren Bebbington (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 239.

[6] Melba had owed Cecchi the sum of eighty guineas, which he apparently insisted she pay before leaving for her studies in Paris with Mathilde Marchesi. See Nellie Melba, *Melodies and Memories* (West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1980), p. 8.

[7] See Alessandro Servadei, "Orchestras" in The Oxford Companion to Australian Music, ed. Warren Bebbington (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 438.

[8] The original Melbourne Symphony Orchestra was largely comprised of amateur players, unlike today. However, the spirit of Zelman's community orchestra is still maintained in the Melbourne-based, Zelman Memorial Symphony Orchestra (formed in 1933). See Don Fairweather, *Your Friend, Alberto Zelman* (Burwood: Brown Prior Anderson, 1984).

[9] Concert Programme, Thirteenth Festival of Italian Song (Carlton: Palaprint, 1979), p. 15.

[10] Ten regions were to participate in the 1984 Italian Arts Festival: Veneto, Abruzzo, Lazio, Puglia, Campania, Calabria, Basilicata, Sicilia, Sardegna and Umbria.

[11] The Italian representatives were Luciano Bini, Franca Smarrelli and Franco Cavarra; they approached Clarkson on the advice of the visiting President of Umbria (who had family in Melbourne).

[12] Bertolli was one of the few Italian companies to later sponsor the festival.

[13] Ironically, after seeing a performance of the Australian group, Handspan at the Universal Theatre, he immediately invited them to perform in Italy. Paul Clarkson, personal telephone interview, 18 May 2000.

[14] The La Scala Scholarship was offered in conjunction with a Bayreuth Scholarship to Germany.

[15] Italian opera represents over half the repertoire in Opera Australia (Moffat Oxenbould, personal telephone interview, 9 May 2000) and the Victorian State Opera (Richard Divall, personal telephone interview, 6 May 2000).

[16] David Garrett, personal telephone interview, 18 May 2000.

[17] Head of Musica Viva's export programs, Trish Ludgate, visited Italy at this time to familiarise herself with agents and promoters, only to realise that the opening up of Eastern Europe provided much competition to Australian artists, who were increasingly finding it harder to make an impression. Trish Ludgate, private email, 11 May 2000.

[18] The Song Company, although not entirely put off by their Italian experience, have elected to use an agent based in Austria for future tours to ensure greater clarity and better advance planning.

[19] The other priority destinations are the United Kingdom, Greece, Singapore, Indonesia, Japan and China. See Arts Victoria Funding Program Overview 2000 (Melbourne: State Government of Victoria), p. 13.

[20] Amanda Browne, personal telephone interview, 9 May 2000.

[21] Browne, personal interview.

[22] Previously, international touring in the Australia Council was part of each specific fund's Presentation / Promotion category.

[23] See the Australia Council Handbook 2000 (Strawberry Hills: Australia Council, 2000), pp. 139-141 for further information on the Audience and Marketing Development Division.

[24] Thirteen works in fact were commissioned between 1989 and 1994. See Elision's internet site at http://www.elision.org.au for a complete listing of their local and international commissions.

[25] According to Elision's artistic director, Daryl Buckley, IAC funding was almost completely withdrawn at the last minute, with later negotations recovering only part of the initial funding promised to Elision.

[26] Acting in a similar capacity to our own Australian Music Centre in Sydney.

[27] Daryl Buckley, personal telephone interview, 9 May 2000.

[28] The catalogue numbers of these CDs are as follows: MD 3091 (Two Gentlemen of Verona), MD 3092 (Every Delight and Fair Pleasure), MD 3093 (I am Music) and MD 3094 (A Florentine Annunciation).

[29] This documentary is now complete, but is as yet unreleased.

[30] Italian composer Arcangelo Crotti was active around the year 1608 (precise dates are not known) and was living as a monk in Ferrara.

[31] A web portal being an 'all-in-one' Internet gateway, like NineMSN (http://www.ninemsn.com.au).

[32] Richard Divall is the only Australian conductor to have worked with I Solisti Veneti.

Health and Well-Being of Older Italians in Australia: Research Needs for the New Millennium
Walter Petralia & Yvonne Wells

Introduction

This paper is about the health of older Italians in Australia, and the adequacy or otherwise of health and community support services. It is also about looking ahead. We suggest several research areas that need particular attention for older Italians in this new millennium.

We are all aware that the population of Australia, along with other Western nations, is ageing rapidly. However, fewer people are aware that the Italian older community is the most rapidly ageing community in Australia. This paper is about the particular health problems faced by older Italians in Australia, including risk factors for health problems, and the adequacy or otherwise of health and community support services.

Health and illness are social constructions whose definitions vary across time and across cultures. When the health and well-being of older people are considered, it is even more important to take account of psycho-social as well as biological factors (see literature review by Teshuva et al., 1994). In Australia, the dominant model of health care is biomedical. It locates the cause of illness within the body and uses physiological or biological explanations for disease causation. Migrants are often viewed as "people with problems", since they do not fit neatly into the culture and structure of the Anglo-Australian health care system (Julian, 1998).

The developing National Strategy for an Ageing Australia (Commonwealth of Australia, 1999) emphasises the need for health promotion and disease prevention to reduce the costs of population ageing. The thrust of the policy is to reduce physical dependence in older people and to encourage remaining in the community and out of institutional care for as long as possible. Promoting health in old age is different to that for other age groups, as it has a broader focus and aims to improve function and quality of life rather than to cure or prevent disease. Hence, social and emotional support is as important as medical interventions. The strategy recognises that people's cultural and linguistic backgrounds are crucial elements in determining appropriate

healthy ageing strategies, and that some categories of people within Australia require special attention to facilitate healthy ageing.

Health

As has been suspected for some time, the health status of older Australians from diverse ethnic backgrounds may differ in specific ways from the health of the host population. We recently analysed data from the National Health Survey (NHS, 1995), comparing the health and health knowledge of older Italians –- those aged 60 and over — with their counterparts born in English-speaking countries, including Australia, and with older people from other ethnic backgrounds.

First, we compared the proportions of people from English-speaking, Italian, and other NESB groups who said that their health was fair or poor. The first group of columns in Figure 1 shows the proportion of people from each group who said that their health was fair, while the second group represents the proportion who said that their health was poor. This graph illustrates the fact that people from non-English-speaking backgrounds were much more likely to say that their health was poor. People born in Italy were nearly twice as likely as people from English-speaking backgrounds to say that their health was poor. Italian people were also much more likely than the other two groups to say that their health was only fair.

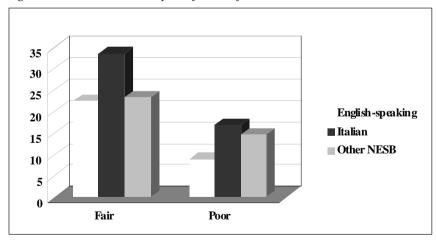Fig 1: Self-rated health is fair or poor by ethnicity.

Figure 2 illustrates the proportions of older people who reported that their health had improved or remained the same, or had worsened. Older Italians were much more likely than other groups to report that their health had worsened in the previous year.
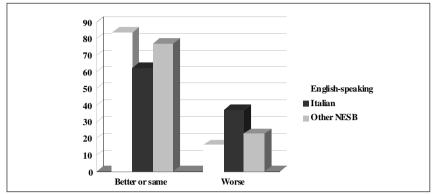
Fig 2: Change in health by ethnic background.

We need to know.

- why so many older Italians rate their health as poor,
- what the consequences of this pessimism regarding health are for future health and well-being, and for use of health services, community services, and residential services, and
- how healthy ageing can be promoted in older Italians.

More research is needed on these topics before any solutions can be proposed. However, in the rest of this paper, we will explore a little more what is known about these issues. If older Italians are experiencing more health problems than their counterparts, do we know what these are?

We have some evidence about specific health issues and about lifestyle factors that impinge on health. Figure 3 compares the exercise levels of the three groups that we have already mentioned. This graph shows us that Italian-born older people are much less likely to be engaging in high or moderate levels of exercise than other groups, and much more likely to be classed as sedentary.
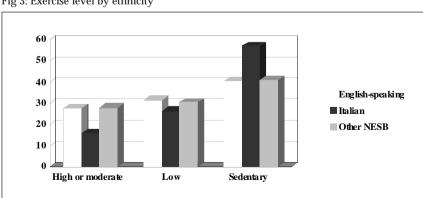
Fig 3: Exercise level by ethnicity

You would expect exercise level and being in the healthy weight range to be related. Figure 4 illustrates the proportions of older people classified as overweight or obese in each of the three groups that we have been comparing, based on a ratio known as the Body Mass Index, which is widely used in health studies. The graph shows that older Italians are also much more likely to be classed as overweight or obese than people from other birthplaces.
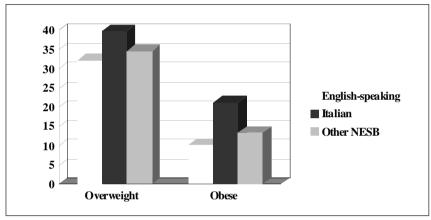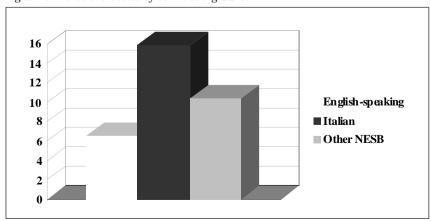
Fig 4: Overweight and obesity by ethnicity.

Figure 5 illustrates the proportions of people from different ethnic backgrounds who have had a diagnosis of diabetes. Older people from an Italian background are over twice as likely to have diabetes as older people from an English-speaking background, and 50% more likely than older people from other NESB countries.

Fig 5: Prevalence of diabetes by ethnic background.

Our analyses also revealed poor knowledge of health screening practices among older Italians in Australia. Figure 6 compares the proportions of older women from English-speaking, Italian, and other NESB backgrounds who had never heard of various screens. The two screens illustrated here are the pap test and the mammogram. While older women from NESB backgrounds are less likely than older women from English-speaking backgrounds to have heard of either of these tests, older Italian women emerge as least likely to have heard of them. In fact, about three times as many older Italians than older English-speaking women had not heard of a mammogram, and four times as many had not heard of a pap test.
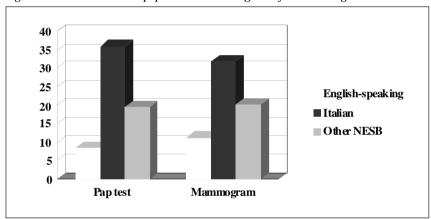
Fig 6: Have never heard of a pap test or a mammogram by ethnic background

Other studies have highlighted low literacy levels as a risk factor for the health of older people from non-English-speaking backgrounds (Blackford, Street, & Parsons, 1997; Elder et al., 1998). Older Italian people may have difficulty understanding diagnosis made, the impacts of particular disabilities or illnesses; the nature of and reason for referrals; and the correct use of medication. They may also be unable to comply with medical direction or advice.

As stated earlier, health of older people needs to include their mental health and general well-being. We found evidence, again from the National Health Survey (1995), that older Italian people are more likely to report low levels of psychological well-being than other older people in Australia. However, there is an interesting sex difference here. Older Italian women are particularly at risk. Figure 7 illustrates how many people seldom or never feel full of life. The columns on the left represent the proportions for men, whereas the columns on the right illustrate the

proportions for women. There is little difference between the three groups of men. However, the Italian women were far more likely than any other group to feel full of life seldom or never.
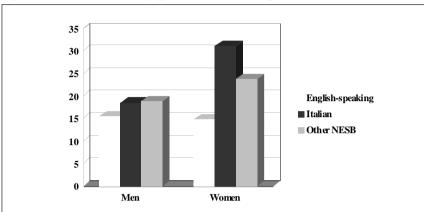
Fig 7: Seldom feels full of life by gender and ethnic background.

We found similar patterns when we looked at other emotions, such as feeling calm and feeling tired. People from non-English-speaking backgrounds were more at risk than English-speakers, but the group most at risk was Italian women. Figure 8 illustrates the proportion of people who feel down, which is a symptom of depression. Again, there are no significant differences between the three groups of men. However, women from non-English-speaking backgrounds are more likely to feel down than English-speaking women, and the women from Italian backgrounds are particularly vulnerable to feeling down.
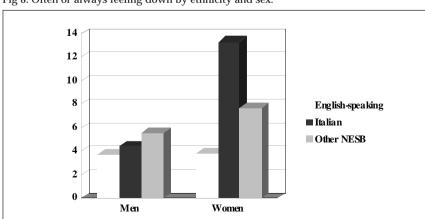
Fig 8: Often or always feeling down by ethnicity and sex.

A study completed in 1994 on mental illness in the older Italian community (Petralia, 1994) showed that older Italians had higher scores on a standard measure of vulnerability to mental illness than the Australian-born community. There were other important differences between the two groups. Italian respondents had fewer financial resources than the Australian group. They reported more physical illnesses and were less likely to be able to carry out activities of daily living. They also reported lower levels of social support, despite the fact that they were more likely to need help, and despite the stereotype that Italians look after their own. Finally, the self-esteem of the older Italians was lower than their Australian-born counterparts. The most important predictor of vulnerability to mental illness for both groups was low self-esteem. However, in the Italian group, other important predictors included how well individuals spoke English, whether they wanted to return to Italy, and whether they had experienced discrimination because of their culture or ethnicity (Petralia, 1994).

Life transitions

Transitions are times of change in peoples' lives. They can be regarded as pivots – times when choices are made that will impact on health and well-being for the rest of the person's life.

Retirement

Retirement is one such major transition. Older Italians in Australia may have special needs as they approach retirement. For this reason, we need to examine the retirement attitudes and adjustments of Italians in Australia. This year, the Lincoln Gerontology Centre is conducting research on the process of retirement among older Italian workers, funded by a small grant from the Australian Research Council. However, this study is small and exploratory. Additional funding is needed to conduct a study that follows older workers as they retire. The findings of a project such as this would serve to inform the development of health promotion and illness prevention approaches, which are specifically relevant and appropriate to the needs of older Italians.

Caregiving

There is widespread dissatisfaction among older Italians with the standards of care provided in hostels and nursing homes in Australia. Many caregivers in the Italian community continue to provide care, although they are experiencing high levels of stress. One reason why they do this is because they believe that their spouse or parent would

feel isolated and abandoned if placed in mainstream residential care facilities where Italian is not spoken and where the culture is unfamiliar (Petralia, 2000). Research is still required to inform governments and community agencies how to make existing mainstream residential care facilities more appropriate to the needs of Italian older persons, and other older people from non-English speaking backgrounds.

Caregivers can experience social isolation, if they are tied to the home and friends or family members are reluctant to visit. This problem can be compounded by cultural and language differences (Petralia, 2000). Caregivers may lose contact with their friends and give up their recreational activities (Petralia, 2000). Further, the health of caregivers may be affected if they neglect any health problems, or do not having the luxury of time to have necessary medical interventions or to have medical problems checked (Petralia, 2000). Some caregivers are reluctant to have surgery, because they do not want to place the older person temporarily in residential care.

A recent study revealed that 60% of Italian caregivers aged 35 to 83 judged their health status as worse than five years ago (Petralia, 2000). This finding contrasts with an Australian study on the health status of older people (Kendig, Helme, Teshuva, Osborne, Flicker, & Browning, 1996) which found that, of the 1000 people surveyed aged 65 years and over, 31% of the sample reported that their health was worse that it was five years ago (p. 20). In other words the rate for worsening health among Italian caregivers was nearly twice that for the mainstream older population.

There is evidence to suggest that traditional values of the Italian family may be weakening in Australia (Fernando, 1987a; Hearst, 1981; MacKinnon & Nelli, 1996, Petralia, 2000). According to Italian caregivers and older Italian people, there is an increasing gap in social and family values between them and the younger generations. Many older Italians believe that their children or grandchildren no longer hold the same values as they did. There is an increasing shift towards the dominant culture. While some of this change may be inevitable, older Italians view it as undesirable or unacceptable. The expanding values gap between the generations sometimes produces discord especially between adult daughters and daughters-in-law who are often "caught in the middle" of conflicting views and attitudes. Such conflicts, and the stress arising from them, can result in poor well-being in for both older and younger people. As Berry says, this experience can lead to "lowered mental health status (particularly anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, and heightened psychosomatic and psychological

symptom levels" (Berry, 1992, p. 75). Research is needed to examine ways in which the different generations can open dialogue, participate in activities together, and talk about the future and the past.

Widowhood - social participation and loneliness

Loneliness can affect everyone at some stage of their life (Tsingas, 1998). However, loneliness is often cited as a particular problem by people who have lost a spouse. (Wells & Kendig, 1997). Loneliness can be compounded by cultural and language differences (Petralia, 2000). Many people who are widowed have previously acted as a caregiver for their spouse (Wells & Kendig, 1997), so there may be same problems of neglected health and shrunken social networks among widows and widowers as among caregivers.

Health, community, and residential services

Given that people from diverse ethnic backgrounds may have particular health risks, what is their use of services like? Are older people from Italian backgrounds even aware of the existence of community services? When they encounter doctors or other professionals, how satisfied are they? We know a little about these questions, but not a great deal. At the Lincoln Gerontology Centre, we have applied for funding from the National Health and Medical Research Council to look at these issues, but to do it properly is expensive, and we do not know how our proposal will be viewed.

Health services

Despite attempts at improvement over the past decade, health services provided for older Italians are still inadequate (Barnett & Cricelli, 1990; Julian, 1999; Kratiuk, Young, Rawson, & Williams, 1992; The Multicultural Dementia Respite Project, 1994). The first problem is knowledge of health services, and we have already referred to lack of knowledge about health screening amongst older Italian women.

Access to known health services is the next problem. Lack of proficiency in English is the most often mentioned obstacle in accessing health services for older Italians (Department of Health and Aged Care, 1999; Hugo, 2000; Kliewer & Jones, 1997; Muller, 1998; Wright & Mindel, 1993). The English language poses many difficulties for older Italian people, even though they have resided in Australia for many years (Commonwealth Department of Health, Housing and Community Services, 1991; Ware, 1988). Older Italians are amongst those who have the lowest levels of English proficiency, along with people from

Vietnam, China, Greece, and Cyprus (Multicultural Affairs Unit, 1997). Fifty-two percent of the Italian-born population aged 65 years or more has little or no English (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, 1994; Fernando, 1987a).

Disadvantage in the English language is especially noticeable among women. Compared with men, women are more at risk of failing to acquire a new language after migration. As Hearst writes, women are "less likely to have acquired functional English during their working life, less likely to have made English-speaking friends and acquaintances and more likely to be isolated in the home both for cultural reasons and by child minding and housekeeping responsibilities" (Hearst, 1981, p. 43).

People from non-English speaking backgrounds are often marginalised in clinical practice (Blackford, Street, & Parsons, 1997). For example, health professionals may be unaware or reluctant to use interpreter services, or if they do use interpreters, they may not know how to use them correctly, thus compromising the interaction. While it is important for doctors and nurses to have a medical relationship with older clients, it is equally important that they have an understanding of, and sensitivity towards, cultural norms and values.

Mental health services

It is known that certain groups are at a higher risk of developing mental health problems, and we have already reviewed some of the data about older Italians. However, mental health services available to people with diverse cultural backgrounds are likely to be of particularly poor quality (Family and Community Development Committee, 1997). Again, language difficulties are likely to be a barrier to both knowledge and access, and to affect the treatment options that are offered. For example, people from non-English-speaking backgrounds are less likely to be offered psychotherapy and more likely to be subjected to electro-convulsive therapy than people from English-speaking backgrounds (Minas, 1983).

Community services

Differing cultural values may lead older Italians to reject formal community services as culturally inappropriate (Australian Law Reform Commission, 1995; Brodaty, 1994). Many older Italians are dissatisfied with formal assistance provided in the home. One reason for dissatisfaction is because of language difficulties. Another is the expectation that helpers should be as dedicated and efficient in

household duties as the older people themselves are (Fernando, 1987a; MacKinnon & Nelli, 1996; McCallum & Gelfand, 1990; Moris, 1992; Petralia, 2000). The lack of Italian-specific support is especially marked in rural areas (Roy & Hamilton, 1987), where there are not nearly enough Italian-speaking health care professionals, counsellors, and interpreters, and the visibility of Italian-Australian welfare organisations is low (Petralia, 2000).

Differences in socio-cultural and illness behaviour patterns may exacerbate barriers to community services (Malios, 1978; Task Force for the Italian Aged in Victoria, 1987). For example, nurses in Hobart indicated that they had trouble motivating older Italian people to do things to help themselves, to do what is suggested of them, and to ask for assistance (Moris, 1992). Older Italian people may perceive that assistance provided by nursing services is minimal and more disruptive than helpful (Petralia, 2000).

Italian-specific day care centres need to be improved and expanded. Because caregivers of older Italians are reluctant to place the dependent family member in non-Italian day care centres, there are few opportunities for any respite from the demands of caregiving. This lack of respite may lead to a higher likelihood of developing both physical and psychological ill health.

Residential services

Mainstream residential institutions may not provide adequate service for many migrants because these services are linguistically and culturally mismatched to their needs (Alexander, Jones, & Magennis, 1992; Fandetti & Gelfand, 1976; Yeo, 1993). The majority of nursing homes are not acceptable to older Italian people because of the unfamiliar food, difficulties with the language, and the manners of the nursing staff (Hearst, 1981; Moris, 1992; Rowland, 1991a). It is devastating for many older Italians to be placed in a nursing home – as Bertelli writes, residential placement "would mean that they have entered the tomb before the time of death" (Bertelli, 1980a, p. 16). The few established Italian-specific residential care facilities that exist can only cater for a very small proportion of the growing numbers of older Italian people who require care. Building more Italian-specific residential facilities is a possible response, especially in rural and metropolitan areas where currently none exist. Building such facilities in these areas would alleviate an urgent need and could provide models of cultural and linguistic practice and service that could assist in setting examples for mainstream care facilities. However, this solution would

entail very high financial costs both to the Italian community and to governments.

Other models of residential care for older Italians need to be developed. The "cluster" model is one such possible solution, in which a group of older people from the same ethnic background is treated as a small group within the mainstream residential setting. It should be possible to have the bedrooms of these residents close to each other in the facility, to seat them together in the dining room, to provide appropriate food and activities for them, and to organise community visitors who speak their language.

Information technology

A topic which has received very little attention is the potential for new information technologies to assist with overcoming difficulties in providing culturally sensitive health and community services. For example, people who are unable to leave their homes because of caregiving duties might find that communication with other caregivers through the Internet helps to fill a gap in their social world. Secondly, the Internet could be used by older Italians to communicate in Italian with people still living in Italy from their own region of origin, or to access health information in the Italian language. Thirdly, information could be disseminated through the Internet to doctors and other health professionals to help them to be aware of particular issues that arise when dealing with people from various ethnic backgrounds, including older Italians.

Lack of research

Throughout this paper, we have referred to the need for further research on the older Italian community. Overall, there is a lack of current information on which to base the development of health and community services for people from non-English speaking backgrounds (Howe, 1997) because English language difficulties have tended to exclude them from studies of the Australian community. For example:

The 1997 Australian National Survey of Mental Health and Well-being. This landmark survey excluded people whose English was poor because it was too expensive to translate the interview or to employ bilingual interviewers.

The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (Kliewer & Jones, 1997) includes measures of health status and medical service utilisation as well as English-language proficiency. However, this study does not include use of community services, which are likely to be as

important as health services in supporting older people as they become more frail.

The 1994 Health Status of Older People study, a unique longitudinal survey of 1000 older people living in metropolitan Melbourne, conducted by the Lincoln Gerontology Centre, excluded individuals who could not speak basic English

The 1995 National Health Survey did make an effort to include people from diverse cultural backgrounds. However, the survey is not detailed enough to permit analysis of causes of access difficulties, and includes no measures of acceptability of services. Further, it includes no items on community support services, which are likely to be particularly salient for older people. It has been recognised that this is an equity issue (Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1999; Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1992; Howe, 1997; Minas, 1990; Quine, 1999). One of the consequences of not including people from non-English-speaking backgrounds in research is that these groups may become invisible. Their special problems have simply not been recognised.

We acknowledge that good research conducted with people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds is costly. Some studies estimate that costs can be 50% higher because of the extra difficulties that go with cross-cultural research (McGartland, Blacker, & Kanitsaki, 2000). Such difficulties include problems with recruitment, and with language and translation, and cultural issues. If we apply these estimated extra costs to known recruitment costs calculated on a project that we are currently undertaking at the Lincoln Gerontology Centre — the Healthy Retirement Project — we would end up with a cost of $27.00 per participant for cross-sectional research and $348.00 per participant for longitudinal research.

Summary

In summary, new, essential information is required on the health and well-being of older Italians and on difficulties experienced by older Italian people in accessing health and community services including Italian-specific services. We need to know: why the health of older Italians is so poor, even in comparison with other migrant groups, what the consequences of this poor health are for future health and well-being. How healthy ageing can be promoted in older Italians. How to improve affordability, availability, accessibility, and acceptability of both health promotion and services for people whose health is poor.

Affordability is an issue because there is plenty of evidence to suggest that people from non-English speaking backgrounds have lower incomes than their Australian-born counterparts. Availability is still a problem, particularly in regard to Italian-specific services. Accessibility is about overcoming barriers to service use such as language and culture. Finally, we need to explore ways of making services acceptable to older Italians.

Only a tiny proportion of the available research funds is currently being directed towards older people from non-English-speaking backgrounds, including older Italians. Ethnicity seems to be regarded as no longer a current or important topic. I hope that we have demonstrated today that nothing could be further from the truth.

Care of the Italian Aged
Emma Contessa

The aim of this presentation is to provide an overview of the community services provided by Co.As.It. for the Italian community in Melbourne, and in particular, for the elderly and their family carers. This will include a discussion about the development of a fee for service department with Co.As.It. called "ITALCARE" an agency that recruits, employs and trains Italian speaking personal care workers.

The existing range of government funded programs for the Italian elderly can be separated into two distinct categories – namely, centre based programs and home based services. Currently the centre based programs consist of:

Italian elderly Citizens Clubs (Circoli Pensionati) with a membership of over 20,000 pensioners throughout Melbourne and regional Victoria The number of individual clubs is 90.

These clubs provide recreational opportunities for the more independent elderly person. Although these clubs are predominantly meeting the socio-cultural needs of their members they are also an avenue for conducting health promotion programs and disseminating information about a variety of subjects relevant to older Italians. This is achieved by holding regular conferences. Co.As.It. Social Support Services coordinator and other staff are actively involved in this aspect.

The clubs are autonomous, however they are affiliated with Co.As.It. via the Association of Circoli Pensionati which is resourced by Co.As.It.

Adult Day Care Centres

The Co.As.It. Adult Day Care Centres are an Italian specific service that provides a warm, caring environment for frail or disabled Italians and for those who may also have dementia; generally, elderly Italians who due to a physical, cognitive or psychological impairment require assistance with activities of daily living.

The day centres provide a warm, caring environment where the elderly can enjoy socialising and participating in various culturally appropriate activities.

Day Centre staff provide support and assistance as required by the client. The overall aim of the day care centres is to maintain the well

being of disabled and elderly Italians living in the community and to provide respite and support for family members who care for them.

All staff are Italian speaking and needless to say the activities, the meals, and the music are all very culturally appropriate, encouraging much reminiscing.

The day care program receives funding from the state department of human services. We have 3 centres. We have a five day a week program at the Assisi centre in Rosanna. We also conduct a one day a week program in the western region and have another one day a week program in the southern region.

The other centre based service is the carers' support group which meets on a monthly basis and provides carers of frail & disabled Italians with the opportunity to meet other carers and support each other. The benefits of this type of group are well documented. The group is facilitated by Co.As.It. staff who maintain regular contact with the participants of this group.

Home Based Services

Co.As.It. has 3 programs which provide home based services for the Italian community. The first is a volunteer program. Trained volunteers who visit socially isolated elderly in their own homes and also in Aged Care Facilities. The volunteer program coordinators recruit and train volunteers who are then allocated a client to visit on a regular basis (usually 1 visit per week although some visit more frequently). Volunteers are supervised by the program coordinators. They also monitor the clients well being and may refer to other programs for additional assistance if required. This program operates throughout the Melbourne metropolitan region and also in Shepparton where there is a very large Italian population.

Co.As.It. also has 2 case management programs for the Italian community – Linkages and Community Care Packages program. Although funding for these two programs is from different sources (state & federal departments respectively) they both operate on a similar service delivery model. This involves the allocation of a case manager who together with the client and family carers develop a care plan addressing the specific needs of the individual. The case manager has access to brokerage funds to purchase culture and language appropriate services. And thereby assisting the older person to remain in their own home and not enter residential care.

Having presented this information it may seem that the Italian community has a very comprehensive range of services for the Italian

elderly. The reality is that with close to 50,000 Italians over 65 years of age in Victoria we can only provide assistance to a very small number. For example the Linkages program has only 40 places; and CCP 80. Both programs have almost the same number of referrals on their respective waiting lists. It is a similar situation for the Adult Day Care Centres - long waiting lists.

And despite numerous applications, additional funding to expand services has not been forthcoming! This really reflects on the direction of current aged care policy that appears to favour the "generalist" approach to service provision as opposed to the ethno-specific model of service delivery.

Obviously a huge unmet need still exists. In an attempt to address this lack of funding and subsequent unmet need, Co.As.It. has developed a somewhat creative fee for service agency - Italcare.

Italcare specialises in the employment, training and supervision of Italian speaking home care workers who have the language skills and cultural sensitivity to provide a range of personal care services for the aged.

The home care workers provide assistance to clients on Co.As.It.'s community care programs. In addition, mainstream providers who often find it difficult to provide culturally and language appropriate home care workers can 'purchase' these services from Italcare.

The development of this model of care ensures that elderly Italians, not on a Co.As.It. Community Care program, can still have access to , and benefit from the provision of culturally appropriate, home based direct care services.

The availability of Italcare should, hopefully, encourage mainstream government funded agencies to respond to the cultural and language needs of the Italian community. Italcare is also a model which can be replicated by other ethnic communities in order tho meet the needs of the particular group.

In an environment where government funding for Linkages & Care Packages is being allocated to mainstream providers, Italcare provides an alternative for these agencies to purchase services on the clients' behalf.

The biggest challenge for Co.As.It. is to promote Italcare and overcome the reluctance of some mainstream organisations to contract Italcare workers.

However we hope that with some active marketing strategies, and information to empower the Italian community to advocate on their own behalf, this situation will change.

Italian-Australians - Contributors to Medical Research.
Dino DeMarchi

Introduction

The objective of this paper is to show, that within the annals of medical research, there is on record the endeavors of a small group of Italian Australians who have made a noteworthy contribution.

My examination is narrow and limited; it is certainly incomplete, First it deals only with Victorians, secondly, I am sure that there are many more inspiring men and women to be located. I hope that by this start, the investigation will be taken over by someone more qualified and learned and the record will be more thoroughly researched and documented at some other time.

Background

We recognize that it was our brothers the Greeks who first placed medicine on its proper footing. They did this largely by their excellent classification of anatomy and physiology which remains relevant to this day.

However, I am pleased to say that it was the Romans, as inheritors of that system, that were the first to practice medicine on a large scale; they did so in their Legions, and they had ample opportunities, over the centuries during their many and difficult campaigns.

Prior to the Roman Empire, Greek medicine had spanned some eight hundred years, during that time, hundreds of philosophers and researchers had carefully recorded and collated medical observations for future benefit.

The Egyptians before them, bequeathed the Greeks their surgical instruments and the essential mathematical knowledge that made possible scientific hypothesis.

But even earlier than that, in Mesopotamia, the cradle of civilization, astrologers collated data for various purposes, but in the process a rough collection on the anatomy of particular organs commenced.

By the time of Augustus, 27 BC, conclaves of medical tutors commenced regular meetings on the Hills of Rome. We can accept that as the start of a systematic study of Medicine. But, it was some years

later, during the reign of the Emperor Vespasian in 70 AD, that salaries were paid to medical teachers at public expense.

As an aside Vespasian was responsible for the first public toilets in Rome and when we came to Australia my father was quick to point

out to me, when the night cart came around, that, the sewerage collection problem facing Melbourne at that time had been resolved by Vespasian Nineteen Centuries earlier.

More recently, I have read that the main sewer in Rome was in fact opened long before that, during the reign of the Tarquins, in 616 BC .

However important, research cannot impact until it is properly recorded, so Medical Science owes much to the writings of Aulus Cornelius Celsus, in 20 AD. He transcribed and recorded accurately the writings of the Greek Medical schools, in particular those of the father of medicine, Hippocrates.

Equally, Medical science is indebted to Julius Caesar. It was he who decreed that physicians who settled in Rome would automatically receive Roman citizenship.

I note that Dr. Wooldridge our health minister is pursuing similar proposals for immigrant doctors but he wants them to settle in the country where they are apparently very scarce and difficult to attract.

So it came to pass, that it was in the Roman Legions that the Advanced Dressing Stations first appeared. Its purpose, to collect and treat in the field the casualties of war; and by the end of the First century, what we would call a military field hospital first appeared.

The relationship between war and medical science is one that I will return to later.

Following the collapse of the Roman Empire and deep into the dark ages , nothing much of a scientific nature occurred , but immediately thereafter, Italian names appear prominent.

Luigi Galvani was the first to advance nerve physiology with his experiments with copper wire and frogs' legs; and his experiments were extended by the famous Alessandro Volta, emeritus professor at the university of Pavia.

We now recognize that those crude experiments represent the pioneering work in the later study and development of Neurophysiology.

The Contribution of Italian Australians

Victorians of Italian background have played an important role in the economic, social, cultural, medical and political development of Australia.

Their contribution commenced with the presence of at least one Italian in the first fleet; it progresses through the various phases of Victorian development. It has a colorful chapter during the Victorian Gold Rush, where the "foreigner Rafael Carbone" was indicted as one the leaders of the revolt at the Eureka Stockade.

This rich history continues unabated to the present time where the Governor of Victoria Sir James Gobbo, who officially opened this conference has inspirationally crowned the achievement of Italian Australians in Victoria.

Professor Sydney Dattilo Rubbo

Born in Sydney in 1911, Professor Rubbo MD DSc Dip Bact. was a bright light in medical circles in Victoria. He was in regular contact with the American and internationally renowned Scientist Joshua Lederberg who won his Nobel Prize at the age of 33. Lederberg discovered that bacteria could reproduce through sexual recombination.

A professor of Bacteriology at the University of Melbourne Professor Rubbo wrote many articles including " The prevention of Tetanus in Italy" and a book entitled : "A review of the sterilization and disinfection as applied to medical industrial and laboratory practice".

It was revealing for me to read the problems of Professor Rubbo in obtaining sufficient funding for his laboratory. Nothing much has changed over the last forty years.

He was the teacher of two generations of Doctors including some whom I shall refer to directly.

It is interesting to note that the work of these medical pioneers in Australia was generally carried out quietly out of the public gaze and with little fanfare, a mark of the dedication and devotion of the persons concerned.

Some of the people I shall refer to are associated with the Sir Edward Dunlop Medical Research Foundation. Let me tell you then, something about the Foundation, and my involvement in Medical Research.

My Involvement in Medical Research

I arrived in Melbourne from Trieste with my family in 1955. I can tell you I was not a diligent student and promptly went to work. After an uneventful period of labouring duties, I joined the Australian Regular Army at the age of twenty, a few years ago.

In the Army I found discipline and direction but most importantly, education. There was a little catch, I had an all expenses paid international trip. The destination was Vietnam.

It was there that I was confronted, at the 36th Evacuation Hospital in Vung Tau, with the magnitude of the American Logistic Machine. The relative gap between the Australian and American medical facilities was incredibly large and palpable.

The Vietnam experience provided me the impetus and desire to improve my education and knowledge. I had no scientific background so I entered into the study of the law.

It was in the role of an advocate that I first met Sir Edward Dunlop in 1983. He was then attempting to link some of the causes of cancer with the environmental circumstances of war service.

The Sir Edward Dunlop Medical Research Foundation

It was Sir Edward Dunlop's belief that the stresses and strains of war were an important area of research, which would bring forward new knowledge, for the better diagnosis and treatment of injuries and diseases.

It was also a concern of Sir Edward Dunlop that we were losing bright and promising medical researchers through lack of Government funding towards many worthy research projects; unfortunately, we still are!

This, and Weary Dunlop's desire to help his comrades was therefore the catalyst, for the establishment of the Sir Edward Dunlop Medical Research Foundation.

During 1985 a working party was established, I was a member, and in 1987 the Foundation was incorporated under the Chairmanship of Sir Bernard Callinan MC.

Sir Edward Dunlop was the inaugural patron and also its principal fund raiser. No week would pass without "Weary" Dunlop having collected a cheque for the promotion of research and the betterment of the Foundation.

Upon the death of Sir Edward in 1993 Sir Arvi Parbo AC agreed to become our Patron. In 1994 I was elected Chairman of the Board.

Objectives of the Foundation

The Foundation promotes medical research in areas concerning Veterans. Weary Dunlop's concern, as I previously mentioned, was to assist veterans and their dependents, but he also knew that this research would benefit the whole community.

The Foundation is managed by a Board made up exclusively of volunteers.

The Board is assisted in vetting research projects to be funded by a medical research committee.

The Medical Research Committee

The first chairman of the Foundation's Medical Research Committee was Professor Richard Larkins. Professor Larkins was until last week the Chairman of the National Health and Medical Research Council. This is the senior Medical Research Body in Australia and co-ordinates the major funding allocation for research in Australia.

The new Chairman of this body is Professor Nick Saunders. I note as an aside that Professor Saunders is looking for greater capital investment in medical research, to be applied before commercialization, and during the proof of concept stage in the laboratory, in order to assist in the retention of intellectual property of new discoveries.

Co-ordinating the work of the Medical Research Committee

To co-ordinate the work of the Medical Research Committee we are very fortunate to have the services of a great Italian Australian, Dr. Mario De Louise BMedSc, MBBS, PhD, .

Dr. Mario De Louise himself a former researcher in the field of endocrinology, is now a consulting physician at the Austin and Repatriation medical Centre. Dr. De Louise acts as the liaison officer between the chairman of the Medical Research Committee, Professor John McNeil and the Board of the Foundation.

Dr. De Louise was born near Potenza and migrated to Australia when he was 12 years old. Unlike me he was a serious student and after attending Marist Brothers graduated from Melbourne University with his MBBS in 1972 and his PhD in 1979. After a three year fellowship at Harvard University Dr. De Louise became an Associate Professor of medicine with the NHMRC in 1985.

In 1991 He became the director of endocrinology at the Heidelberg Repatriation Hospital.

Dr. De Louise has made a considerable contribution to the field of endocrinology and is a specialist in the diagnosis and treatment of diabetes.

In his role as liaison officer for the Foundation Dr. De Louise has assisted in progressing many other areas of research.

The Austin Research Institute

The Foundation has a good liaison with the Austin Research Institute. One of the Principal researchers at the Institute is Professor Mauro Sandrin. Mauro like myself was born in Trieste.

When Mauro was seven years old, his father Otello, a good neighbour and friend bought him a chemistry set. I remember Mauro

spending hours deeply immersed in his apparatus and powders developing an interest and flair in science. All that dedication and subsequent hard work has certainly paid off.

For his original contribution to Science, Professor Sandrin was awarded the qualification of Doctor of Science (DSc) in 1998.

Over many years he has published research papers on molecular cloning, anti viral strategies, cancer immunology, and antibody functions, to name just a few. Between 1980 and 1999 he published scores of papers culminating in his thesis " Studies in Molecular Immunogenetics".

In 1998 Professor Sandrin was elected President of the Transplantation Society of Australia and New Zealand.

He is now the Head of the Molecular Immunogenetics Laboratory at the Austin Research Institute.

Without question Professor Sandrin has made and will continue to make an important impact in medical science in Australia, New Zealand and and indeed internationally.

Other Researchers of Italian Background

There are quite a number of other eminent researchers of Italian background.

I am aware of the work of Associate professor of Medicine Joe Proietto, who has had in many ways a similar background to that of Dr. De Louise.

Professor Proietto graduated from Melbourne University MBBS in 1973, He traveled to Switzerland to complete his PhD and fellowship, with a study on diabetes in the Zucker Rat.

Professor Proietto runs a large Medical Research laboratory at the Royal Melbourne Hospital.

He has also alerted me to the fine work being carried out by Professor Joe Trapani at the Peter McCallum hospital.

Professor Trapani was also born in Melbourne his family coming appropriately enough from Trapani in Sicily.

He also graduated from The University of Melbourne with his MBBS in 1977 and gained his PhD in 1986.

He completed a fellowship in New York and he is now the Associate Professor of Cancer Immunology at the Peter McCallum Hospital.

The work of Professor Trapani in cancer cells behavior has obviously important implication in the treatment of cancer.

Another young and impressive researcher who has been associated with the Foundation is Dr. Maurice Fabiani.

Dr. Fabiani was also born in Melbourne. His family is from the Marche region of Italy; they migrated to Australia in 1960.

He graduated MBBS in 1989 and PhD in 1994.

Dr. Fabiani is an eminent researcher in the area of Cardio vascular disease, in particular Hypertension. He has been awarded grants by the Foundation on two occasions. Dr. Fabiani is now conducting some eminent work in the area of hypertension and in his studies has made a connection with prostatic disease.

He is a regular exchange visitor to Italy and will be in Ancona in September to further advance his studies which have the potential to bring important new findings on these debilitating and morbid conditions.

Some may be interested to know that the project currently funded by the Foundation, examines the hypothesis that the tissue based, Renin-Angiotensin, is active in the prostate and that over-activity may be responsible for prostatic hypertrophy.

<u>Conclusion</u>

As this paper sustains, Italians since the time of the Romans have played a crucial part in public health. Presently, Italian Australians are playing an important role in medical research.

From this work and related disciplines, Australians will derive a substantial benefit; the benefit may be immediate, but it also has the likely favorable outcome of benefiting future generations.

It should be satisfying for the participants of this conference, to know, that this contribution has been made by men and women who were themselves migrants, or sons and daughters of first generation migrants.

They came to this country with no English, little moral support, feeble resources; but, they had in their hearts: tenacity, a belief in themselves and their families, and above all a willingness to work hard and to contribute.

Their contribution vindicates the far sighted post war immigration policy of Australia and, it reflects splendidly on the quality of the Italian migrant.