The Italian Diaspora in Australia: Current and Potential Links to the Homeland

Report of an Australian Research Council Linkage Project

By
Professor Loretta Baldassar
Dr Joanne Pyke, Victoria University
Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe, Deakin University

Research Team
Mr Ordan Andreevski, *United Macedonian Diaspora*
Professor Loretta Baldassar, *University of Western Australia*
Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe, *Deakin University*
Dr Steve Francis, *Deakin University*
Professor Graeme Hugo, *The University of Adelaide*
Professor Therese Joiner, *Monash University*
Dr Joanne Pyke, *Victoria University*

AUGUST 2012

Trevi Fountain, Rome, Italy

This project was undertaken with support from:
The Australian Research Council Linkage Project funding
The Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship, State Government of Victoria
The Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Centre for Multicultural Youth
The Australian Vietnamese Women's Association
The Footscray Asian Business Association
The Indochinese Elderly Refugee Association
The Quang Minh Temple
Co.As.It. Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne
The Italo-Australian Welfare and Cultural Centre, Perth
Council for International Trade and Commerce SA Inc.

For further information contact:

Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe
Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation
Deakin University
T +61 3 9244 6917
E Danny.bm@deakin.edu.au

Professor Loretta Baldassar (Anthropology & Sociology)
School of Social and Cultural Studies, University of Western Australia
Adjunct Principal Research Fellow, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University
T + 61 8 6488 7232
E Loretta.Baldassar@uwa.edu.au

Dr Joanne Pyke
School of International Business Victoria University
T +61 3 9919 2615
E joanne.pyke@vu.edu.au

Contents

List of tables

List of charts

Executive Summary

This report describes and discusses the results and findings of a survey and focus group discussion of the Italian diaspora in Australia undertaken as part of a broader study funded by the Australian Research Council: *Australian Diasporas and Brain Gain: Current and Future Potential Transnational Relationships.* The investigation of the Italian Diaspora took place alongside research on the Macedonian, Tongan and Vietnamese diasporas. The project was implemented in collaboration with a number of community partners, including the Co.As.It. Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne and the Italo-Australian Welfare and Cultural Centre in Perth, as well as between researchers from four Universities including the University of Adelaide, the University of Western Australia, La Trobe University and Victoria University as the administering University. A key feature of the project is its inter-disciplinary approach that brings together researchers with diverse disciplinary backgrounds including anthropology, political science, economics and geography. As such, the design of the project methods sought to capture multiple dimensions of what diasporas mean in the Australian context through the varied perspectives.

- In describing the Italian Diaspora in Australia, it is first recognised that the diaspora is not a homogenous or necessarily a close-knit group. Those who identify as being of Italian background are differentiated by links that are shaped by village, provincial, regional and national ties, as well as according to gender, class, age, generation and place of settlement. Most importantly, the diaspora is differentiated by time of migration (or migration wave) and cohort of arrival. This heterogeneity has arguably led to the formation, over time, of many Italian Diasporas (Gabaccia 2000).
- The history of Italian migration to Australia reaches back to the early 1800s and can be described in five time periods: early (1800s); pre-(Second World) war (1900-1945); postwar (1950s-1960s); recent (post 1970s); and the so-called 'new' migration comprising primarily working holiday and 457 visa holders (post 2000). As such, Italians played an important role in the key developments of Australia's colonized history including early European settlement, the gold rush period, postwar development, and more recently, as part of the 'knowledge economy' with high skilled migration from Italy.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, there were approximately 8,000 Italians in Australia, most of who lived in rural districts. Between 1922 and 1930, some 25,000 people left Italy for Australia. The Italian born population of Australia rose from 33,632 in 1947 to 120,000 in 1954 and had expanded to 228,000 by 1961, reaching a peak of 289,476 in 1971. By the census of 1996, the figure had declined to 238,263 and in 2001 it had fallen to 218,718 (1.2 per cent of the total Australian population) due to a combination of deaths occurring in the ageing population, repatriations and limited migration from Italy to Australia.

If we take into account the social reality that identity is not defined by birthplace alone and add to these figures the second and subsequent Australian-born generations, a picture emerges of a substantial Italian Diaspora in Australia with great potential for growth and development. In 1996, the second generation (at least one parent born in Italy) numbered 334,036, almost 100,000 more than the first generation. In 2001, the figure had risen to 355,200, representing 44.4 per cent of the total Italo-Australian population and over 136,000 more than the first generation, which comprised 30.9 per cent. An estimated 197,600 Australian-born of Australian-born parents claimed Italian ancestry (ABS, 2003). In 2006, the Italian born Australian population was close to 200,000 (ABS 2006), with 852,421 people who claim Italian ancestry. This means that around 4.3 per cent of Australians claim Italian ancestry, and while the Italian born population has declined in the last ten years, those who claim Italian ancestry continue to rise. Thus, the future of the Italian diaspora in Australia is in large part in the hands of the descendants of Italian migrants.

- The most significant wave of Italian immigration was without a doubt the postwar influx, a substantial part of the massive campaign to meet Australian needs for labour and defense. These arrivals were mainly labourers and 'worker peasants' with limited formal education, but plenty of experience in agriculture and certain trades, like building and tailoring. In the context of Australia's white Australian policy of the day, Italian migration was only encouraged, however, due to the limited supply of migrants from Britain or the more racially desirable northern European countries. Considered 'non-white' and a potential threat to Australian ways of life, Italian settlement was initially met by considerable racism and discrimination, particularly as the postwar arrivals were characterized by tightly linked chain migration networks and residential and occupational segregation. Even so, the relatively high rates of Italian return migration or 'settler loss' (33.5 per cent between 1960-1969) were alarming to the Australian government, given its policy of settler migration, and inspired a number of government enquires into the issue.

The dismantling of the White Australia policy in the 1970s saw the removal of any official criteria based on notions of race or colour in the immigration program but coincided with increased restrictions and a reduction in overall immigration numbers. These changes to Australian immigration rules, together with the markedly improved economic and social conditions in Italy, which has itself become a country of immigration for migrants from Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, meant a substantial decrease in Italian immigration from the 1970s until very recently. Italians arriving in this period were migrating for career, lifestyle and/or love. In contrast to earlier migration waves, they were mainly professionals from the middle classes, who are more likely to retain formal connections to Italy through professional and business associations and who tend not to define themselves as migrants but as cosmopolitans or global citizens. They are generally not connected through chain migration networks to the established Italian-Australian communities with whom they associate primarily through friendships with, or marriages to, the Australian-born children of this group.

There is also a new and current wave of Italian migration to Australia which is of a considerably different nature than has occurred in previous waves. Fueled by the economic downturn in Europe, young people arriving in Australia on working holiday and 457 (Business – long stay visas) in search of employment opportunities unavailable in Italy. The size of this group has risen dramatically in recent years from 1,106 entrants in 2006 to 3,178 in 2011 (Markus 2012). This is concurrent with a 64 per cent increase in Italian applications for 457 visas (Business – long stay visas) from 2011 to 2012 (DIAC 2012). These migrants, being young and often single, are highly mobile and extremely technologically literate. These attributes arguably make the term 'migrant' less pertinent to describe them as they appear to be very much transnational actors, strongly connected to both their home and host societies. Interestingly, given their limited wealth, they often try to find support from the older established postwar migrant communities in Australia by asking for cheap accommodation and help to find employment.

The now well-settled and largely economically successful postwar migrants and their upwardly mobile second generation children along with the post 1970s and the 'new' transnational migrant arrivals contribute to a vibrant Italian cultural diaspora characterised by multiple identities and ties to Italy, Australia and Italian settlements in other countries. The 'Italian-Australian community' is quite visible today and has developed through a combination of factors including the success of multicultural politics with its positive focus on ethnic identity, the maturation of the postwar second generation and the rising international profile of Italy, all of which have contributed to the development of a consumable, popular and marketable italianità that has also influenced what it means to be Australian today.

The Italian diaspora in Australia is widely held up as an exemplar of the success of Australian multiculturalism where diverse communities are entitled to celebrate, practice and maintain their cultural heritage, traditions and language within the law and free from discrimination to the benefit and richness of the whole community. While this may be so, the history of the Italian diaspora in Australia shows a dynamic process of two-way cultural transmission and transitioning that has been simultaneously uneasy and integrated. Italians in Australia have

been both vilified and celebrated over the course of their settlement and a number of factors have influenced the development of more positive attitudes to Italians in Australia in the contemporary period. While the Italian migrants of the pre- and immediate postwar years are still congregated at the lower end of the labour hierarchy, as the second and third generations move up the educational and occupational scale, Italians enjoy a higher social status and have been accepted into the mainstream as senior partners in multicultural Australia.

At the same time, Italian migrants and their children are set apart, as not exactly Australian but 'Italian-Australian' in ways that reinforces their multiple attachments to both Australia and Italy. They are defined, along with other non-Anglo migrant groups, in relation to the nation-state or what it means to be Australian. Herein lies both the strengths and perils of multiculturalism – it provides an acknowledgement of diversity and a celebration of difference, but may also foster a marginalisation of so-called 'ethnic' Australians. The type of 'repressive tolerance' that can result is evident in the lumping together of a diverse and divided group of people and labeling them all 'Italian' (Bottomley, 1992). The migrants (particularly from the postwar period) strong relationships with their home town and region can be seen as an act of resistance on the part of the emigrant to this type of reductionist and potentially marginalising treatment and as a way of ensuring that they will continue to be identified as 'Italo-Australian' (through their display of appropriate ethnicity markers). Examining Italian-Australian settlement as a cultural diaspora is posited on a transnational perspective and an understanding of migration, not simply as a finite act of relocation, but as a continuous cultural process.

The cultures of the labour and proletarian diasporas of the last century, with their strong commitment to local ties and to community, and their ability to bridge the gap between local and global tendencies, stand out against, and as an alternative to, modern exclusivist nationalisms, and have much to offer to Australia's development as a genuine multicultural society. The future of an Italian cultural diaspora in Australia will be mediated by whether or not Italians continue to be embraced as a distinctive group by mainstream Australia, as well as the country's development, or not, of its standing in the Asia-Pacific region as compared to its relationships with America, Britain and Europe.

Methods

- A survey of the Italian diaspora was designed as one of four surveys for each of the diasporas included in the larger study. As much as possible, each of the surveys contained common questions in order that the results for each diaspora could be compared. Each was customised, however, in order to ensure relevance to the specific community.

Created in an online format, the survey contained a mix of 55 open and closed questions, organised into five sections: respondent background; household information; citizenship and identity; family and kinship connections to Italy; and business and professional links. Using a snowball method (Bickman and Rog 2008), the survey was distributed in July 2010 through university, community and government networks. On completion, the survey received 613 responses with 423 completing all questions. One of the major limitations of the survey and of diaspora research generally, is that it is not possible to generate a representative sample. In this light, the findings of the survey are treated as indicators of trends and clues about the character of the Italian diaspora in Australia, to be interpreted alongside the relevant literature. At the same time, respondents were broadly representative of the Italian diaspora with representation from across the 'waves' of Italian migration and the children of migrants from earlier generations.

A focus group discussion was also held with a group of people who were carefully selected in order to represent the diversity of the Italian community. These included a mix of postwar migrants, children of postwar migrants, more recent migrants who had arrived in Australia to marry an Australian citizen, as well as two people on working holiday visas. The group also

included two 1.5 migrants[1] one male and one female) who were born in Italy and migrated to Australia before the age of 12 years with their parents. The focus group discussion was guided by a series of open-ended questions that were shaped by the core themes of the research, and were intended to both explain and verify the survey results. Core questions focused on: identity and what it means to be Italian in Australia; the importance of connections to Italy; communications with Italy; and changes in the diaspora over generations.

- Migrant diasporas are made up of both first and subsequent generation migrants. The most significant feature of the Italian survey sample is that roughly one quarter (27.8 per cent) comprised people who were born in Italy, that is, the first generation, with the remainder being born in Australia (72.2 per cent) and who are the children or grandchildren of Italian born migrants. This corresponds to the general profile of the Italian communities in Australia, where according to the 2006 ABS Census, of the 852,400 people who claimed Italian ancestry, 199,124 (about 25 per cent) were born in Italy. Further, the Italian born respondents include representation from across the three main contemporary waves of migration. There were 68 postwar migrant respondents (11 per cent of all survey responses), 37 who arrived between 1970 and 2000 (6 per cent of all survey responses), and 40 'new migrants' (6.5 per cent) who have arrived since 2000. The responses thus provide useful representation of the Italian diaspora, particularly in relation to the waves of migration and the role played by the second generation.
- Overall, the survey respondents resemble the Australian/Italian population in relation to rates of employment, migration history, family types and in terms of Italian region from which they or their families had emigrated from. There is an over-representation of women in the survey, as well as younger people, higher levels of household income and an over-representation of professionals. These differences are likely to reflect the use of an on-line survey method which would lead to a bias towards those with internet access and who are comfortable with the use of on-line mediums of communication, as well as the networks through which the survey was distributed. However, all respondents identify as being of Italian background and their migration history is in common with patterns of Italian migration to Australia. The interpretation and discussion of the survey data is undertaken bearing the limitations in mind.

Key Findings

Citizenship, Identity and Language

The research explored the extent to which being 'Italian' shapes the identity of the diaspora on three indicators – national identity, feelings of closeness to Italy and language use. Findings suggest that having a sense of identity as Italian is quite strong.

Reflecting the high rates of Australian citizenship in the broader Italian-Australian population, the majority (68.7 per cent) of survey respondents are Australian citizens with almost all of the remainder (28.6 per cent) having dual Italian/Australian citizenship. At the same time, only a minority of respondents (82) describe themselves only as 'Australian' with the majority (306) describing themselves as either 'Australian/Italian', 'Italian/Australian' or 'Italian'. One of the interesting findings was that those born in Australia more frequently identified their Italian identity than those born in Italy. Further, the majority of respondents say that they feel either 'close' (37.7 per cent) or 'very close' (26.7 per cent) to Italy. Close to one quarter (24.2 per cent) feel ambivalent and only a small proportion (9.1 per cent) feel either 'distant' or 'very distant'. Findings also show, however, that feelings in relation to identity can be very situational. *'It depends on context'* and *'I feel Italian at the social club and Australian at work'* were typical of responses given.

1 The term 1.5 generation or 1.5G refers to people who immigrate before or during their early teens.

The majority of respondents speak, read and write in Italian either 'very well' or 'well'. Less than 5 per cent said that they were not able to speak, read or write at all in Italian. These results show a strong command of the Italian language and suggest strong Italian connections, particularly in the context that it can be safely assumed that the main language is English. Following from this, one of the questions of interest to this study was about how Italian is used within families and with whom Italian is spoken. The survey findings show what might be expected – that Italian is the main language spoken with Italian born and Italy based family members while Australian born children are most likely to speak English as the main language. As also might be expected, those born in Italy are most likely to speak Italian to their children with the majority of respondents born in Italy (75 per cent) speaking to their children in Italian while the reverse is true for those born in Australia.

While feelings of Italian identity were not straightforward, the findings suggest a strong sense of connection by most respondents with Italy despite the fact that the majority (72.2 per cent) are Australian born. This shows clearly that the Italian diaspora in Australia extends into and incorporates the second generation.

Personal Ties With the Homeland: Visits, Communications and Media Use

The research also explored how ties are maintained through visiting Italy, communications and media use. Again, findings from both the survey and the focus group show strong links with Italy that are manifested through actively visiting, communicating with Italian contacts and keeping up to date with Italian current affairs and media.

The majority of respondents visit Italy, either 'when there is a need or occasion' (18.5 per cent), 'every 2–3 years' (28.9 per cent), or 'every year' (7.3 per cent). There is an additional group (29.3 per cent) that has random patterns of visiting Italy which might mean frequent visits for a period of time followed by a period of not visiting. Only 18.5 per cent say that they have not visited Italy. Respondents also have strong intentions of visiting Italy in future with only 14.6 per cent saying that they do not intend to visit Italy in the next five years. For this group, the major barrier was age and expense. Those who do intend to visit, intend to stay for a considerable length of time, with more than half (56 per cent) of all respondents intending to stay for more than one month. The purpose of visits is overwhelmingly to 'strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Italy' (30.7 per cent) or to 'have a holiday' (37.09 per cent). Further, the majority (70.3 per cent) indicated that they usually stay with family during their visits to Italy. While the biggest group say that they visit for a 'holiday', it is likely that visitors have multiple motivations for visiting Italy. These findings suggest that family connections are a major driver for visits to Italy, indicating that kinship and family connections are a mainstay of diaspora relations for Italians. This is reinforced by the finding that, while respondents did not receive visitors very frequently, a large minority (253 respondents) do receive visitors 'every 2-3 years' who are family members. These visitors (69 per cent of all visitors) stay from two weeks to three months.

A further indication of the strength of ties with Italy was that less than half of all respondents (47.2 per cent) were definite in having no intentions of returning to live in Italy. More than one-third (33.8 per cent) said they would like to return to live temporarily, 3.6 per cent said 'yes' they would like to live there permanently and 15.5 per cent were unsure. While these intentions may not translate into actual returns to Italy, it shows a desire by the majority of respondents to spend substantial time in Italy in the future. This finding is particularly important when we consider that over half of the survey respondents are second generation, suggesting a strong and successful transmission of ties to homeland by the migrant generation.

A minority of respondents (20 per cent) also indicated having property in Italy. For most of this group, the property they refer to has or will be inherited and is typically shared with other family members. A few indicated that property was their residence prior to migrating which they either rent out, use as a holiday home or allow Italian family members to use. Again, property ownership was based on Italian family connections.

Communications with Italy are also with family and friends with a few indicating communication of a business/professional nature or with contacts that are of a political or community nature. Respondents communicate frequently with family and friends and most commonly, 'monthly or several times a year'. The primary mode of communication is by phone, email or Facebook, with older respondents preferring the phone and younger ones utilising the more virtual methods.

Consumption of Italian media is relatively low with few respondents reading Italian newspapers, either those produced in Italy or Australia. Marginally more people listen to Italian radio. For the minority of respondents who do consume Italian media, the major form of media is Italian film, followed by listening to Italian music and watching Italian television. This is reinforced by the finding that the major motivation for following Italian media is 'to enjoy culture and entertainment from Italy'. Focus group findings suggest that first generation postwar migrants are keen consumers of Italian radio produced in Australia, primarily as a source of 'company', to enjoy Italian music and to keep up with current news and affairs in both countries. The second generation and more recent migrants are likely to use mainstream news, online newspaper and internet as sources of information about Italy.

Overall, connections with Italy are maintained by the majority of respondents and these connections are primarily driven by connections through family. Contact for business/ professional reasons, as well as for other political or community interest is relatively weak. However, the focus group discussion indicated that the post 1970s and newer migrants are likely to combine family and business connections to Italy (as evident in the quotation at the end of this Executive Summary).

Political and Communal Involvement

Overall, engagement in political activities is relatively low, although involvement in communal associations is higher, particularly for the postwar cohort. The majority (80 per cent) of respondents say that they are 'not involved in any activities' that are related to the political or economic affairs of Italy. A small number are, however, '…a member of an Italian organisation that is active in relation to Italian affairs' (13.1 per cent), and a few (6.1 per cent) have 'sent money to a charity or welfare organisation.' In a similar vein, very few respondents care about Australian government policy in relation to Italy and only a minority (14.9 per cent) see this as either 'important' or 'very important'.

The main form of organisational involvement for respondents is being involved in Italian organisations in Australia. The majority (52.3 per cent) is involved with some form of Italian organization with the main organizational types being cultural (27.5 per cent), social (23.8 per cent) and educational (20.4 per cent) organisations. Almost half (47.7 per cent) said that they are not involved in Italian community organisations at all, reflecting the general decline in community association involvement of the second generation. Interestingly, while these low rates of second generation participation in migrant clubs and associations are a key concern of Italian community leaders (evidenced by this theme regularly appearing on the agenda of peak body meetings and workshops), it does not appear to be a reflection of lack of interest in, or connection with, Italy. We might conclude that the migrant associations hold little relevance for the second generation, but that Italy and 'being Italian' remain pertinent.

It is clear that the Italian Diaspora is not shaped by an interest in politics based on the findings from the relevant survey questions. Very few people are involved in a political organization or have been involved in activities that are political in nature. Further, despite being entitled to vote in Italian elections, less than half took up this option and there is very strong disinterest in Australia-Italy government polity. While there is no doubt from the findings that the diaspora is linked to Italy by family connections, identity and social and cultural interests, political engagement with Italy is clearly not the way in which the diaspora is currently shaped or formed. It might be worth mentioning some of the key historical factors that have perhaps shaped a general distrust of governments among the immigrant population, in particular, the massive internment of Italians in Australia during WWII (including those who were naturalised British subjects), the clientalistic nature of all levels of government in Italy and the absence of support from either the Italian or Australian governments provided to the bulk of the postwar group. Furthermore, new migration is largely fuelled by the disastrous political and economic landscape of contemporary Italy. So politics is a push factor for Italian emigrants to Australia and this could ultimately be one of the most powerful contributions to the future of the Italian Australian diaspora. Perhaps what the findings actually suggest is that Italian migrants are united by their rejection of Italian politics.

Caregiving, Remittances and Philanthropy

- The findings in relation to care-giving, remittances and philanthropy suggest that there is relatively little exchange between Italy and Australia concerning remittances or welfare. Very few respondents send money to Italian connections. More commonly, respondents send gifts for special occasions such as birthdays. This gift giving is reciprocal and similar proportions of respondents receive gifts as much as they send gifts.

The high proportion of second generation respondents to the survey is likely to have influenced the findings for this section to suggest a lower level of transnational activity than is actually occurring. While the second generation support the first generation in their transnational care-giving connections, primarily by assisting with the use of new technologies, most in this cohort would not have primary responsibility for kin living in Italy. Italian migrants sent significant remittances to their homeland kin in the past and it is widely accepted that the flow of money from the diaspora was a major factor in the economic reconstruction of Italy in the 1970s, known as the 'miracolo'. Indeed, the primary motivation for postwar migrants was the opportunity to make enough money to finance a successful repatriation, which, depending on the region of origin, occurred for between a third and a half of all migrations.

Therefore, a major consideration, in interpreting the findings, is the migration stage and family life cycle stage of migrant cohorts. We know from the focus group and from the literature that the most recent migrants are young and so their parents are probably quite independent still. The flow of care-giving for this group is likely to be from home to host country, with homeland kin helping the new migrants to establish themselves abroad. Likewise, the postwar migrants are all entering their 70s now and so no longer have parents living in Italy. The post 1970s migrants have aging parents in need of transnational care-giving but they represent a small proportion of the Italian Australian population. Hence, while the findings of this survey would seem to indicate that the Italian connections of the diaspora in Australia may not be shaped by obligations to provide care, this may reflect circumstances that mean that the need to provide transnational care is not great at this particular moment in time. In addition, the predominance of second generation respondents presumably skews the results towards lower levels of care that would be common among the first generation.

Business and Professional Ties

This section shows the findings from the diaspora survey in relation to those questions that are specifically focused on business and professional engagement with Italy. The results show that only a small proportion of respondents have business and professional ties with Italy, with most of this group being involved in education or research about Italy. Despite this low level of connection, there were considerably more people who expressed both an interest in, and

capacity for, greater business and professional ties with Italy. A sizable minority (40 per cent) of respondents, for example, indicated that they were '…interested in developing business and/or professional links between Australia and Italy'. An even larger group said that they '…have a competitive advantage in doing business or professional work in Italy'.

While there is clearly not much going on in terms of business and professional connections with Italy, this apparent gap between actual engagement and an interest in connecting with Italy is one that requires further investigation and suggests there is much scope for increased involvement.

Conclusions

The findings from the survey and focus group of the Italian sample show that the Italian diaspora in Australia remain strongly defined through their connections with Italy and their Italian identity. These connections are expressed through feelings of closeness to Italy, use of Italian language, engagement with Italian cultural organizations, media and cultural products and through actual visits to Italy that are undertaken primarily for enjoyment or holidays and to strengthen family and friendship connections. The reasons for connections to Italy, however, are driven almost exclusively by family and friendship connections as well as cultural appreciation, although there is some evidence of connecting with Italy for business and professional reasons and further evidence of an interest and desire in developing these types of connections. There is little connection with Italy that is related to political and community involvement that is concerned with the development interests of Italy. However, there is considerable involvement in Italian community associations in Australia among the postwar migrant cohort. At the same time, there is evidence that one of the 'push' factors for initial migration to Australia has been unfavorable political and economic conditions in Italy. This is again currently the case given the dire economic conditions facing Italy in the current context.

Given the relative status of Italians in Australia and the generally positive regard in which Italian culture and identity is held by the broader community, it is worth noting that the vibrancy and 'health' of the Italian diaspora in Australia may be in large part self-sustaining, fuelled by the activities and networks of Italian migrants themselves and supported by the more or less global appeal of Italian fashion, food and the arts.

It is important to note that, in terms of connections with the homeland, the period of migration and stage in life cycle are major influences on the type of ties that are maintained with Italy and the reasons for which they are maintained. The most recent wave of young Italian migrants, for example, maintain relationships with Italy in a vastly different context than do their postwar predecessors. Thus, the character of the diaspora is one that is highly dynamic and heterogeneous, and one that is likely to be influential in shaping Australia/Italy connections and relations for the foreseeable future. We conclude this summary with a quotation from a first generation migrant who arrived in Australia in the 1990s who participated in the focus group discussion, which nicely encapsulates many of the key themes and findings in the survey, and in particular that family connections are the key driver of the Italian diaspora in Australia but that these connections contain and extend into links in other spheres, including business, economic and associational. In addition, it is through extended kin and friendship connections that the new migration from Italy is finding support among the earlier waves:

As far as I'm concerned, my connections with Italy are on two separate levels. The personal one, I have family in Italy, I have been in regular contact over these years and that's probably the major drive, but there is another important factor, that's my professional interest in Italy in the language and that means that I'm happy to read the papers, to follow what's going on in Italy and to keep up with any development because of my interest that comes from my professional interest as a teacher of Italian. So I call my family and I ensure that my children speak to their cousins, obviously because I want them to continue learning Italian and maintaining the Italian they've learnt so far. But at the same time I read the newspapers, I travel to Italy for work reasons and I have strong contacts with my home country. The two things may

be seen as separate, but in the end they come together. So I chose the University which is in my home town as the place where I send our students to learn Italian and that allows me to keep contact professionally with that university and at the same time when I visit my family I can combine the two interests. I've been lucky to be able to go to Italy regularly, so almost every year or every two years…. I can confirm that I also have received a big number of emails from people in Italy who want to come to Australia. They are asking me just… 'are you in Australia? ...I'd love to meet you, I got your name from such and such…'

Section 1: Background, Approach and Overview

1.1 Introduction

This report describes and discusses the results and findings of a survey and focus group discussion of the Italian Diaspora in Australia. These were undertaken as part of a broader study funded by the Australian Research Council: *Australian Diasporas and Brain Gain: Current and Future Potential Transnational Relationships.* The investigation of the Italian diaspora took place alongside research on the Macedonian, Italian and Vietnamese diasporas. Each diaspora was selected due to interest generated by particular communities. Further, each is distinctive according to Cohen's (1997) typology that classifies diasporas as 'victim', 'labour', 'trade', 'imperial' and 'cultural' diasporas. One intention of the project was to generate fruitful insights through comparisons between the four very different diasporas.

The Italian diaspora can be identified originally as both a 'labour' and arguably a 'victim' diaspora, although today it is probably more appropriately defined as a 'cultural' diaspora. It is also an important example of a European diaspora that formed primarily as an outcome of Australian post-war development policy in the 1950s, providing a useful comparison with diasporas from other world regions.

The project was implemented in collaboration with a number of community partners including the Co.As.It. Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne and the Italo-Australian Welfare and Cultural Centre in Perth as well as between researchers from four universities including the University of Adelaide, the University of Western Australia, La Trobe University and Victoria University as the administering University. Details of both the community partners and the collaborating researchers are listed in Appendix 1. A key feature of the project is it inter-disciplinary approach that brings together researchers with diverse disciplinary backgrounds including anthropology, political science, economics and geography and demography. As such, the design of the project methods sought to capture, through the lens of the varied perspectives, the multiple dimensions of what diasporas mean and how they are constituted and maintained in the Australian context.

This report is structured around presenting the literature on current thinking on the meaning of the term diaspora, describing the methods adopted in the study and presenting the results in relation to what it reveals about the extent to which the Italian diaspora identifies and connects with the homeland today, how this is manifest and why. Further, the report also explores the potential for promoting transnational connections in relation to policy priorities of both the Australian and Italian Government. The following section starts with a discussion of the Italian diaspora in Australia, its characteristics and how the diaspora in Australia has been formed.

1.2 Approach and the Literature

In the context of globalization, the role of diasporas has been increasingly brought into focus as a potentially powerful and important social, economic and cultural phenomenon. What diasporas actually mean, however, is contested within the literature and there is varied usage of the term depending on the purpose for which it is applied. At its simplest, the term refers to the scattering of people from their homelands into new communities across the globe (Braziel 2008 p. 24). Traditionally, diaspora was used specifically to describe the exile of the Jews from their Holy Land and their dispersal throughout the world. Over recent decades, however, the term has been applied more widely and generally refers to the, '…connection between groups across different nation states whose commonality derives from an original but maybe removed homeland' (Anthias 1998 p. 560). This connection may be restricted to those who have been forced from a homeland, in line with the term's earlier

meaning. More broadly, diaspora refers to a social condition, a form of consciousness or, as Waters (1995) describes, an embodiment of transnationalism.

Almost by definition, the term is an obscure concept. Diasporas are informal in character and the effects of diasporas are intangible. They are also dynamic and changing and as Braziel (2008 p. 158) describes, they are…'fractured sites of belonging, participation, disenfranchisement, identification or disidentifications'. Neither is the relationship between diasporas and globalisation necessarily clear in that they are not simply the product of globalisation processes but have productive powers in themselves. Given the fluidity of the term, it is often used interchangeably with other terms such as 'transnationalism' or 'global capitalism' (Braziel 2008). It is also deployed within a political context and as put forward by Lee (2006), the concept is 'flexible' in that it is commonly constructed strategically depending on the interests of a given diaspora. For example, in a major report comparing diaspora strategies internationally to inform Irish diaspora policy development, Aikins, Sands et al. (2009 p. 6) define the Irish diaspora as, '…a global tribe united by history, culture and shared experiences and networked through technology'. Aside from the use of the term 'tribe', this report also refers to the 'Global Irish' and the 'Irish diaspora' interchangeably building a narrative that conveys a strong sense of connection between the diaspora and the homeland as part of a policy objective to harness attention, money and knowledge towards Ireland.

Combined, these factors mean that the term diaspora is one that is often used loosely within the literature and is applied not only to those that maintain connections with a national homeland, but to a range of collectivities and phenomena that have formed through global and transnational movement, including such groupings as student (Asmar 2005), intellectual (Teferra 2005; Welch 2008) and management diasporas (Tung 2008; Kitching, Smallbone et al. 2009). Despite these vagaries and problems, there have been progressive attempts to usefully define the term for the purpose of analysis.

In an attempt to deal with the definitional problems arising from the increasingly wide and loose use of the term diaspora, Butler (2001) brings together key areas of agreement amongst diaspora scholars to propose a definition that is both useful in making clear distinctions between diasporas and other groups, as well as to be able to compare one diaspora with another so that the processes that form diasporas can be discerned. This definition identifies four key features (Saxenian 2005 p. 192). These include:

- Dispersal from an original homeland to a minimum of two or more destinations;
- The sustained relationship to an actual or imagined homeland;
- A self-awareness of the group's identity that binds the dispersed people not only to the homeland but to each other as well; and
- The diaspora's existence over at least two generations.

A further discussion within the literature is around making distinctions between 'classical' disporas most commonly exemplified by the Jewish diaspora and contemporary diasporas (Saxenian 2005; Hugo 2006). For the purposes of this project, Cohen's typology of diasporas provides a useful framework for distinguishing not only between more recent diasporas than those that have a longer history, but also those that have formed as an outcome of varied political, economic and social conditions and circumstances (Cohen 1997 p. x). Cohen's 'types' include the five categories of victim, labour, trade, imperial and cultural diasporas. While this typology is not intended as a rigid or tidy prescription of diasporas, it is a useful characterisation for this diaspora project which has selected diasporas partly for their differences and on the assumption that much will be revealed by comparing the characteristics of different types.

According to Cohen's (1997) typology, victim diasporas are characterised by the catastrophic origins of dispersal from homelands and where people left homelands as refugees. The Jewish, Sudanese and Vietnamese diasporas exemplify this type. Labour diasporas refer to those that left homelands due to a lack of economic opportunities and in search of work. The Italian diaspora is a historical example of this type, while Indian and Pacific diasporas are current representations. Within this category, Cohen (1997 p. xii) also refers to powerful nation states that establish overseas as part of an imperial quest. The British are identified as being particularly characteristic of establishing overseas settlements. Trade diasporas describe '...networks of proactive merchants who transport, buy and sell their good over long distances...' (Cohen 1997 p. xii). Examples include Chinese, Lebanese and Indian diasporas whose dispersal is largely an outcome of selling goods overseas. In addition, there is a category of 'cultural diasporas' which is identified as important due the fragmented and postcolonial nature of diasporas that are tied more by life-style, literature, political ideas and music than by permanent migration. Carribean diasporas is the example used by Cohen (1997), but in the Australian context, Pacific Island and Italian diasporas might also be typified by culture as much as by being a labour diaspora. Overall, the intent of the typology is to provide a taxonomy for theorising the nature, influence and impacts of diasporas within a given context. The following section reviews how diasporas are discussed within diverse bodies of literature and why they have come into focus across a number of public policy realms.

1.3 Diasporas and Public Policy

Due to their character as a phenomenon with multiple dimensions, capacities and formations, diasporas have been explored through diverse bodies of literature in response to emerging public policy imperatives. While there are relationships between each of the dimensions identified below, diasporas are not limited to, but are increasingly seen as an important mechanism for:

- enhancing international economic development and 'brain circulation' within and between knowledge economies as well as being a source of remittances and investment in the homeland through tourism (Saxenian 2005);
- a site of political organization for or against the interests of homeland governments or as advocates for the interests of the diaspora in Australia and/or in other receiving countries (Sheffer 2003);
- a vehicle for the provision of transnational care and welfare (Konwiser, Kavanagh et al. 2001; Baldassar, Baldock et al. 2007); and
- the maintenance of culture, language and religious practices generating both freedoms and restraints for its members and host communities (Lee 2003).

Each of these policy dimensions are of interest to this study and the approach to the research was guided by the need for attention to the mix of implications. The most obvious of which is the economic dimensions of diasporas, their formation and impacts.

Economic

The importance of understanding diasporas in terms of their economic impact through remittances, trade, investment, employment and entrepreneurship is the most clear reason for investigating diasporas from the point of view of government and industry. As Braziel (2008 p. 37) points out, The Global Commission on International Migration reports that economic migrants add $240 billion annually to the economies of their home countries, while spending more than $2 trillion in their host nations. This interest is intensified by the emergence of the 'knowledge economy' and the importance of human capital in the development of any one nation. As Brown and Lauder (2006 p. 50) describe,

> The dominant view today is that we have entered a global knowledge economy, driven by the application of new technologies and collapsing barriers to international trade and investment, accelerating the evolutionary path from a low to a high skills economy. Becker (2002) has depicted an 'age of human capital', where the prosperity of individuals and nations rests on the skills, knowledge and enterprise of all rather than the elite few that drove industrial capitalism in the twentieth century.

In line with this economic transition, 'brain drain' has been a long held preoccupation and perceived threat by many governments. The threat, and one which remains a major issue particularly in poorer countries, is the net loss of the most skilled 'brains' necessary for the functioning and development of services and industry. This loss is also a major loss of investment in education. 'Brain gain' describes the benefits that accrue to receiving countries that are able to encourage and attract skilled migrants in ways that can match labour market demands and support economic growth. Brown and Lauder (2006) refer to 'magnet economies' such the USA, Canada, Australia, the UK, France, Germany and New Zealand that are able offer better conditions and opportunities for work and study.

The idea of 'brain circulation' has emerged in critique of 'brain drain/gain' and the central assumption that emigration is necessarily one way and permanent, or a net gain or loss to any one nation (Saxenian, 2002, 2005). 'Brain circulation' encompasses the ways in which there are potential 'win/win' outcomes of emigration through remittances, and knowledge transfer in terms of enhanced skills, personal connections and ideas for innovation and trade associated with return migration (Vinokur 2006). Further, it brings into focus new and increasingly common forms of migration that are often temporary, pendular or circulatory in movement. These movements can be an outcome of employment of multinational contracting arrangements, international student migration or a host of other forms of mobility that are increasingly common in a globalised economy.

The 'diaspora effect' is seen as one example of how brain circulation can have a positive effect through further enhancing the transfer of knowledge. Dispersed nationals abroad can act as a conduit for flows of knowledge and information back to the home country, and social and other links increase the probability that knowledge will continue to flow back even after individuals move back or move away. In studies of the 'high skilled', the effect is that diaspora networks can play a critical role in developing science, technology and innovation in the sending countries (Jackling and Keneley 2009).

Rauch (2003) notes that diasporas promote trade, investment and knowledge transfer by two mechanisms: firstly, diasporas create trusting trading partners which is particularly important in weak international legal environments and secondly, diasporas possess valuable market information in both home and host countries. This builds on Cohen's (1969) idea that diasporas build trust by establishing "moral communities" with commercial bonds similar to those bonds that exist within extended families. Thus, diaspora networks can promote trade and knowledge exchange because economic agents are familiar with the market needs in their host and origin countries. They can provide important information to foreign investors, which may otherwise be difficult or costly to obtain. In addition, they reduce communication barriers. Migrants know the language, culture, laws and the business practices of their home country. In sum, diaspora networks reduce transaction costs of international economic activities.

Governments world-wide have implemented diverse strategies in order to harness the potential for knowledge transfer, trade opportunities and international collaboration of expatriates overseas with varying degrees of success. Such strategies have varied according to context, and for poorer countries, the dominant approach has been to develop incentives and inducements for skilled emigrants to return home. As Larner (2007) documents, such strategies have not met with great success and the approach generally has shifted to trying to stay connected with the diaspora through physical and technologically enhanced networks and incentives to return for

short periods. Nonetheless, Johnson and Sedaca, (2004) provide a useful compendium of diaspora-development linkages and associated programmatic activities, challenges and possible policy implications. Overall, the diaspora emanating from any one nation or homeland is seen as a rich site of human capital essential for the economic development within the knowledge economy.

Political

A key related theme, both of the broader project and within the literature, surrounds the political dimensions of diasporas and the potential influence that diasporas can wield both in the country of settlement but also on homeland governments. Accordingly, one theme in the literature is concerned with the election of homeland governments and the influence of the diasporic vote on who is elected to power (Cutler 2001). Most notably in recent years, was the deciding influence of the diaspora vote on the 2008 Italian elections (Griffin 2006; Mascitelli, Steele et al. 2010). There is also exploration in the literature of how diasporas seek to bring about favourable policies for their homelands in the receiving countries (The Economist 2003). This is explored as both an opportunity, through building positive international relations through diaspora networks, or a threat to national integration (Xiang and Shen 2009). The extent of influence of the diaspora is of particular and growing importance given the potential of communication technologies to strengthen diasporas whereas previously, their influence declined in correlation with distance from the homeland and the degree of global dispersion of its members (The Economist 2003). At a broader political economic level, the literature is concerned with the movements of diasporas, its influence on broader homeland political conflict and power relations, as well of those of receiving countries (Cutler 2001). Within the political sciences, the politics of diaspora represent a challenge to theories of political organisation and development. As Sandler (2003) explores, the Jewish diaspora exemplifies the difficulties in defining the scope and influence of diaspora diaspora. Since 1948 one could speak of a Jewish state, a Jewish nation, a Jewish diaspora, a Jewish people, Jewish communities, and both Jewish national and international or transnational organizations, all existing concurrently. Sandler (2003) conceptualises the Jewish diaspora as encompassing unique interests and power, a distinct structure of interdependence, and a normative value system. While the political and economic literature explores the significance and meanings of diasporas in its tangible, measureable and public impacts, there is a growing body of literature that approaches the topic as a private phenomenon emanating through cultural and kinship structures and private and domestic relationships.

Kinship

The theme of kinship is explored through the fields of anthropology, history and political science that identifies family, blood line, religious or ethnic connections as the central driver of diaspora formation, processes and maintenance. This is an emerging field of research that critiques the preoccupation with the 'macro' and utilitarian dimensions of diasporas that are concerned primarily with the 'rational choice' elements of diasporas and their motivations for connection between a diaspora and homeland. Such a preoccupation disguises the very powerful non-economic factors that are highly influential in decision making about transnational movement and migration. Baldassar (2007) for example, focuses on the migrancy of ageing and examines the competing attachments that people have to diverse people and places within families. Through this lens,

> …it becomes clear that many non-economic factors are highly influential in decisions to migrate…it can be hard to disentangle political, socio-cultural and economic reasons to move, and that migrants are involved in a wide range of 'transnational' activities as migratory movements are not discrete, unilateral or linear. (Baldassar 2007 p. 280)

This perspective helps to foreground the private and domestic spheres of transnational processes and interactions, which are often overshadowed by a preoccupation with public and political realms (Gardner & Grillo 2002). Shain (2007) similarly highlights how both subjective and objective factors shape transnational identity

and the communal politics of the Jewish diaspora and works from the idea that '…kinship affinities and loyalties remain the hallmark of organised politics and conflict' (2007 p. 2). Shain (2007) argues that kinship elements have been largely neglected in traditional international relations scholarship, which bases its understanding of state behaviour on limited assumptions about a state's identity and interests. In a similar vein, Lee (2003) explores the tensions and strength of the formation of a Tongan identity in Australia and the maintenance of diasporic links with a broader Tongan and Polynesian diaspora that is tenuously connected to the actual homeland. Such tensions are reproduced through strong kinship, communal, religious and political affiliations that are enmeshed with economic imperatives.

Here we might revisit Rauch's (2003) and Cohen's (1969) arguments outlined above, about how diasporas promote trade, investment and knowledge transfer, and build trust by establishing "moral communities" with commercial bonds similar to those in extended families. In many cases, it is the kin connections and family bonds that facilitate and promote the economic and political exchange rather than vice versa. Overall, the theme of this literature is to emphasise the various layers of transnational movement that is only partially driven by 'rational economic decision-making'. The intention is to build a holistic and often 'bottom up' perspective of the character of diasporas and the mechanisms that drive their formation.

Inter-Disciplinary Perspective

The approach to this study has been informed broadly by each of these disciplinary insights. Diasporas are understood as people who are dispersed across the globe yet are linked by a connection to a common homeland which may or may not continue to exist. These links are generated through entangled combinations of common histories, kinship ties and obligations, political interests, economic imperatives, cultural and ethnic identity and language. In both a global and local context, diasporas play a role in shaping the political, economic and social landscape and have powers that are both intangible and frequently benign, yet often significant and pervasive in their impact on Australia's connections with other world regions, flows of global finance, domestic and international politics and the cultural character of local and regional communities. In a period of unprecedented mobility, diasporas play an important role in shaping identity, economic transactions, international relations and transnational care networks. A key objective of this project is to explore the nature and extent of transnational ties of four selected diasporas in Australia. This report is specifically focused on the Italian diaspora and the findings of a survey of this group. Before discussing the actual survey, the following section gives some background about Italy and the Italian diaspora in Australia.

1.4 Italy and the Italian Diaspora in Australia

Characteristics of Italy, Migration History Across the World and Characteristics of the Italian Population in Australia

Italian immigration to Australia can be categorised into five main time periods: early (1800s); pre-(Second World) war (1900-1945); postwar (1950s-1960s); recent (post 1970s) and the so-called 'new' migration comprising primarily working holiday and 457 visa holders (post 2000).

The earliest arrivals comprised a modest number of explorers, missionaries and colonialists, the latter with the vain hope of establishing the 'interests' of official Italy in the region. Along with the trickle of labour migrants who also began arriving in the first half of the 19th Century, these pioneers were geographically dispersed throughout the Australian colonies and together they represented a wide variety of occupations in both the professions (including religion, architecture and the arts) and manual labour (both skilled and unskilled). Italian authorities only began developing the framework for a policy of migration and economic penetration in the region after the unification of Italy in 1861. Previous arrivals had come largely on their own initiative. The first example of an

Italian group settlement occurred in 1885, when 217 survivors of the ill-fated Marquis de Ray's expedition established a settlement, New Italy, in northern New South Wales. Coming mainly from the Veneto and Friuli regions and a tragically failed attempt to set up an Italian colony in an island of the Bismark Archipelago, near New Guinea, these refugees were initially refused assistance by the NSW government, which, in line with colonial and later state and federal policies, objected to the establishment of immigrant enclaves, particularly non-English speaking ones, because of the threat they were believed to pose to Australian society. They were initially contracted out to English-speaking employers throughout the colony but by 1882 the majority had joined up again to form the New Italy settlement, which in 1888 boasted 250 residents (Jupp 2001).

It was not until the gold rush in Victoria in the 1850s and in Western Australia in the 1890s that Italians (mainly from the northern provinces of Lombardy and the Swiss Ticino) started settling in Australia in relatively significant numbers. Among them were a handful of liberal and republican refugees of the revolutions of 1848, the first of a number of political refugees encouraged to leave Italy by Italian authorities who saw emigration as a safety valve against political unrest. By the end of the century, most Italian migrants worked as unskilled labour and were concentrated in Queensland and Western Australia in the sugar and mining industries respectively. The first Italians to receive assisted passages arrived in 1891, under trial, to replace the labour shortage left after the outlawing of 'black-birding' – the virtual slave trade in Pacific Islander indentured labour in the sugar cane industry in far north Queensland (Douglass 1995; Jupp 2001). This group of over 300 Piedmontese, Lombards and Veneti were only admitted after failed attempts to attract British, German and Scandinavian immigrants. The Queensland parliament approved the scheme on condition that there would be no indentures and that all recruits came from north of Leghorn. The preference for northern Italians, thought to have 'fairer' skin colour and hence to be more assimilable than their southern counterparts, continued until the middle of the 20th Century. Consequently, there were slightly more northerners than migrants from all other central and southern regions. These arrivals laid the foundations of multiple Italian labour or proletarian diasporas in Australia, linked through circulatory migration patterns to Italians in other countries.

Pre-War

The First World War disrupted immigration flows. The alliance between Italy and Australia, under the secret Treaty of London, saw thousands of migrants returned to their homeland, in many cases forcibly, to participate in the war effort. The end of the war and the prospect of unemployment for the many returned soldiers inspired the establishment of the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Scheme, an ambitious project to cultivate water scarce lands around Griffith, New South Wales, in what was eventually to become Australia's largest block of intensive farming land. Grants of land, initially given to ex-servicemen, most of whom lacked farming experience, were eventually sold to the steady stream of Italians arriving in the 1920s and 1930s. By 1954, Italians, nearly all of whom had employment histories ideally suited to this kind of work, owned nearly half of the farms in the district.

The first significant numbers of Italian immigrants began arriving after the First World War, forced out of Italy by severe economic difficulties and rising political disquiet and propelled towards Australia by the 1921 and 1924 US immigration restrictions, as well as the growing propaganda about good wages and working conditions. Despite Australia's need for workers and Italy's need for emigration, the Australian Federal Government set a quota for Italian migration at 2 per cent of white English-speaking arrivals in order to placate fears that a larger intake would undermine the Anglo-Australian character of the population. A total of 23,233 Italians, 84 per cent of whom were men, arrived in Australia between 1922 and 1930. Following traditional seasonal migration patterns to neighbouring European countries, these, mainly single men, intended to return to their hometowns. The much greater distance from Italy meant that their regular circular migration patterns were extended, with the migrants spending several years in Australia before going home, or disrupted entirely with the migrant deciding to settle permanently. One result of these new migration patterns was that women began migrating in much greater

numbers with females representing a record 43 per cent of arrivals of the total Italian immigration to Australia between 1931 and 1940, compared to 16 per cent for the period 1922-1930.

The serious economic depression that hit Australia at the beginning of the 1930s had a moderating effect on overall immigration figures, such that by 1945 and the outbreak of World War II, the Italian community was estimated at less than 40 000, approximately 75 per cent of whom were born in Italy. Although there were slightly more northerners than central and southern Italians, the vast majority came from similarly impoverished provinces that were not new to migration – Alessandra in Piedmont; Sondrio, Bergamo, Brescia and Mantua in Lombardy; Vicenza, Treviso and Belluno in the Veneto; Udine in Friuli; Lucca in Tuscany; Bari in Apulia; Reggio di Calabria in Calabria; and Messina and Catania in Sicily (cf Cresciani in Jupp, 2001:501). Their worker-peasant backgrounds, which afforded them both farming skills and experience in the manual labour market, led two-thirds to settle in rural Australia where they worked in agriculture, viticulture, mining and on railway-building sites. Urban dwellers were employed in a range of industries including fishing, food, garment and construction with very high rates of self-employment (52.8 per cent in 1933).

Italians were not distributed evenly across the employment sector and, despite government hostility to ghettoisation, there was a high degree of residential concentration. Cultural, linguistic, and especially economic factors meant living in close proximity was the most effective strategy for success. In addition, Italians were subjected to hostility and prejudice from the majority population, as a less desired immigrant group who were feared as indentured and scab labour. Italian miners in Western Australia, especially, were widely suspected of having been sponsored by mining companies and local padroni, a claim which was invalidated by both government inquiries into non-British labour (1902 and 1904). A similar enquiry, which also vindicated the Italians, took place in North Queensland in 1925. Kalgoorlie, a mining town in Western Australia, is a key site in the history of racisms against Italian migrants. Mob rioting against Italian residents took place in August 1919 and in January 1934, resulting in the destruction of property, many casualties, and even some deaths.

Hostility towards Italians was both reinforced by and contributed to the growing fascist movement in Australia. By 1939 Italians were widely considered to be a potential threat to the security of Australia, a fifth column within the nation. While a sturdy set of anti-fascist Italian-Australians agitated against the movement, it eventually gained considerable support among the general Italian population as, according to Cresciani (2003 p. 81), it appeared to hold promise for ‘a new determination to defend their economic interests and political rights and to counter the threats posed to their religion, language and traditions by a largely hostile social and political environment’. Supported by the Catholic Church and Italian priests, fascist branches were established wherever there was a sizable Italian community between 1926 and 1928 bringing a kind of unity to Italian-Australians that they had not known before.

This support for fascism, along with general hostility towards Italians, eventuated in the massive internment of Italian immigrants during the World War II. By the end of the war, over 4,700 Italians had experienced internment, approximately 15 per cent of Australia's Italians, of whom 1009 were Australian-born or had become British subjects (Bosworth and Ugolini 1992). Under the National Security Act of September 1939, the Government was able to pass laws that over-rode the citizenship rights of individuals, especially any individual who was thought to jeopardise national security. Ironically, a high degree of 'assimilation' into the wider community, for example, through community leadership and citizenship, was used as justification for internment. Australia also became ‘home’ to over 18,000 Italian prisoners of war who were housed in detention camps until almost 15,000 were later billeted out to rural properties to help relive the shortage of manpower in the industry. Many returned later as migrants (Cresciani 2003 p. 110).

Post-war

Postwar emigration was to be the major and most significant role Australia played in the history of the wider Italian diaspora. In this period Italy became the major single source country of non-British migrants to Australia. Due to profound postwar poverty, Italians were encouraged to emigrate by the more moderate of their leaders in Italy, who also put pressure on the US to loosen the restrictions enforced since the early 1920s. While Italy had always viewed Australia's immigration policies as racist, they also saw Australia as a 'land of opportunity'. Australia needed some convincing, however, as the White Australia policy was still in place and the new immigration program was to be focused on Europe north of the Alps (cf Bosworth in Jupp, 2001). In 1947, only 22,506 males and 11,126 females were officially recorded as residing in Australia.

Eventually though, Australia's need for immigration and defense, the drying up of its preferred source of immigrants, and interest from Italy, saw diplomatic relations, which had been broken since 1940, resume in July 1948 with discussions about the possibility of admitting 'northern' Italians, although the intake of some 'southern' Italians thought to be suited to work in the tropics, was also considered. While the US was less than enthusiastic about Italian immigration to its shores, it did play a significant role in the facilitation and financing of migration schemes to other countries and was able to put some pressure on Australia to take Italians. Already, 33,280 Italians had used their own chain migration networks to get to Australia between 1947 and 1950, and this number was to significantly increase with the introduction of the 1951 bilateral accord of the Assisted Migration Agreement, which, for the first time in White Australia's history, allowed the entry of significant numbers of what were then considered 'less-desirable' immigrants from Italy.

The accord promised the arrival of 20,000 assisted migrants a year for five years, with each government contributing 25 per cent of costs. The first quota of arrivals was to be young, male and healthy, as well as absent of political extremists. The prospect of later 'family reunion' was also offered, no doubt designed to meet the Australian government's preference for settlers, thought to be assured through the migration of women and families. The Italian government was especially pleased with the accord's guarantee of two years employment for each recruit. For their part, the Australian government was nervous about how public opinion would respond to such a radical change in immigration policy and was careful to publicise the accord along with one simultaneously signed with the allegedly more 'racially desirable' Netherlands and followed swiftly by agreements with Germany and Austria. The Assisted Passage Accord was suspended in 1952 due to the downturn in Australia's economy and increasing racial tensions in camps resulting from immigrant unrest about conditions and lack of work opportunities. When the economy eventually revived, British, German and Dutch assisted migration resumed, but it was not until December 1954 that Australian authorities reinstated the accord with Italy. However, by this time Australia's popularity as a destination had lost out to North America, Northern Europe and eventually, to the northern industrial zones of Italy itself.

Unlike in the pre-war periods, the bulk of the postwar entries were from small towns and villages in rural areas of southern regions – Sicily, Calabria, the Abruzzi and Campania. People migrated primarily in search of a living and a better income, although, like the vast majority of earlier Italian migrants, they ultimately intended (initially, at least) to establish themselves back in the homeland. Despite the government's best efforts to retain settlers, significant numbers of Italians returned to Italy or departed for another destination. Some 90,000, just under one quarter, of postwar Italian arrivals between 1947 and 1980 left again (Thompson 1980 p. xi). The relatively high rates of Italian return migration or 'settler loss' (33.5 per cent between 1960-1969) were alarming to the Australian government, given its policy of settler migration, and inspired a number of government enquires into the issue.

'Recent' (post 1970s)

The dismantling of the White Australia policy in the 1970s saw the removal of any official criteria based on notions of race or colour in the immigration program, but coincided with increased restrictions and a reduction in overall immigration numbers. These changes to Australian immigration rules, together with the markedly improved economic and social conditions in Italy, which has itself become a country of immigration for migrants from Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, caused a substantial decrease in Italian immigration from the 1970s until very recently. Italians arriving in this period were migrating for career, lifestyle and/or love. In contrast to earlier migration waves, they were mainly professionals from the middle classes who are more likely to retain formal connections to Italy through professional and business associations, and who tend not to define themselves as migrants but as cosmopolitans or global citizens. They are generally not connected through chain migration networks to the established Italian-Australian communities with whom they associate primarily through friendships with, or marriages to, the Australian-born children of this group.

The 'New' Migration

In the last decade, there has been a noticeable spike in Italian entries on working holiday visas, many of whom hope to eventually settle permanently in Australia by obtaining work sponsorship through the 457 visa category. The current economic crisis in Italy, and Europe more generally, has created a significant set of 'push' factors as people under the age of 30 are forced to look for opportunities outside Italy. The size of this group has risen dramatically in recent years from 1,106 entrants in 2006 to 3,178 in 2011 (Markus 2012). This is concurrent with a 64 per cent increase in Italian applications for 457 visas (Business – long stay visas) from 2011 to 2012 (DIAC 2012). These migrants, being young and often single, are highly mobile and extremely technologically literate. These attributes arguably make the term 'migrant' less pertinent to describe them as they appear to be very much transnational actors, strongly connected to both their home and host societies. Interestingly, given their limited wealth, they often try to find support from the older established postwar migrant communities in Australia by asking for cheap accommodation and help to find employment.

The now well-settled and largely economically successful postwar migrants and their upwardly mobile second generation children along with the post 1970s and the 'new' transnational migrant arrivals, contribute to a vibrant Italian cultural diaspora characterised by multiple identities and ties to Italy, Australia and Italian settlements in other countries. The 'Italian-Australian community' is quite visible today and has developed through a combination of factors including the success of multicultural politics with its positive focus on ethnic identity, the maturation of the postwar second generation and the rising international profile of Italy, all of which have contributed to the development of a consumable, popular and marketable italianità that has also influenced what it means to be Australian today.

Demography

One of the legacies of the White Australia policy is that despite having one of the most diverse citizenries in the world, and notwithstanding proportionally high levels of Asian immigration over the last few decades and into the future, residents of Anglo-Celtic ethnic origin will remain numerically dominant and are projected to comprise above 60 per cent of the total population by 2025 (Jones in Jayasuriya, Walker et al. 2003 p. 126). During the period 1947-1974, more than 3.2 million settlers came to Australia and of these less than 40 per cent were born in Britain. The Italian born, who numbered 356,900 (11.1 per cent of all settler arrivals in the period) were the next largest migrant group. People of Italian background still comprise the largest origin group in Australia after those of British-Irish ancestry.

At the beginning of the 20th Century there were approximately 8,000 Italians in Australia, most of who lived in rural districts. Between 1922 and 1930, some 25,000 people left Italy for Australia. The Italian born population of

Australia rose from 33,632 in 1947 to 120,000 in 1954 and had expanded to 228,000 by 1961, reaching a peak of 289,476 in 1971. By the census of 1996, the figure had declined to 238,263 and in 2001 it had fallen to 218,718 (1.2 per cent of the total Australian population) due to a combination of deaths occurring in the ageing population, repatriations and limited migration from Italy to Australia. These figures do not include the second and subsequent Australian-born generations and therefore do not account for the social reality that identity is not defined by birthplace alone. In 1996, the second generation (at least one parent born in Italy) numbered 334,036, almost 100,000 more than the first generation. In 2001, the figure had risen to 355,200, representing 44.4 per cent of the total Italo-Australian population and over 136 000 more than the first generation, which comprised 30.9 per cent. An estimated 197,600 Australian-born of Australian-born parents claimed Italian ancestry (ABS, 2003). In 2006, the Italian born Australian population was close to 200,000 (ABS 2006), with 852,421 people claiming Italian ancestry. This means that around 4.3 per cent of Australians claim Italian ancestry, and while the Italian born population has declined in the last ten years, those who claim Italian ancestry continue to rise.

Given the age of the first generation postwar cohort, the numbers in the second generation have almost stopped growing, while those in the third generation (at least one grandparent born in Italy) are increasing. Arriving predominantly in the 1950s and 60s, mainly as young adults, the postwar Italian born population is now concentrated in the 50-69 age bracket. The ageing of post-war migrant communities in Australia is particularly alarming as almost all of the first generation will be over 65 in the next decade. In 1991, almost 48 per cent of the Italian born in Australia were over 55. The growing proportion of Italian older people is higher than in the broader population. While people aged 65 or more comprised 12 per cent of the total Australian population in 1999 and are projected to form one-quarter by 2051, the proportion of Italian born in this age group had reached 40 per cent in 2001 (ABS 2002).

The demographic history of Italo-Australia reveals a common gender pattern with a marked predominance of men in the early and pre-war periods. With no intention of settling, there was little economic sense in bringing out wives, fiancés or family. Women accounted for just 11 per cent of the Italian born population at the end of the 19th Century. The imbalance between the sexes in the first quarter of the 1900s was greatest in Western Australia, due to the younger age of the settlements and the inhospitable conditions of the Kalgoorlie gold mines, which attracted the largest concentrations of Italians in the state (Gentilli 1983 p. 18). By the mid 1930s, women still only made up one quarter of the Italian born and in 1947, on the eve of mass migration, one third. The gender imbalance changed dramatically, however, in the postwar period. Almost as many women as men arrived in Australia between 1954 and 1971. Figures from the 1971 Census show that by then women accounted for 45 per cent of the Italian born population, reflecting the way Australia's immigration policy had become 'infected' by family ideology (de Lepervanche 1991 p. 141). Just as at the beginning of White settlement, when British women migrants were wanted as wives and mothers to assert a stabilising influence on society, similarly, in the 1950s and 1960s Australian governments began to encourage the immigration of Italian women in a bid to redress the gender imbalance, create family units, stem repatriation and facilitate the process of assimilation.

Language

Although over 200 languages are spoken in Australia (64 of which being indigenous or groups of indigenous languages) and despite the adoption of a formal National Language Policy in 1987 to encourage bilingualism and the maintenance of community languages, Australia is substantively a mono-lingual nation where only 16 per cent of the population speak a language other than English in the home, including 11.6 per cent of those aged under 14 (Clyne and Kipp 2002 p. 29). While at the end of World War II, Italian was only taught at the University of Sydney, by the late 1980s it had become Australia's and Australians' preferred second language, easily the most taught and studied language other than English, particularly at the primary and secondary levels (Lo Bianco in Jupp, 2001 p. 510). Italian remains the most widely used community language throughout Australia with

316,900 speakers (1.3 per cent) identified in the 2006 census (a decline from 440,776 in 1987), followed by Greek, Cantonese, Arabic, Mandarin and Vietnamese. Italian represents the largest group of speakers in Melbourne (38.1 per cent of the national total), Perth and Adelaide, is the second largest in Canberra and Tasmania, and the fourth largest in Sydney. The teaching of Italian in Australia has seen a decline in lieu of a move away from community languages to what has been called a 'pragmatic Asianist' approach defined by a focus on regional economic interests. The 2001 census revealed a continuing shift away from a primarily European community language demography established during the large intake of the immediate postwar period towards one based on the languages of the Middle East and Asia (Clyne 2003).

Italian in Australia has been gauged as having an intermediate rate of language shift to English due to an interplay of forces which are partly demographic (linked to migration) and partly cultural (linked to the socio-economic particularities of both countries) (Bettoni and Rubbino 1996). The forces that facilitate the shift away from Italian language are numerous and include the geographic distance from Italy, the ageing of the first generation, the lack of new immigrants and the perceived cultural distance between the two countries, along with the limited accommodation of Italian language within the Catholic Church in Australia, and the structure of Australian social mobility which is linked to the dominance of Anglo-Celtic culture at the expense of other cultural forms (including Italian). The maintenance of standard Italian was impeded by the relatively marginal role of the language in community life, which does not appear essential to the continuation of Italian group identity, and was also not assisted by the negative perceptions of the dialect. The factors that constrain the shift to English are less numerous and consequently less forceful. They include the relative unity of the Italian community and its settlement pattern of high concentration in certain areas, the high levels of endogamy, even in the second generation, and strong family ties. In general, gender, age and social clubs are factors that reduce the shift in the first generation only. Social and economic transactions, school life and church activities only help to sustain Italian language use if and when they do not involve other languages. It is too soon to say whether the recent and 'new' migrations will have a significant impact on Italian language retention in Australia, particularly as English remains the dominant global language and is likely to be spoken well by new arrivals. Research is also needed into the impact of the social uses of new communication technologies and whether these have a positive impact on second language retention.

High rates of maintenance of Italian have been identified among the first generation, including those who have been in Australia for over 20 years. In a 1981 publication, Ware (1981 p. 29) estimated that while 10 per cent of the Italian born make the shift exclusively to English, most use it at work, in daily social activities and (to a lesser extent) at home, with about 17 per cent having limited or no English (in this group 54 per cent are women over the age of 64). In 1996, 42 per cent of Italian born women aged 65 years and over could not speak English well and 12 per cent could not speak it at all. The remainder used both languages. Language ability, if poor, is known to deteriorate with age and about 40 per cent of the Australian population aged 60 years and over is composed of people whose first language is not English (MacKinnon 1998). Ware also identified considerable language attrition among the second generation which is largely correlated with age. Some 15 per cent of school age children of Italian immigrants used only English. This figure increased to 20 per cent in the 20-29 age group, 36 per cent for the 30-50 age group and 59 per cent for 50 years and over (Castles, Alcorso et al. 1992 p. 177). In the 2001 Census, the figure for children aged 0-14 years had dropped significantly to 6.7 per cent and 42 per cent for over 55. However, changes in the language question that year led to an underestimation of use (Clyne & Kipp, 2002 p. 30).

Statistics do not necessarily provide a comprehensive picture of speech activity, and research among Italians in Australia has revealed that a mixture of languages is used, particularly within the family environment, including different varieties of Italian and English, as well as switching between and mixing of these varieties (Chiro and Smolicz 2002). A dialect is likely the first language of most Italian born and it has been estimated that as many

as 45 per cent use a dialect habitually or exclusively. In addition to a dialect and the standard form of the language, linguists also identify two other varieties: popular Italian, which is essentially a standardised form of the various dialects, and Italo-Australian (Italian-Australian or Italiastralian), which is characterised by a mixture of English and other forms of Italian. In 1996, 40.2 per cent of second generation Italians aged 5 years and over spoke Italian at home (McDonald 1996). These figures belie the fact that, while many second generation individuals have limited language abilities, they are still enthusiastic about Italian language and culture and so offer some promise of support to its future viability in Australia.

While a dialect is often the first language of the second generation, taught to them in infancy, English is the main language (regardless of regional background), thus making standard Italian not the second but the third language. A common pattern of language use found in most families is characterised by the migrant generation speaking Italian and the Australian-born responding in English. This choice of English language is not necessarily due to lack of Italian language ability, but more to established patterns of use and time efficiency. In addition, there is arguably limited social value for the second generation in maintaining Italian, because speaking another language contributes to their relegation to an ethnic minority group, rather than strengthening their position as members of the dominant 'Australian' majority. In general, a dialect is considered a language of inferior status associated with a negative, old and traditional Italy, it therefore tends to be used only in a few domestic situations and shows the greatest levels of decline. As time passes and as the first generation postwar cohort ages and disappears, regional ties and associations appear to be weakening as they are less likely to be maintained by the second generation. Standard Italian is considered more prestigious, and often used by parents to help their children learn the "proper" language, it is thus more strongly maintained, as it transcends both regional and generational differences and has developed a more positive image aided by Australian multicultural policies and the international standing of Italy. Standard Italian is also more likely to be the main language of the recent and new migrants.

Economic Activities

The vast majority of Italian migrants who came to Australia in the massive post-war immigration wave were not so much individuals intent on settlement in the new land, as members of transnational households enacting the tried and tested economic strategy of return-migration for the benefit of their extended families. The vast majority was from peasant-worker backgrounds, with both farming skills and experience in the manual labour market, and they joined the ranks of the working classes in Australia. This background instilled a strong preference for independence and self-employment, which, reinforced by hostility from the general population, led many into self-employment including shopkeeping, tailoring and construction. The household operated as a true family concern, everyone struggling together to 'get ahead'. This work ethic was particularly evident in family-run small businesses, which utilised the services of the youngest to the oldest. Individual goals and desires (like holidays and further study, particularly for women) took second priority to endeavours considered beneficial to the whole family (like paying off the family home or expanding the business). In contrast, recent migrants who can only enter Australia if they meet the strict migration criteria, are mainly professionals and lifestyle migrants. Working visa holders also must meet specific criteria. Data from the focus group suggest that many are keen to remain in Australia by searching for an employer to sponsor them on a 457 visa.

Community and Cultural Practices

Italians in Australia are not a homogenous nor necessarily close-knit group and can be differentiated in many ways including along village, provincial and regional lines, as well as according to gender, class, age, generation, place of settlement and most importantly, time or migration wave/cohort of arrival.

Regional differences still remain the most significant for the first generation determining dialect spoken, marriage partners, preferences in cuisine and, arguably, some differences in family and community relations. For example, Sicilians and Calabrians are often stricter with gender roles than are their northern counterparts. The north/south antagonisms so predominant in Italy are also evident among the Italian migrant population in Australia. For example, the first generation postwar migrants from all regions tend not to socialise with co-nationals from regions other than their own, although work arrangements and other forms of association, including competitive sports (bocce for the first generation and soccer for the second) and marriage patterns among the second generation, complicate this tendency.

The first generation postwar cohort preferred to marry people from their own villages and provinces and were more likely to marry Australians than Italians from other regions (Huber 1977). Marriages between parties whose ancestry stems from different ends of the Italian peninsula are much more common among the second generation than the first. Men often returned to their hometown to find a bride and when this was not possible, marriage by proxy was popular as it preserved the moral standing of the bride and offered some protection for both bride and groom from being jilted. Ironically, postwar Australian governments preferred to facilitate what they saw as the 'civilising' and 'reproductive' influence of female Italian migration, despite the fact that proxy marriages helped to foster strong, parochial, transnational ties and the potential formation of (greatly feared) 'ethnic' ghettos. An estimated 24,000 such marriages occurred in Australia ensuring a higher rate of provincial and home town endogamy than occurs in Italy and evidencing the gendered nature of immigration policy, rendering women the appendages of protective males, the patriarchal state or the Church (Iuliano 1999).

The Catholic Church is perhaps the most successful institution in bringing Italians from various regional backgrounds together. An event of particular importance in the Catholic calendar is the First Holy Communion where boys dress in their finest and girls in white dresses with the more traditional wearing veils. The family is the focus of ceremonies and celebrations for religious feast days, birthdays, graduations, anniversaries and often a regular Sunday lunch. Weddings and funerals provide occasion for large reunions. Townspeople often get together to celebrate an annual patron saint day, and regional and provincial associations celebrate similar annual events as well as organise a busy round of picnics, dinner dances, barbecues and bocce tournaments. The Catholic Church in Australia has become increasingly multicultural with many parishes offering masses in Italian, and in recent years has welcomed significant numbers of Asians.

Second Generation

Perhaps the most significant difference within the Italian community in Australia is between the generations. Italians are experiencing a significant change in the relationships between the generations as roles are shifting from one to the next, and the second generation is becoming the cultural brokers of their communities. They are also at a stage when the intergenerational flow of income support is being reversed, and the second generation are beginning to provide for their elders (McDonald 1996). There is some debate about how best to define the second generation. Statistical categories refer to them as Australian-born children with at least one overseas-born parent, while social definitions include those overseas-born who arrived in Australia during infancy or early childhood. Subjective definitions rely on people's self-identification and incorporate the possibility of 'multiple identities', and it is not uncommon for these individuals to feel both Italian and Australian, particularly since the advent of multicultural policies. Characterising the Italian second generation is also complicated by age, as in a strict sense this group includes individuals born in Australia to the 1920s and 30s migrants, as well as the much larger group of Australian-born children of the post-war migrants, the latter are generally the people we think of when referring to 'the second generation'.

The Australian-born children of Italian migrants, as with many other migrant children, were very much aware that the sacrifices and hardships their parents endured were largely for their benefit. Italians in general were very hard workers with high rates of self-employment and one of the lowest rates of unemployment, even in periods of economic recession. This knowledge generally instilled in the children a keen desire to achieve those culturally prescribed successes that would justify their parents' choices. In the Italian case, this meant gainful employment, preferably in self-employment or a profession, and a *sistemazione* through marriage, home ownership and parenthood.

The last four censuses clearly indicate relatively high levels of education among the second generation and an expansion into the professions and middle classes, similar to patterns found among the Australian born (McDonald 1996 p.36). In 1996, 43 per cent (aged 15 years and over) had some form of educational or occupational qualification, slightly higher than the figure for all Australians (41.9 per cent) and others of overseas-born parentage (40.7per cent), but considerably higher than the first generation (26 per cent). Second generation women (38.7 per cent) were less likely to have any qualifications than men (47.3 per cent), but more likely to have received higher qualifications (18.9 per cent compared to 16.4 per cent). A total of 17.6 per cent had received higher qualifications, slightly above the level for all Australians (16.5 per cent) and similar to the figure for all those of overseas-born parentage (17.3 per cent), but much higher than the Italian born (4.7 per cent). The 1981 Census indicated that Italian born Australians were still employed at lower levels in the labour hierarchy than the Australian-born, but also that they were doing better than the previous generations of immigrants.

A relatively high rate of in-marriage in the second generation has been retained (Price 1993). For the period 1947-1978, Italian in-marriage was just under 50 per cent for the first generation and approximately 30 per cent for the second (one parent born in Italy). During 1987-1992, around half of all second generation brides and grooms of Italian origin were marrying within their own ethnic community. This figure dropped to 40 per cent for the period 1996-98 (ABS, 1999). Along with the second generation from Greece, Lebanon and the Former Yugoslav Republic, Italian-ancestry brides and grooms have the greatest propensity for endogamy of all ethnic groups in Australia. In 1991, only 5.8 per cent of married persons born in Italy had a spouse born in Australia, and even some of these may have been of Italian origin. Thus, a very large majority of the second generation have parents who were both born in Italy, while only about one third of their children (the third generation) will have first- or second generation Italian parents (McDonald, 1996). In contrast to their parents' preference for a spouse from a specific regional or provincial background, the friendship networks and marriage partners among the Australian-born second and subsequent generations more easily cross the regional boundaries of their Italian born parents, as well as the north/south divide and, as a result, the first generation have formed relationships across regional boundaries through their children. In this and similar ways, the experience of living in Australia has resulted in regional identities becoming 'Italianised', and even 'Europeanised', perhaps more than they have in Italy.

Community Organisation and Structure: Political Associations and Activities

The various levels of organisation and structure in Italy are reflected in the immigrant community in Australia. The nation, region, province and commune represent four levels of administration in Italy and emigrant organisations exist at each level. According to Richard and Michal Bosworth (1990 p.70), "This multitude of clubs seems a sort of microcosm of the very idiosyncratic, multiparty, multi-faction, "clientalistic" political system which has operated in Italy since the fall of Fascism".

The kin and village based chain migration networks of the first generation postwar cohort fostered tight sub-communities that provided mutual support and assistance. Migrants regularly organised group activities and

reinforced social and community ties through the institution and rituals of *compadrazgo* (godparentage and wedding witnesses). Connections to broader provincial and regional networks were sedimented with the formation of regional clubs in the late 1960s and further enhanced by Italian regional interest in the 1990s. Regionalism has received a boost in recent years from Italian governments in Italy in the form of conferences and cultural activities.

At the national level there is political representation for Italians overseas through the *Consiglio Generale Italiani al Estero* (CGIE). Delegates from each country with a significant Italian population are voted onto this committee to provide representation to the Italian government. Italian government funding for Italians overseas, the bulk of which is spent on Italian cultural and welfare organisations, is administered through this body. ANEA, a non-government association for migrants and ex-migrants from Australia and America, also exists at the national level. Welfare agencies were established in the 1960s, the main ones being the Italian Committee of Assitance (Co.As.It), which has financial support from the Italian government, federal and state governments and the Italian community, the Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Emigrati e Famiglie (FILEF), the Associazione Nazionale Famiglie degli Emigranti (ANFE), the Associazione Cattolica Lavoratori Ialiani (ACLI), and the Italian Catholic Federation.

All the regional and most of the welfare associations have separate 'ladies' committees with a focus on social and catering activities, that are presided over by all-male management committees. Even in those Italian associations which contain large numbers of female members, women rarely occupy positions of power, with the exception of the National Italian Australian Women's Association. Much like the institution of the family, these associations, although patriarchal in structure, often provide a base of resistance and identity for Italian women. One exception is the State based Italian Teachers Associations which are well organised and predominantly female.

Class divisions have been prominent since the early years of Italian immigration with inter-class interaction occurring only in formalised settings like the provision of professional services. Aside from the sense of nationalism and patriotism provided by the Fascist episode, it was not until the 1970s, the advent of multiculturalism and the growth of the second generation, that identification with an Italian-Australian community began to develop. The clubs and associations of the middle classes, intellectuals and *prominenti*, such as the consulates, Dante Allighieri, Frederick May Association (now defunct) and Italian Cultural Associations (very active in Melbourne), tend to be frequented by professionals and younger generations.

National days are usually acknowledged by consular services and invitations are extended to the prominenti in the local community. Italians have been famous for achievements in the arts but the Italian migrant population is not easily associated with high cultural pursuits and are better known for their love of soccer and bocce and for their cuisine. The second generation have fuelled a 'wog-revival' in fashion, film and TV.

The friendship networks of the second generation comprise people from a range of ethnic backgrounds, although in many cases they are predominantly other second generation Italian youth. There are youth groups associated with most national and regional clubs. In 1999, the Italo-Australian Youth Association (IAYA) was founded in Sydney, it boasts about 80 members representing all regional backgrounds and is connected with a radio program, *Movimento FM*. It has close ties to a Melbourne-based youth group, *Giovani Duemila,* which also runs a radio program, *Senza Limiti*. IAYA coordinates a very active email list and conducts social and cultural activities.

There is a new migrant association initiative called GIA (Giovani Italiani Australia). GIA is a network of organisations which promote Italian language and culture in Australia. The official website of the network is

www.gia.org.au (accessed 9 March 2012) and they recently launched a portal for young migrants, www.puntoinformativo.it specifically targeted at working holiday entrants. The website distinguishes between 'giovani Australiani' (young Australians) who are defined as second and third generation Italian migrants and 'nuovi Australiani' who are defined as young Italians who wish to visit Australia.

Citizenship

Prior to the 1948 Australian Citizenship Act, Australians were British subjects. Children acquire Australian citizenship at birth if at least one parent is an Australian citizen or a permanent resident. Italians have a very high rate of citizenship with a strong positive relationship to their period of residence. In 2001, approximately 78 per cent of the Italian born had Australian citizenship including 97 per cent of those who arrived before 1981. Of 77.2 per cent of Italians who had Australian citizenship, at the 1991 Census, 79 per cent have lived in Australia for 15 years or more. Rates for those who had been resident for 3 years or less, 4-5 years, and 6-10 years were 16.1 per cent, 26 per cent, and 38 per cent respectively. Despite the very high overall rates, recent settlers from Italy (who have lived here for less than 15 years) have very low citizenship rates (ABS, 1996). Changes to the citizenship laws in 1992, which enabled Italian citizens to take out Australian citizenship without losing their Italian passports, have increased the rate, but has also led to the unusual situation of many Italian born being unable to regain their Italian citizenship, while their Australian-born siblings and children are able to claim it (based on whether one of their parents still held Italian citizenship at the time of their birth). Legal citizenship and residency rights, of course, do not determine an individual's identification with place. Legal rights are experienced, however, as a challenge to one's sense of belonging, and many people are deeply unhappy about their failed attempts at obtaining dual citizenship. Citizenship is best understood from a transnational perspective, as migrants draw upon and create fluid and multiple identities which cross national boundaries. Many Italian-Australians consider themselves citizens of both nations, despite that fact that in Australia, first generation Italian immigrants, even if they have become Australian citizens, usually fail to be accepted as Australians, at the same time, they are no longer formally considered Italian in their places of birth.

Aged care

Italians are often held up as the example of successful multicultural politics and they are generally considered to be settled, well-established and accepted. These views are challenged by research into aged care needs, which questions the assumption that older Italian-Australians are less in need of special consideration than more recently arrived aged migrants, due to the length of time they have lived in Australia, primarily because of the way language ability complicates aged care provision (MacKinnon 1998). The plight of older Italian Australians is relatively invisible to service providers as a result of what has been described as the 'contradictory stereotypes' that prevail about this group of people. Elderly Italo-Australians are presumed to have strong family support networks that cater for all their needs as well as the time and opportunities to prepare for old age. The expectation that the second generation will maintain the tradition of caring for elderly in the home contradicts the simultaneously held expectation that the second generation will assimilate into mainstream practices and attitudes and therefore be less available and inclined to care for their ageing parents in this manner.

Despite the length of time they have been in Australia, older Italians have special health care needs as a result of their migration experiences. Most of these needs are intimately related to the critical issue of limited English language ability. Although they are expected to have learnt English 'after all this time' (the implication being that if they have not succeeded in this task, they have been somehow remiss or lazy or simply not smart enough), many Italians never had the opportunity to master the language. They arrived in Australia at a time when existing migrant support structures did not accommodate their needs. They had limited access to English language classes and the majority only had a few years of formal education in Italy. Their location (in both countries) at the lower end of a stratified and segmented labour force, in employment that was physically demanding and time

consuming, meant that they were often unable to take advantage of the meager educational opportunities that existed (in either country). Most were preoccupied with making enough money to survive. Many worked in jobs with *paesani* (townsmen) and thus had little need to learn or use English at work. Those who did pick up work-related English have found it of little use in their old age, with the result that their earlier marginalisation in the workforce is mirrored in their experiences of retirement.

Language use patterns often result in the view that Italian culture and identity, especially in the diaspora setting of Anglophone countries like Australia, are 'at risk' of being overtaken by the dominant culture, and in particular by the global dominance of the English language. While English has become the dominant language of the second and subsequent generations, Italian culture and identity - the *italianità* - of the newer generations has not been subsumed or destroyed. Under the policy of multiculturalism in Australia, Italian culture and identity have survived relatively well. The majority of second generation Italian-Australians is keen to visit Italy and participate in a transnational network of relationships that keeps them up to date with life in Italy. The process of migration extends beyond the settlement of the first generation and continues to affect the lives of the Australian-born.

Transnational Ties

In the early years, the distance between Italy and Australia was considerable. The month-long transoceanic voyage, the slow pace of the post, the illiteracy of the migrants as well as the absence of affordable communication technologies contributed to a sense of separation and isolation from home. Yet Italian migrants were members of transnational households stretched through time and space and while links with homeland were infrequent and sometimes tenuous, most retained connections, not least through a myth of return. In the memories of many migrants, Italy, or more specifically their hometown or region, represented conflicting images and emotions – a place they felt lucky and yet remorseful to have escaped from, hurt and yet defiant that it had forced them to leave, a *patria* they desired to return to, that defined their identities and oriented their life-worlds but which also competed with their sense of settlement and belonging in their new homes. That the hometown is often remembered as a place of *miseria* and poverty does not preclude it from the golden memory syndrome. The experience of prejudice and hostility in the host country contributed to the migrants' sense of nostalgia and fuelled their identification as Italians. In the politics of both assimilationist and multicultural Australia, the traditional village lifestyle conjured in the memories of the migrants became a place of exemplary morality and communion used as a measure against which life in Australia and their Australianised children could not easily live up to. In recent years, with the telecommunications revolution, the relative affordability of air travel and increased wealth of Italians in both countries, return visits are frequent and common (Baldassar 2001; 2007). As a result, migrants tend to have a more realistic image of Italy today, reinforced through access to current affairs as well as the increasing attention of the Italian national and regional governments and most recently through the so called 'new migration' wave of young arrivals. Some migrants are torn between their Australian lives, where their children and grandchildren live, and their ties to Italy, creating a competing sense of belonging and of homelessness through feeling both settled and unsettled in both places.

Aside from kin and town-based connections, the provinces, in particular, have, through their transnational associations, worked assiduously since the 1950s to preserve the links between emigrants and the homeland, as well as between emigrants in the various countries of Italian settlement. Newsletters, magazines, websites and conferences, each with sections devoted to the various Italian communities across the world, serve to preserve and cement these connections which support trade and economic ties. The broadening of the immigrant's ties from his or her *paese,* to the province and to the region has been consciously promoted in recent years by various regional governments whose increasing interest in the emigrant populations is particularly evident in its focus on the second and subsequent generations and is not unrelated to the provision, in 2003, of the immigrant vote, that is, the right of Italian citizens to vote in their countries of settlement outside Italy. Like the various provincial *'Nel Mondo'* associations, the regional governments, from the late 1980s, began to organise

educational and *riconoscimento* youth tours, which focused on the rediscovery of origins and included tours of the major cities and tourist sites in the region. Following the tour, the participants are given time to visit their relatives. In addition, group tours that take Italians (in Italy) to visit the migrant communities have also become regular and popular events. These visits, along with the apparently increasing number of monuments to the emigrants that are being established in Italy and abroad, as well as the growing number of sister cities or *Gemmellaggio*, and university and cultural exchange programs, are manifestations of the increased status in which Italy is held, the increased acknowledgement of Italian contribution to Australian life, as well as the rising profile in Italy of Italian diaspora communities. Consular activities have long served an important role in Italian-Australian relations, but continue to be directed largely at the cultural and intellectual elite, apart from their support of welfare services. The Italian Embassy in Canberra is hosting a workshop on the status of the Italian community in Australia at the end of March this year (2012) with a focus on the new migration.

In the early years, two very distinct Italies characterised Australian perceptions. Despite overt discrimination and hostility towards the typical Italian labour migrant, including incidents of racialised violence, the Australian public enthusiastically admired Italian culture and the arts, including the public adoration of visiting celebrities. The British colonial elite, like their counterparts in Britain, held in high regard their image of 'Cultural Italy'; constructed on the notion of an ages old Italy, land of past glory, history and culture. This 'past' Italy was contrasted with modern Italy, which was usually represented as a place of poverty and corruption. The distinction could also take the form of a contrast between land and people; Italy was prized as the reservoir of culture and nature, Italians were denigrated as inferior and unworthy of their inheritance. Contempt, on the part of many Australians, for modern Italy and Italians from the late 19th to the mid 20th Century was reinforced by the glaring gap between the failed ambitions of succeeding Italian governments to play the role of a great power and the economic and political realities of the peninsula (Pesman, 1983). These attitudes underlined formal immigration preferences and the condemnation of Italian migrants who were feared primarily as an undesirable element of competition in an already highly competitive labour market. It was not uncommon for Italians to be described in the popular press of the inter-war period as a 'dirty Dago pest' and 'greasy flood of Mediterranean scum that seeks to defile and debase Australia' (Cresciani, 2003; O'Connor 1996). These views undoubtedly fuelled anti-Italian sentiment during World War II resulting in the internment of thousands of Italians, including many who were British subjects. After the war, despite the influx of massive numbers of Italians, assimilationist policies sought to inhibit the development of an Italo-Australian community and even the (Irish-dominated) Catholic Church marginalised Italians.

The last few decades have seen a striking increase in what might be called the popularity of consumer Italy. As with the adulation of Italian artists in the past, the current prestige of Italian consumer products does not necessarily extend to Italian migrants themselves; "…Ferrari cars and Italian fashions, promoted as representing the good life under capitalism, are not dependent on an Italian migrant presence" (Castles et al. 1992 p. 221). While pasta, Pavarotti and patron saints are celebrated icons of Italian culture, the peasant backgrounds, patriarchal family structures and poor English of Italian migrants are associated with the other Italy that is not prestigious. Carlton and Leichhardt, the most obvious sites of the comodification and commercialisation of '*Italianità*, have long been abandoned by Italians and are no longer places of significant Italian residence. The marginalisation and disadvantage that characterised the treatment of Italian migrants in the past are still evident in, for example, the aged care sector.

The most significant change in attitudes towards Italians has come via the second and subsequent generations. (As already mentioned, it is too early to gauge the impact of the new young immigration.) Their upward mobility and apparent pride in things Italian, facilitated through multicultural politics, has made it somewhat fashionable to be Italian. Italians significantly changed the face and tastes of Australian society, especially cuisine. The Italian diasporas have also had an impact on Italy, highlighting that there are many different ways of being Italian, and

that hometown, provincial and regional identities now encompass diaspora Italians who might live overseas and whose first language might not be Italian, but whose orientation and identity formation is closely linked to homeland.

Identity

Italian migrants have retained strong group ties primarily to town and region of birth, rather than to nation, arguably leading to the formation, over time, of many Italian diasporas (Gabaccia 2000). Migration policies like the Atto di Chiamata and the family-reunion scheme facilitated the formation of village-based communities and impeded the development of a broader Italo-Australian identity. Enduring links to homeland have been sustained, initially because migration was circulatory and maintained households in Italy and later through a myth of return. In general terms, Italians in Australia formed labour diasporas their migration represented an expansion from the homeland in search of work. High levels of social exclusion and hostility experienced in the host country further consolidated these labour diasporas, whose workers became occupationally segregated in certain of the lower skilled employment sectors. In the pre- and immediate post World War II period, Italians became a visible (often despised) minority group and arguably formed a quite discrete 'proletarian diaspora' (Cohen, 1997 p. 58). From the outset, there was little interaction between the relatively few Italian intellectuals or prominenti and the majority, unskilled labourers with their limited education, high rates of illiteracy and, even after several decades of settlement, limited English language skills. These proletarian diasporic identities were, of course, diverse, demarcated by regional, gender, and generational differences. Diasporas are often transitional types (Cohen, 1997 p. 78) and Italians in Australia have not remained uniform in class terms. Over time, some occupational mobility, but, more importantly, increased wealth, has altered the group's profile. In many respects they did manage to become an entrepreneurial 'mobilised diaspora' whose members have used their language, network and occupational skills to modernise and mobilise, both through ethnic enclave economies and, more recently, through the ethnicity industry and the development of a cultural diaspora.

A number of key processes underlie the construction of Italian-Australian identities and the transformation from labour to cultural diasporas, including the shift from a primarily agricultural and seasonal migration livelihood to an established working class in the host country; the transformation from hometown based identities to multiple ties and allegiances; the change in Australia social policy from assimilation to multiculturalism; the growth and upward mobility of the second and subsequent generations; the changing popular perceptions of Italy and its people; and finally the economic and social transformation of Italy itself.

For their part, the identities, orientation and value systems of the migrants were rooted in the families and towns of their birth. They migrated through comparable village migration networks and from similarly impoverished origins, be they the *miseria* of the north or of the *mezzogiorno*. Few saw themselves as Italians and only then in contexts of emigration. Many had worked previously in neighbouring European countries or the Americas. While there were high rates of repatriation (around 40 per cent), the much greater distance to Australia led the majority to break the circulatory migration pattern, which resulted in a shift from worker-peasant livelihoods to industrialisation, although it did not coincide with a break in connections to the homeland. A similar shift to industrialisation occurred in Italy and the resulting increased wealth, especially in the north, has led many migrants to question their decision not to repatriate.

The impact wrought by the changes in Australian government settlement policies cannot be underestimated. Given its overt preference for British stock, the interest Italy and its workers had in Australia as a host country destination was for a long time not wanted nor welcomed. The *1901 Immigration Restriction Act*, colloquially known as the White Australia Policy, set the tone and mood of the newly federated states under an overtly racialised policy, which was to last until the 1970s. Under this regime Italians were classed with other southern

Europeans as ‘non-white’ and distinctions drawn between the supposed greater assimilability of northerners over their apparently less ‘white’ southern counterparts. This long and defining period in Australian immigration history was characterised by assimilation, where cultural differences were feared as introducing undesirable elements to Anglo Australia and any expression of these differences were to be stifled, particularly any forms of structural pluralism including ghettoisation. The presumed inferiority of Italians was reinforced by their position at the unskilled end of the labour chain and they were regarded as an economic threat to Australian workers. The resulting hostility contributed to the occupational and residential separation that was so feared. Despite the focus on assimilation and the corresponding drive for migrants to take out Australian citizenship, there was a fundamental distrust of these ‘new Australians’. The World War IIand the incidence of interment, even of the naturalised, reinforced their sense of Italian national identity as did their shared experience of living in Australia for many years and of having been ‘Italianised’ there; Australian welfare services, for example, view them as ‘Italians’, with little consideration for any regional differences.

A number of factors have influenced the development of more positive attitudes to Italians in Australia. While the Italian migrants of the pre- and immediate postwar years are still congregated at the lower end of the labour hierarchy, as the second and third generations move up the educational and occupational scale, Italians enjoy a higher social status and have been accepted into the mainstream as senior partners in multicultural Australia. This new status is reinforced, despite the focus on equity and equality in multicultural policy, by the subsequent waves of migrants and asylum seekers from Asia and the Middle East. These more recent arrivals face similar levels of prejudice and discrimination – in which Italo-Australians also participate – that Italian migrants suffered in the past. But the popularity and fashionable nature of things Italian is as much the result of Italy’s economic position and of globalisation as of migration and multiculturalism. At the beginning of the 21st Century, Italy was considered one of the most developed and affluent countries in the world, a place of immigration not emigration, and a byword for style. In Australia, Italian restaurants, coffee shops and designer labels are markers of fashion. These markers have been appropriated by the younger generations of Italo-Australians and fuel a boom in the 'ethnicity industry'. The reinvention and celebration of ‘wog' (southern European) identities fuelled by multicultural identity politics and reinforced by the increased wealth and transnationalism of the first generation, along with the arrival (although in modest numbers) of professional migrants and the increased global status of Italy, have, since the 1980s, contributed to the development of an Italian-Australia cultural diaspora.

The Italian-Australian cultural diaspora is engaged in the tricky business of embracing but also resisting the norms and claims of Australian nationalism. There is ample evidence of Italian cultural retention and affirmation, not only in terms of language but also in what might be called symbolic ethnicity markers, including dress, behaviour, sport, cuisine and consumption, as well as social networks, self-identification, double cultural consciousness and competences, dual citizenship, cultural, educational and economic exchanges, and a literal and symbolic interest in return. Culture in this context is as much a zone of disagreement and contest as it is of shared beliefs and values, constantly producing and reproducing itself anew, with the development of hybrid forms involving both immigrant adaptation of, and impact on, language, values and lifestyle.

Although often described as the exemplar minority community in multicultural Australia, it is the fact that Italian migrants and their children are set apart, as not exactly Australian but ‘Italian-Australian’, that reinforces their multiple attachments to both Australia and Italy. They are defined, along with other non-Anglo migrant groups, in relation to the nation-state or what it means to be Australian. Herein lies both the strengths and perils of multiculturalism – it provides an acknowledgement of diversity and a celebration of difference, but also fosters a marginalisation of so-called ‘ethnic’ Australians. The type of ‘repressive tolerance’ that results is evident in the lumping together of a diverse and divided group of people and labelling them 'Italian' (Bottomley 1992). The migrants relationships with their home town and region can be seen both as an act of resistance on the part of the emigrant to this type of reductionist and marginalising treatment (through their identification with a specific

town, province and region) and as a way of ensuring that they will continue to be identified as 'Italo-Australian' (through their display of appropriate ethnicity markers). Examining Italian-Australian settlement as a cultural diaspora is posited on a transnational perspective and an understanding of migration, not simply as a finite act of relocation, but as a continuous cultural process.

The cultures of the labour and proletarian diasporas of the last century, with their strong commitment to local ties and to community, and their ability to bridge the gap between local and global tendencies, stand out against, and as an alternative to, modern exclusivist nationalisms and have much to offer to Australia's development as a genuine multicultural society. The future of an Italian cultural diaspora in Australia will be mediated by whether or not Italians continue to be embraced by mainstream Australia, as well as the country's development, or not, of its standing in the Asia-Pacific region as compared to its relationships with America, Britain and Europe.

1.5 Method and Results

Both a survey and a focus group were conducted as methods to gather data that could inform responses to the core research questions about the extent and character of diaspora ties to the homeland. This section describes the methodological design, implementation and limitations.

The Survey

The survey of the Italian diaspora was designed by the research team as one of four surveys for each of the diasporas included in the study. As much as possible, each of the surveys included common questions in order that the results for each diaspora could be compared although each was customized in order to ensure relevance to the specific community.

The survey was designed as an on line survey that included 55 questions comprising a mix of open and closed questions. The questionnaire was organized into five sections:

- Background information about the respondent such as age, gender, income, education, migration history;
- Household information such as household size, migration characteristics, reasons for migration and languages spoken;
- Citizenship and relationships with Italy including questions relating to identity, citizenship status and frequency and motivation for visits to Italy;
- Links with Italy including questions about family connections in Italy, methods of staying in touch with Italy, vistors from Italy, ways of staying in touch with Italian politics, media and culture and involvement with Italian organizations and political engagement with Italy;
- Family and financial support including questions on care responsibilities for people in Italy, remittances to and from Italy; and
- Business and professional links with Italy and questions about professional or trade relationships with Italy.

Using a snowball method (Bickman and Rog 2008), the survey was distributed in July 2010 as widely as possible through partner organisations email listings, electronic newsletters and through personal networks with the request to complete the survey as well as to forward it on to broader networks and family members. Email distribution was posted through University 'globals' to students and staff, through the newsletter of the Victorian Multicultural Commission (VMC), through church networks, youth services networks and other personal contacts of the research team. The survey was promoted through local newspapers, through Migrant Resource Centre's and SBS radio. Furthermore, the distribution of the survey was guided by the research team member, Professor

Loretta Baldassar, who is of Italian background, has published widely in relation to the Italian diaspora in Australia, and has strong family and community networks within the Italian community across Australia and in Italy. In addition, a research assistant of Italian background was employed to encourage the completion of the survey by members of the Italian community through some of the main Italian clubs and associations. On completion, there were 613 respondents with 423 completing all questions.

There were numerous limitations in the implementation of the survey. First, being an on-line survey was a deterrent to sections of the community with lesser access to, and literacy, in the use of the internet. This is particularly the case for older sections of the community. As indicated by some of the survey responses, it was also quite long (taking approximately 20 minutes to complete) and there was a high rate of non-completions. A further problem with the snowballing technique was that its reach was limited to particular networks. For example, and as discussed later, there is an over-representation of both women, and those who work in education, due to the distribution of the survey through Italian language teacher networks. Due to these limitations, and the lack of a representative sample, there is no claim that the survey findings can be generalized across all people of Italian background living in Perth or Melbourne. Even so, the Italian sample does represent a fairly good proportional representation of respondents across the generations (although with a predominance of women among the Australian born) and with about half the Italy born from the postwar period and the other half from the new migration waves (with relatively equal male and female respondents in each).

Limitations aside, the results do contain findings from 613 people who identify at least partly as being Italian or of Italian background. At minimum, these views capture a range of experiences, characteristics and opinions as well as assist in shaping questions for further exploration. It is also questionable that, given the very intangible nature of 'diaspora' in itself, that a representative sample is actually possible. As such, and in line with critical realist methodology (Porpora 2001), the findings of the survey are treated not so much as 'facts' but, alongside the relevant literature and qualitative methods, as indications of trends and clues about the character of the Italian diaspora in Australia. It is in this light that the results of the survey are discussed within this report.

The Focus Group

The focus group was held on 10 March 2012 and was conducted by Loretta Baldassar one of the Chief Investigators of the project. The participants were carefully selected to represent a cross section of the Italian communities in Australia. It included:

- One female postwar labour migrant who arrived in Australia in the 1950s and who married an Italian migrant from the same cohort;
- One female migrant who arrived in the 1980s after falling in love with an Australian;
- Two 457 visa holders, one male and one female, who originally arrived in Australia on a working holiday visa 5 years ago but managed to find a sponsor so that they could stay longer;
- One female working holiday visa holder who arrived recently with her partner who is also on a working holiday visa;
- Two second generation female migrants, one born to postwar migrants and the other born to parents who arrived in the 1920s; and
- Two 1.5 generation migrants (one male and one female) who were born in Italy and migrated to Australia before the age of 12 years with their parents.

In summary, core questions included:

- What does it mean to be Italian and live in Australia?
- How important is it to you to maintain your connection to Italy and why?

- Do you keep up contact with Italy and how do you do this?
- What sort of news do you try and keep up with from Italy through your Italian connections? What sort of news do your Italian connections want to know about you?
- How are these connections changing over generations?
- How do changes in the homeland affect the way that you stay connected with Italy?

1.6 Survey Respondent Characteristics

The purpose of this section is to describe the key characteristics of the survey respondents in summary form before drawing on the results in detail in the following sections. Due to the limitations discussed above, and the necessity of using a non-probability form of survey sampling, it is important to identify the extent to which the characteristics of respondents reflect the characteristics of the Australian population that are either Italian born or of Italian ancestry. The following section reports on the major demographic characteristics of the respondents and where possible, compares this with ABS data from the 2006 Census. Before discussing these characteristics, the following table shows ABS details in summary form.

Comparison of the survey sample with ABS Italian born statistics provides only a limited form of comparison for the diaspora. However, given that the diaspora is understood as comprising both those who were born in Italy and those who identify as being of Italian background and could be the children or grandchildren of Italian born parents. As such, the diaspora is much larger than the Italian born population which makes up approximately one-quarter (23.3 per cent) of those who identify as being of Italian ancestry.[2] In this sense, the respondent characteristics are a fairly close match with the various waves of Italian migration. For example, 72.2 per cent of respondents were Australian born, meaning that the second generation of Australian/Italians was represented in a similar ratio to the Australian population. Further, the Italian born respondents include representation from across the three recent waves of migration. There were 68 postwar migrant respondents (11 per cent of all survey responses), 37 who arrived between 1970 and 2000 (6 per cent of all survey responses) and 40 'new migrants' (6.5 per cent) who have arrived since 2000. And so while, overall, there was a bias of responses towards middle-aged female professional respondents, on many measures, the response rates provide useful representation of the diaspora, particularly in relation to the waves of migration and the role played by the second generation.

[2] The 2006 ABS Census shows that there were 199,124 Italian born Australians while there were 852,400 people of Italian ancestry.

Table 1.1 Birthplace profile of Italians in Australia

Profile of Italians in Australia by birthplace	ABS, 2006 Census	
Total population	199,124[3]	
Gender	Male: 103,028 (51.7%)	Female: 96,095 (48.3%)
Occupation	Managers	18.0%
	Professionals	11.1%
	Technicians and Trades Workers	21.2%
	Community and Personal Service Workers	5.8%
	Clerical and Administrative Workers	12.8%
	Sales Workers	9.4%
	Machinery Operators and Drivers	7.9%
	Labourers	13.8%
Education	Postgraduate Degree Level	3.5%
	Graduate Diploma and Certificate Level	2.1%
	Bachelor Degree Level	14.9%
	Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	15.4%
	Certificate Level	64.1%
Weekly household income	Less than $250	10.9%
	$250 - $499	24.3%
	$500 - $999	23.0%
	$1000 - $1999	27.6%
	$2000 - $3000	9.8%
	$3000 and more	4.6%
Australian citizenship	79%	
Ancestry (top 3 answers)	Italian (97.2), English (1.2), Irish (0.6)	
Arrival in Australia	Last 5 years (1.3), More than 5 years (98.7)	
Ability to speak English	Very well/Well (73.6) Not well/Not at all (26.4)	
Language spoken at home	Italian (81.9), English (17.4)	
Religion	Christianity (97.4), No religion (2.3)	
Employment status	Unemployed (3.2), Participation rate (35.0)	

Key Survey Respondent Characteristics

The survey asked for respondents to identify key characteristics including age, gender, education, occupation and income. The average age of respondents was 39.6 years with the largest group of respondents (39.07 per cent) being born between 1980 and 1989. This is a relative young profile compared to ABS data which shows that that largest group of the Australian Italian born population is between 70-79 years of age (ABS 2006). This said, the average age of the postwar respondents is 68 years of age which is younger than the ABS average but of the 42 respondents who migrated between 1950-1959, the average age of arrival was 13 years. Furthermore, the average age of Australian born respondents is 34 years. These respondents are likely to be mainly second generation postwar migrants, and are similar to the age of the newer first generation migrants, both groups containing people who are mostly in their 30s or 40s.

The survey respondents also included an over-representation of women, with 64.11 per cent of respondents being female. This does not align with ABS data which shows a slightly greater number of men (51 per cent) within the Italian born Australian population.

Compared to the ABS birthplace data of Italian born Australians, the highest level of education of the respondents is much higher than the general population. For example, 14.9 per cent of the general population

[3] While there were 199,124 Italian born Australians in 2006, there were 852,400 people of Italian ancestry.

has a Bachelor Degree compared to 39.4 per cent of survey respondents. While the unemployment rate of the Italian born population, is low compared to general unemployment rate at 3.2 per cent, the unemployment rate of survey respondents is even lower at 1.5 per cent. There is also a difference in the types of occupations that the survey group is engaged in, with a greater representation of professionals (41.3 per cent survey/11.1 per cent census), but a lower representation in all of the other ABS occupational categories. Survey respondents also have a higher household income than the general population with 8.3 per cent having an income of $200,000 a year compared to the general population where 4.5 per cent has a weekly household income of more than $156,000 per annum. Likewise, fewer survey respondents had income of less than $30,000 compared to the general population (24.3 per cent survey/34.2 per cent Italian born population). Once again, this variance is explained by the presence of second generation respondents who have much higher educational achievements than their parents (and a corresponding significant upward social mobility into the professions), as well as by the profile of the new, young first generation migrants, who are also much better educated than the postwar arrivals.

The majority of respondents live in a nuclear family (54.4 per cent) or as a couple with no children or children who have left home (20.5 per cent). The remainder lives in a shared household of independent adults (5.5 per cent), in an extended family household (6.2 per cent) or in a single person household (9.7 per cent). There was also a minority that said that within the household, there was at least one member who had migrated from Italy (20.7 per cent). The survey also asked the Italian region that the respondent/respondents family is connected to. The large majority said Calabria (23.9 per cent), Sicily (23 per cent), Veneto (13.1 per cent) Abruzzo (11.8 per cent), Lombardy (9.9 per cent) and Campania (9.3 per cent). This regional background broadly reflects the major regions from which Italian migrants emigrated from as discussed earlier. The remainder was fairly evenly distributed from across the remaining 14 Italian regions (see Appendix 1 for details).

Overall, the survey respondents resemble the Australian/Italian population in relation to rates of employment, migration history, family types and in terms of Italian region from which they or their families had emigrated from. There is an over-representation of women in the survey, as well as younger people, higher levels of household income and an over-representation of professionals. These differences are likely to reflect the use of an on-line survey method which would lead to a bias towards those with internet access and who are comfortable with the use of on-line mediums of communication as well as the networks through which the survey was distributed. However, the respondents all identify as being of Italian background and their migration history is in common with patterns of Italian migration to Australia. The interpretation and discussion of the survey data is undertaken bearing the limitations in mind.

The following section draws on the survey and focus group data to respond to the initial purpose of the survey. That is, to identify the extent of diaspora connections with the homeland and how these are maintained. This is discussed with reference to key variables identified as important in shaping differences in relation to the sense of connection with Italy as the homeland. In particular, we focus on the differences between Italians who were born in Italy and those who were born in Australia, that is, between the migrant generations. We are also interested in the differences between migrant cohorts and compare responses between those who are younger and older than 40 years old. While these are central, we also consider the influence of gender, the role of having family and/or property in Italy as well as other demographics including education, employment and citizenship. The next section begins by looking at responses to questions about identity and language use.

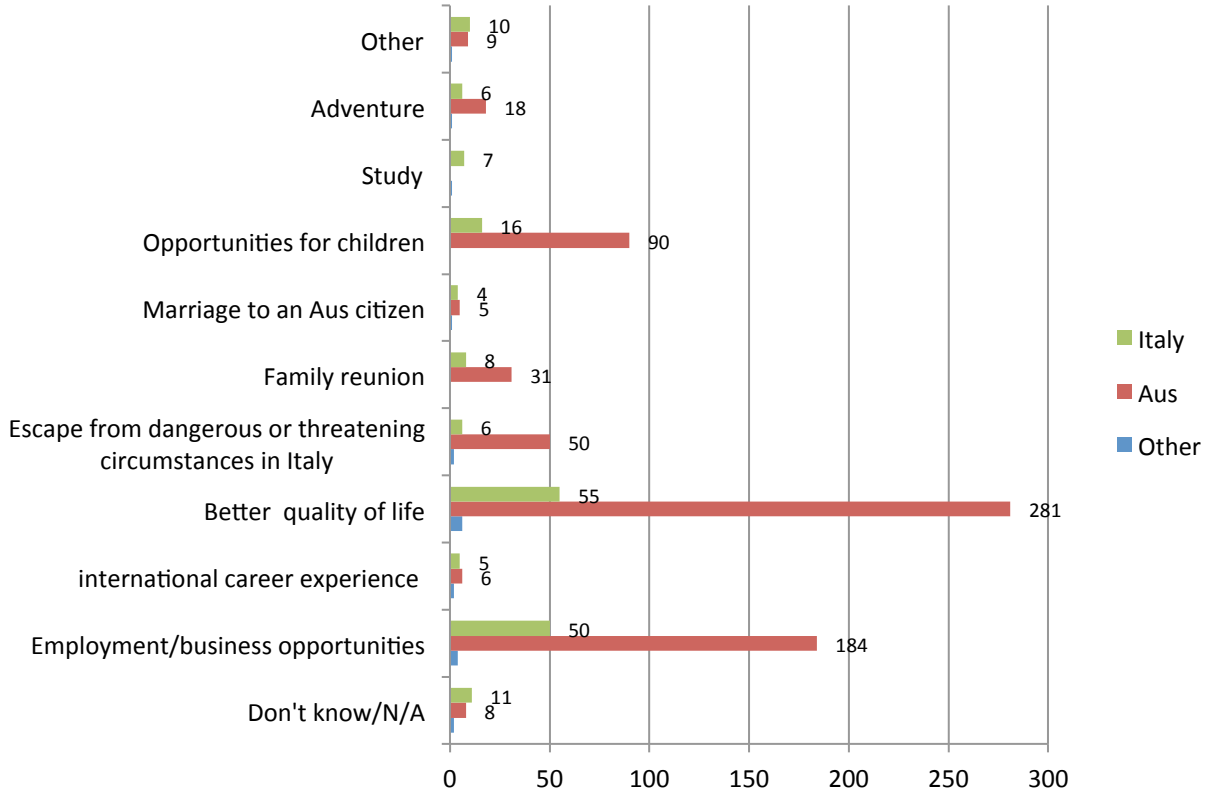
Section 2: Citizenship, Identity and Language

Drawing from relevant survey questions and the focus group discussion, this section of the report explores how the identity of the Italian diaspora is manifest in terms of citizenship, identity and language use.

2.1 Migration and Citizenship

One of the questions asked within the survey was about the respondent's or respondent's family's main reasons for initial migration to Australia and the graph below compares motivations for migration from the perspective of Italian born and Australian born respondents.

Chart 2.1 Main reasons for initially leaving Italy by country of birth (frequencies)



The major reason for immigration identified by respondents is resoundingly 'better quality of life', followed by 'employment or business opportunities'. This finding resonates with the literature that suggests that migration was a family economic strategy intended to facilitate the sending of remittances to support the natal household in Italy. The intention to repatriate, however, was strong and repatriation rates were relatively high (around 40 per cent). For those who did not repatriate and raised their families in Australia, the original motivation for migration would have given way to motivations associated with a better life for their children because by the time they had raised enough money to fund a successful return to Italy, their children were already well entrenched in Australian life. Many who attempted repatriations decided to re-migrate when their Australian born children found settling in Italy difficult. In contrast, recent arrivals migrate primarily for lifestyle, professional or love interest.

The current crisis in Italy and Europe is also fuelling the dramatic numbers of working holiday visa entrants, many of whom are hoping to settle in Australia by finding employers who will sponsor them on the 457 visa. Arrivals as

international students also commonly seek permanent residency. These people are migrating for better opportunities and job prospects, while not the labour migration of the postwar period, they are certainly migrants in search of livelihoods. Eleven of the respondents were in this category as were four members of the focus group who reaffirmed that migration to Australia was generated by economic push factors in Italy and the need to find opportunities for employment and a better quality of life. For example, one couple in their late 20s, who had recently arrived and were now settling in Australia with a 457 visa, made the following comments.

> *In 2009 I had finished my university degree and I really didn't have many job opportunities there with my degree, so I was happy to try something else and (my husband) was really keen on leaving Italy behind for a while at least.*
>
> *…I can say (migrating) was to find new opportunities, but also I wasn't very happy to stay in Italy at the time. I thought well, if I have to go somewhere else – for me there were two places. One was Canada and the other one was Australia…We decided for warmer weather basically.*

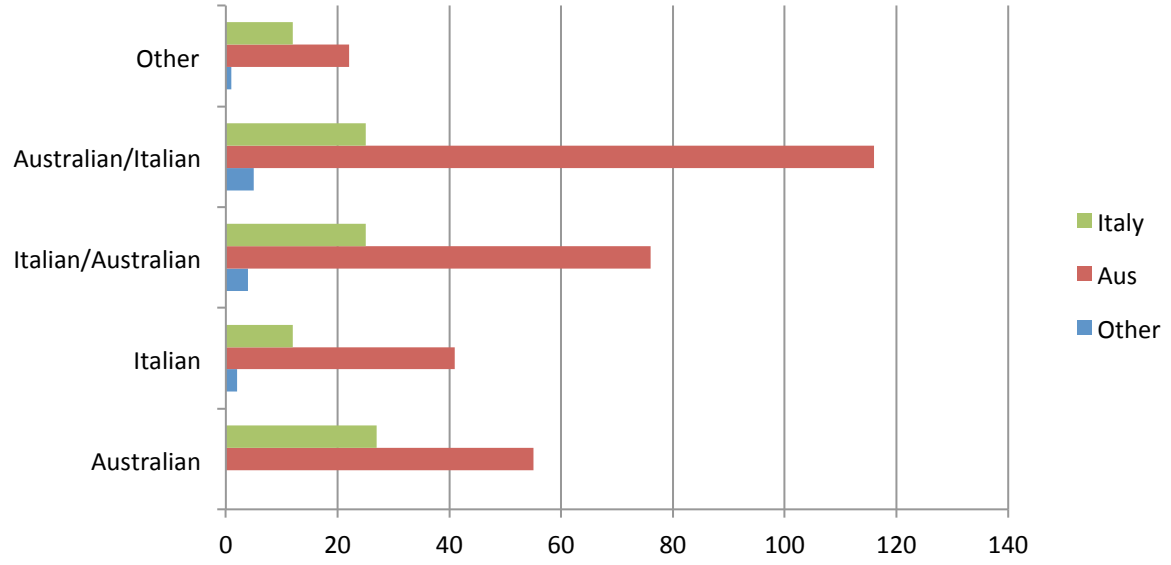
So while there was a period from the 1970s to the early 2000s where the migration of Italians to Australia was primarily about a lifestyle choice, there is a now a shift to migration being a decision made on the basis of economic reasons and the need to find better employment and business prospects.

The survey also asked respondents to identify their citizenship status (Q 4.1). Given that the history of Italian migration to Australia, that the greatest numbers of migration occurred following post World War II, and that almost three quarters of survey respondents were born in Australia, it is unsurprising that the majority (68.7 per cent) of respondents are Australian citizens or hold dual citizenship (28.6 per cent), a privilege attainable since dual citizenship laws were introduced in 1992. The remainder was permanent residents (3.8 per cent), a citizen of another country (3.8 per cent) or a temporary resident or visitor (4.6 per cent). This high proportion of people who hold dual citizenship suggests that there is a strong trend of bi-culturalism with strong allegiances to both Italy and Australia.

2.2 National Identity

One of the most direct questions in relation to identity was about how respondents describe themselves in terms of nationality. Chart 2.2 shows the responses to this question by country of birth.

Chart 2.2 Identity by country of birth (frequency)



The findings here are quite intriguing, showing that a greater proportion of Italian born define themselves as Australian rather than Australian born respondents, and more of the latter define themselves as Italian than the former. Perhaps what is most clear in this data is the propensity for Italian Australian migrants and their descendants to feel connections with both Italy and Australia. Open-ended responses also showed that for some, national identity depends on situation and context. For example, *'It depends on the context' and 'Depends. Feel Italian at social club, Australian at work'.*

This sense of have a dual identity defined by context was also strongly affirmed in the focus group discussion. For example, one woman who had recently spent a period of time in Italy commented that,

> *Here I feel more Italian, when I'm there I feel more Australian. It really depends on the context. Funnily enough though when I'm in Italy people tell me 'no' you are Italian, you are Roman and I tell them well 'no' I grew up in Australia so that makes me both as well, so they just can't comprehend being bi-cultural, they just can't comprehend it. They're no, no, no you've got Italian blood you can't say that you're Australian, you just live there. I beg to differ, I also feel Australian, but here probably more Italian. Right now I feel Italian, because I'm here, you know what I mean, it just really depends.*

Others suggested feeling confusion about identity and that their self-definition was fluid. For example,

> *'(I'm) very confused. My father was a displaced person during WW2 and assumed and English identity to avoid internment, so my Italian connection is not strong and I feel more English. I am aware, though, that he and his father were Italians and visiting Italy is a very emotional experience'*, and *'When in Italy I feel Australian, when in Australia I feel Italian'.*

This notion of feeling 'Italian in Australia' and 'Australian in Italy' could explain the predominance of Australian born selecting an Italian identity. If identity is shaped by situation, responding to the question in Australia, might have led to an emphasis on highlighting Italian identity.

2.3 Feelings towards Italy

Further question aimed at gaining an indication about respondent's feelings towards Italy was about perceived 'closeness' to Italy (Q 4.5). As Table 2.1 shows, the majority of respondents say that they feel either 'close' (37.7 per cent) or 'very close' (26.7 per cent) to Italy. Close to one quarter (24.2 per cent) feel ambivalent and only a small proportion (9.1 per cent) feel either 'distant' or 'very distant'. Such findings suggest a strong sense of connection by respondents with Italy despite the fact that the majority of respondents (72.2 per cent) are Australian born.

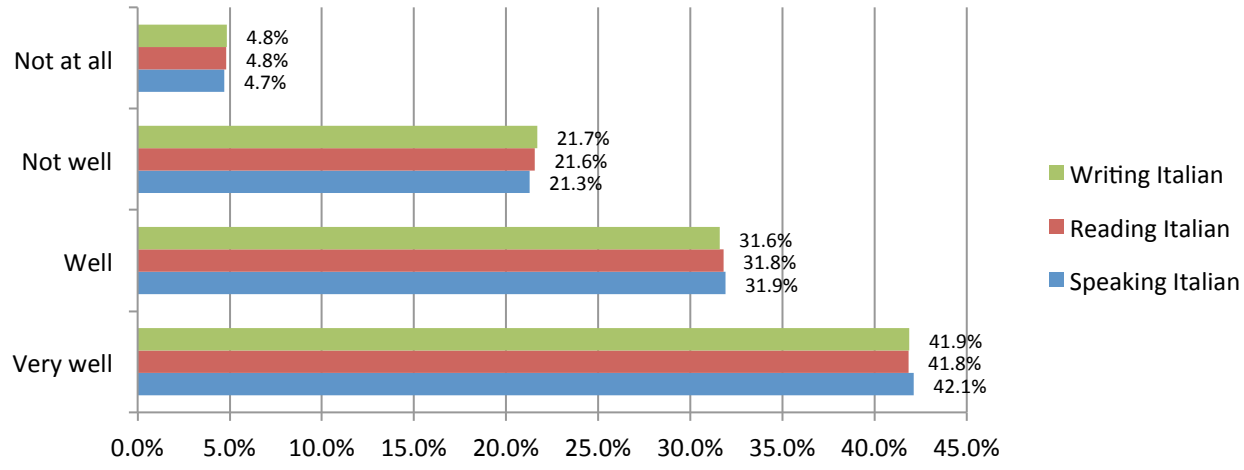
Table 2.1 How close do you feel towards Italy?

Answer options	Response per cent	Response count
Very close	26.7%	127
Close	37.7%	179
Not close or distant	24.2%	115
Distant	6.3%	30
Very distant	2.9%	14
Other (please specify)	2.1%	10
	Answered question	**475**
	Skipped question	**135**

2.4 Language Skills and Use

Another important indicator of identity was the extent to which Italian is spoken by the respondents. Three questions were asked about Italian language and literacy. The first of these was about capacity to speak, read and write in Italian and the findings from this question are shown in Chart 2.1 below.

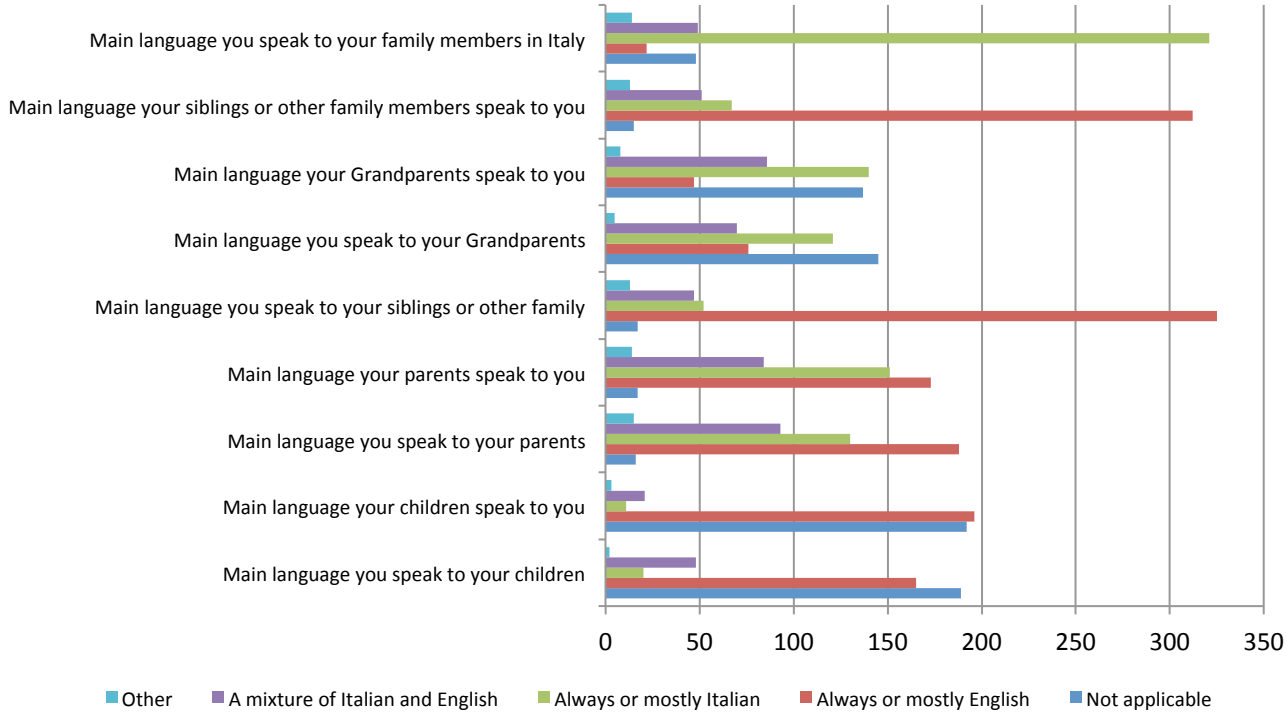
Chart 2.2 Percent capacity to speak, read and write in Italian



As the chart above shows, the majority of respondents speak, read and write in Italian either 'very well' or 'well'. Less that 5 per cent said that they were not able to speak, read or write at all in Italian. These results show a strong command of Italian which fits with the predominance of Australian born and well educated students, many of whom study Italian at University. It can be safely assumed, however, that in Australia the main language is English so one of the questions of interest to this study was about how Italian is used within families and with whom Italian is spoken. The literature indicates that many grandparents and parents speak Italian to their

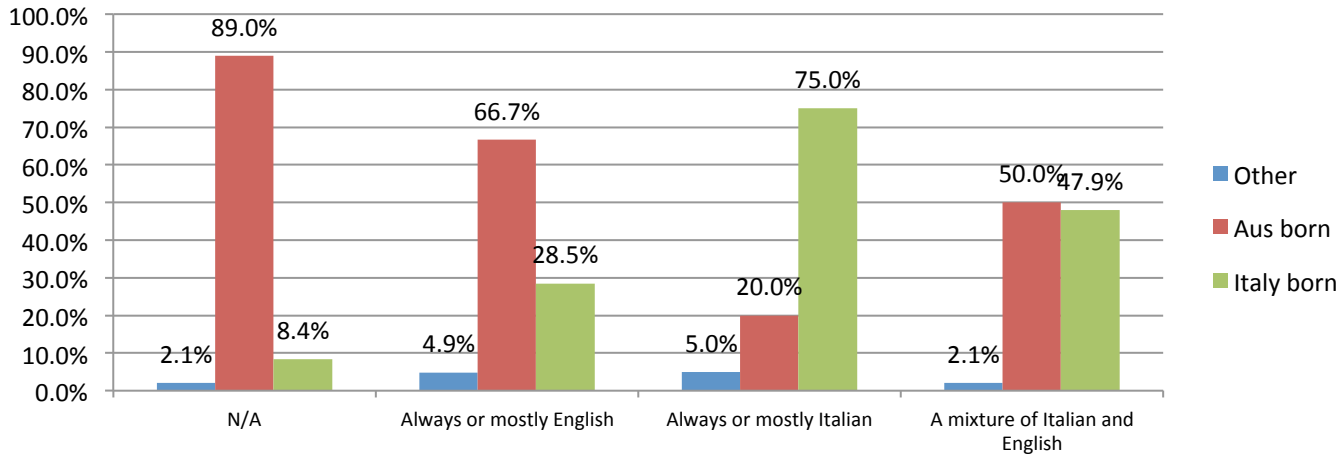
children and grandchildren, but the latter respond in English (Rubino 2000; Caruso 2010). The following chart shows the results of questions in the survey relating to language and how it is used within families.

Chart 2.3 Languages spoken within the family (frequency)



As Chart 2.3 shows above, the survey findings show what might be expected – that Italian is the main language spoken with Italian born and Italy based family members while Australian born children are most likely to speak English as the main language. As also follows, those born in Italy are most likely to speak Italian to their children. As Chart 2.4 shows, the majority of respondents born in Italy (75 per cent) speak to their children in Italian while the reverse is true for those born in Australia.

Chart 2.4 Language most frequently spoke to your children by country of birth (frequency)



Overall, the survey shows high levels of Italian language proficiency and use amongst the respondents, but that Italian is spoken less by those who are born in Australia.

2.5 Summary of Citizenship, Identity and Language

While many of the survey and focus group included questions that have relevance to questions relating to identity, those that are discussed above are those that are most specifically aimed at gaining a sense of the extent to which respondents identify as Italian. On three indicators, national identity, feelings of closeness to Italy and Italian language use, the findings suggest that having a sense of Italian identity is quite strong. The following section explores the findings to identify the extent to which ties are maintained with Italy. This is discussed primarily through looking at patterns of visitation to Italy, property ownership in Italy, modes and frequency of communication with Italy and engagement with Italian media.

Section 3: Personal Ties with the Homeland: Visits, Communications and Media Use

This section explores the survey findings in relation to personal ties with Italy as indicated by questions relating to:

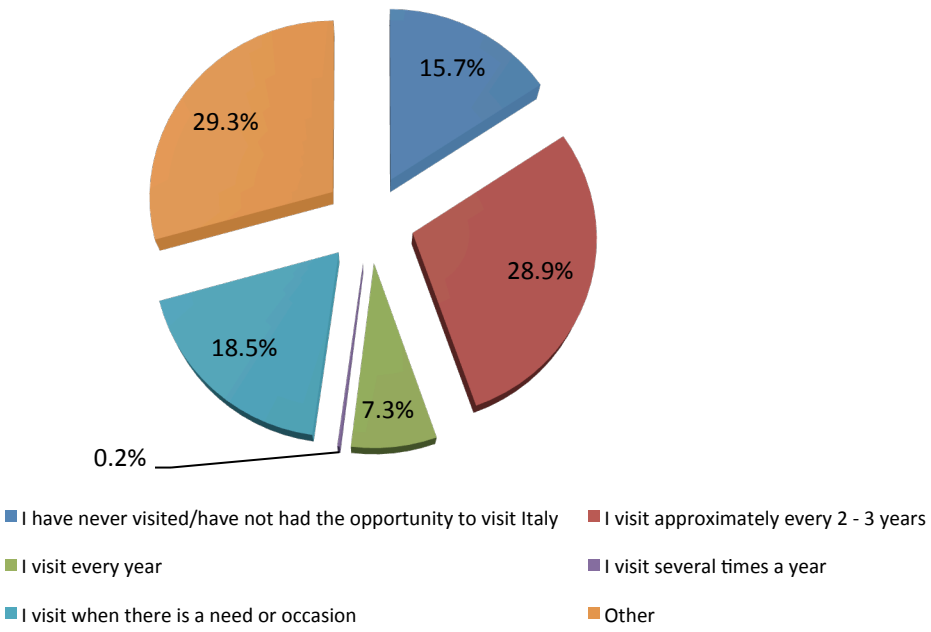
- visits to Italy – both actual and intended;
- desires to live in Italy;
- the motivations for visiting Italy;
- communication with Italian connections – frequency and mode;
- visitors received from Italy;
- where people stay when visiting Italy;
- property ownership in Italy; and
- mode and frequency of Italian media use.

3.1 Visits to Italy

One key area of interest in the survey was about the extent to which respondents travel between Italy and Australia. There were three questions relevant to this, including a question about the frequency of visits to Italy, intentions to visit Italy and the motivation for visiting Italy. This section reports on the findings from each of these questions.

As the chart below shows, the majority of respondents make visits to Italy, with only a small group (73 or 16 per cent) who say that they have never visited Italy.

Chart 3.1 Frequency of visits to Italy



The largest group of respondents (29.3 per cent) indicated 'other' in relation to the frequency of their travel to Italy. Open ended responses showed that what many of these respondents were indicating was that there was little pattern to their visits to Italy over the years and most had visited very infrequently. For those who had migrated many decades ago, a common response was that they had visited infrequently and that cost was the barrier to visiting more often. For example, *'In 50 years, I went 6 times. Last time was 2001. Couldn't go more often – too expensive'.* Distance was also a barrier as well as time commitments. For example,

> *I visited more frequently when I lived in the UK for 8 years and I will visit when I get the chance to go overseas at some point. Since going to Europe is a pretty long trip, I will go again if I have sufficient time, money and energy.*

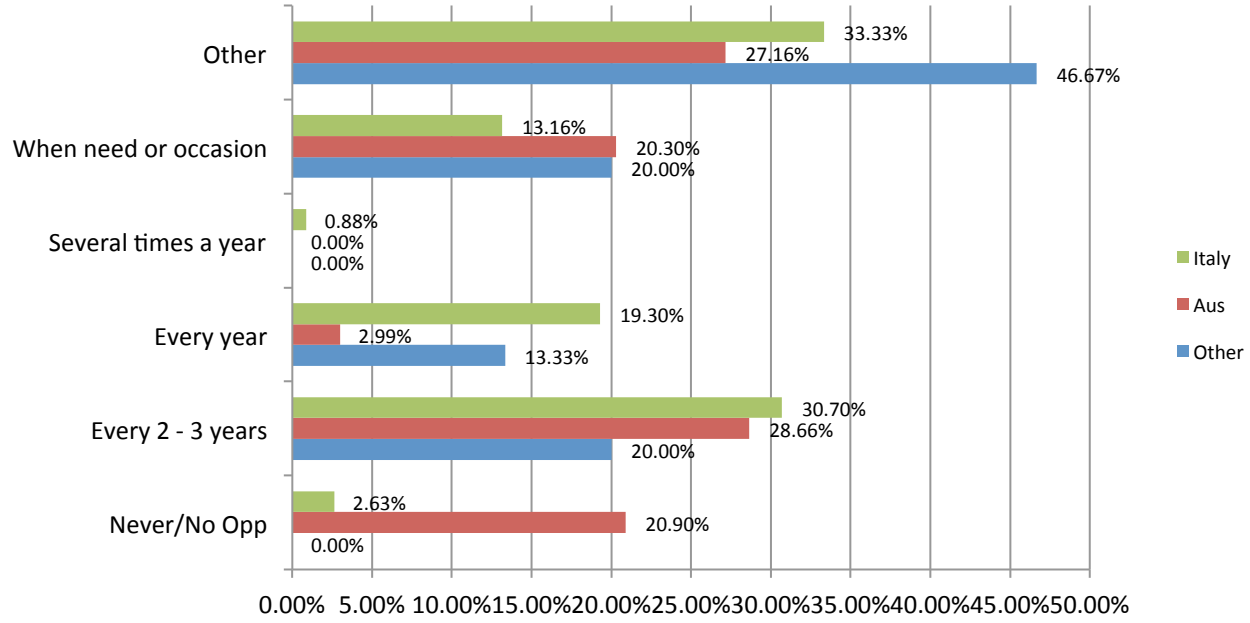
However, almost as many respondents (134 or 28.9 per cent), said that they visit every 2-3 years, with an additional small group of 7.3 per cent who say that they 'visit every year'. Only one respondent said that they visit several times a year. Open ended responses show that the major reasons for the visits were because of a felt connection with Italy – *'I feel my roots are there. I feel a sense of belonging. I love breathing the Italian air.*' In a related theme, a major reason was to see relatives and family, or to introduce Australian born children and family member to Italian culture and language – *'To introduce my husband, then children to my family in Italy. My sister lives in Switzerland so when we visit her, we go to visit family in Italy too'.* A few indicated having property in Italy and other simply have a *'love of the country'.* Others have built their study and work interests around an interest in Italy that means that visiting Italy is a regular part of their lives. These interests led to visits that combined holidays, family obligations and work. For example – *'I take groups of students and adults on tours – educational and cultural. I enjoy visiting Italy to catch up with friends, family and for recreation (ski-ing)'.*

A smaller group (86 or 18.5%) said that they 'visit when there is a need or occasion'. For example, *'…holiday to see relations, attended son's wedding, birth of grandchild'.* For a few, these occasions were frequent – *'I have returned 10-12 times, for funerals, holidays and to see family'.*

Also of interest is that Australian born respondents have visited Italy almost as much as the Italian born. As the following chart shows, there are similarities between both groups. The major similarity is that almost half (49 per cent) of Australian born respondents say that they visit Italy 'when there is a need or occasion' or 'every 2-3 years' which is very similar to the findings for the Italian born respondents, with close to 44 per cent saying the same thing.

The similarities in visiting Italy between the Australian born and Italy born suggest that visiting Italy is important across the generations. One of the strengths of this data is the predominance of second generation respondents which provides insights into the future of the Italian Australian diaspora. Presumably, if the second generation are active transnational agents, so too are their parents, who would have provided the impetus, knowledge and connections to their children.

Chart 3.2 Frequency of visits to Italy by country of birth (per cent)



Visiting Intentions

The survey also asked respondents to identify whether or not they intend to visit Italy and how long they intend to stay. These findings show strong intentions for visiting Italy for a considerable length of time. As Table 3.1 shows, more than half (54.5 per cent) intend to spend more than one month in Italy over the next five years. Only a few (4.5 per cent) intend to visit less than two weeks and a small group (14.16 per cent) don't intend to go at all. Overall, the large majority (85.8 per cent) do intend to visit Italy.

Table 3.1 In the next five years, how long do you intend to spend in Italy in total?

	Response per cent	Response count
I don't intend to go	14.16%	66
Less than two weeks	4.51%	21
More than two weeks to less than one month	25.32%	118
More than one month to less than three months	30.90%	144
More than three months to less than six months	13.73%	64
More than six months	9.87%	46
I live in both Italy and Australia	1.50%	7
Total	**100.00%**	**466**

Motivations for Visiting Italy

The survey asked what the motivations are for people visiting Italy and the results of this question is shown in the following table.

Table 3.2 Motivations for visiting Italy

	Response per cent	Response count
I rarely/do not visit Italy	8.95%	77

A special occasion such as a funeral, wedding, anniversary or birthday	7.44%	64
To help family members or friends who are unwell and need care and/or assistance	4.07%	35
To strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Italy	30.70%	264
Business or professional reasons	6.40%	55
To have a holiday	37.09%	319
To make a personal contribution to a political or community cause, event or project	1.98%	17
Other (please specify)	3.37%	29
	Answered question	**860**

The major reasons for visiting were to have a holiday (38 per cent) and to strengthen family/friendship connections with Italy. Only small numbers of respondents visited for any other reason, with a small group (7.4 per cent) saying that they visit for special occasions or for business or professional reasons (6.4 per cent). Only 4 per cent said that they visit Italy to 'help family members or friends', and a few (2 per cent) said that they visit to contribute to a political or community cause. While the biggest group say that they visit for a 'holiday' it is likely that visitors have multiple motivations for visiting Italy. If this is the case, family connections would be a major driver for visitation to Italy suggesting that kinship and family connections are a mainstay of diaspora relations for Italians.

There was also very little difference between the motivations described by both Italian and Australian born in response to the major motivations for visiting for both groups, except that the Italian born were more likely to visit Italy for a 'special occasion' (22 per cent compared to 12.1 per cent), reflecting perhaps stronger and closer ties to Italy having lived there. The Australian and Italian born were fairly similar in terms of visiting Italy 'to have a holiday' (71.9 per cent and 78 per cent), although the open ended responses showed that for the Australian born, a motivation was to study and practice Italian language and for the cultural experience in a way that was not mentioned by the Italian born.

A further indication of the strength of family connections in relation to the reason for visiting Italy comes from a question about where people stay when visiting Italy, with more than half saying that they stay with family (46.3 per cent) or friends (9.6 per cent). A small number also say that they stay in their own house or apartment (5.7 per cent). Compared with the result that only slightly more than one third (27.6 per cent) say that they stay in a hotel or other temporary accommodation, the role of family connections as a reason for visiting Italy appears very strong.

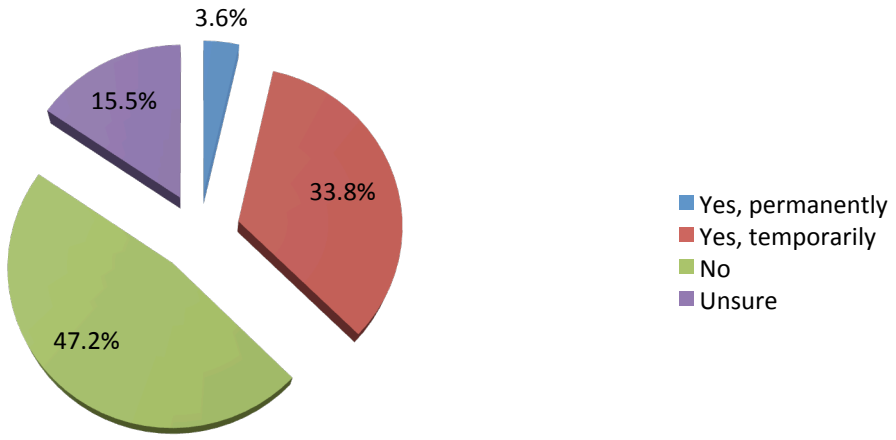
Table 3.3 Where respondents stay when visiting Italy

If you visit Italy, where do you usually stay?	Response per cent	Response count
I don't visit Italy	9.06%	60
With family	46.37%	307
With friends	9.67%	64
In my own/family house or apartment	5.74%	38
In a hotel or other temporary accommodation	27.64%	183
Other (please specify)	1.51%	10
Total	**100.00%**	**662**

The survey also asked respondents to indicate whether they had a desire or intentions to live in Italy and, as Chart 3.3 shows, almost half say clearly 'no', they do not want to live in Italy, one-third say that they would like to live in Italy temporarily, 15.5 per cent are unsure and a small group (3.6 per cent) say that they do want to live in

Italy. Again, this shows a strong sense of connection to Italy and a desire to connect with Italy through spending considerable time there.

Chart 3.3 Do you want to live in Italy?



Two hundred and thirty-five respondents gave open-ended responses to explain their answer to this question and some clear themes emerged. For those who said 'no' or that they did not want to live in Italy, one of the main reasons was that they are settled in Australia and that it is no longer an option to live elsewhere. Typical responses were, *'This is my home now – I've been here 60 years'* or '*I have no need or desire as my immediate family are in Australia'.* Others who did not want to live in Italy thought that Australia was a better place to be for work, weather and lifestyle. For example, *'I have no illusion about the state of the country (Italy)* or *'I do not see many opportunities for a career there'* or *'Life in Italy is difficult in reality. Italians always complain about the cost of living and the way their government runs, corruption and the inability to find jobs'* or *'Life is better here, it's warmer – it's too cold in Italy'.*

For the group who would like to live in Italy temporarily, key reasons included a love of the culture – *'I love Italy and I want to become closer to my family there…'*, the desire to improve their Italian language skills – *'To excel in the language and get a real feel of being there…'* and the desire to connect with their ancestry – '*I want to experience living in my ancestors culture'.* Across this group, there was a desire to stay connected to both countries. For example, *'Would like to spend a similar amount of time in both countries. Italy because of the culture and history and Australia because of connection with immediate family and friends'.*

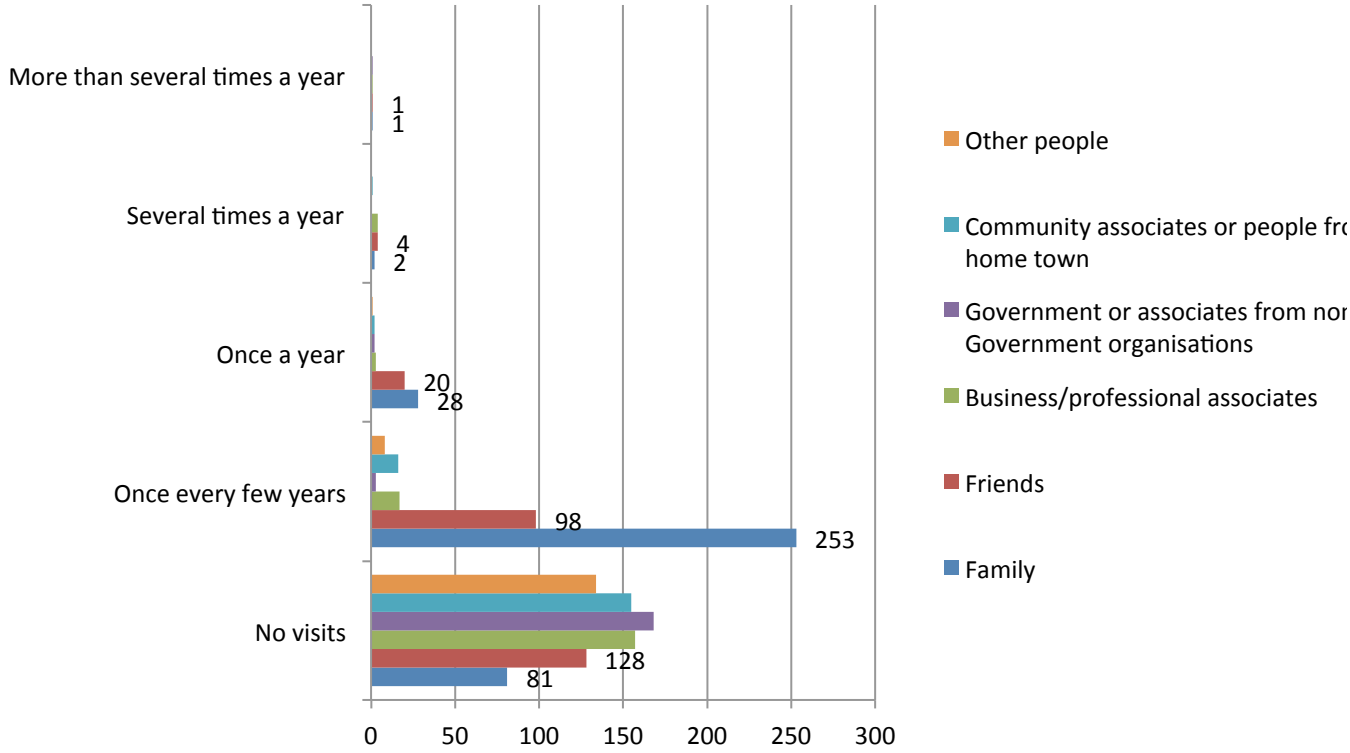
Those who were unsure about living in Italy was because they were not sure whether circumstances would allow it. For example, *'I'd love to spend extended periods (in Italy), but would be unsure how to do this with small children…'* or *'If the opportunity arose to work there with my current company, I would be all over it like a heat rash on a hot day'.* Alternatively, others fantasized about being able to have a base in Italy but this seemed unlikely – *'A holiday house (in Italy) would be nice!'* or '*My dream scenario would be to live six months of the year in Australia and the other six months in Italy.'*

Overall, while almost half of the respondents to this question said that they were unsure or would like to live in Italy temporarily, it seemed that for most respondents, this would be unlikely to happen despite a strong desire. The largest group, however, were quite clear about remaining settled in Australia and that returning to live in Italy was not an option.

Visitors From Italy

The pattern of travelling between Italy and Australia to strengthen family connections follows through in the results for a question about visitors from Italy. Respondents, by and large, did not receive visitors very frequently, those who do are mainly family, followed by friends. As Chart 3.4 shows, two-thirds (66 per cent or 253 respondents) of those who answered this question say that they have family visitors 'every few years' and a further 152 said that they receive visits from friends. As shown, there are also people who receive visitors who are 'business or professional associates', members of a common community and 'other people', but these numbers are small compared to family and friends. These visitors also stay for considerable periods of time. Most of the family visitors (211 out of 253) stay either 'two to four weeks' (105) or 'one to three months' (106).

Chart 3.4 Type and frequency of visitors from Italy (frequency)



The survey findings in relation to visiting Italy and receiving visitors from Italy show that there is considerable travel to and from Italy. While there is some degree of this travel being of a business/professional or community nature, it is primarily about visiting and connecting with family. Visitors stay for relatively long periods of time and, while few say they want to live in Italy, there is a desire by almost half of the diaspora to spend considerable periods of time in Italy in future.

3.2 Property and Land Ownership

A question was also asked about whether or not respondents owned property, such as a house or land in Italy. Of the 483 respondents to this question, 96 (20 per cent) responded yes. Eighty of these respondents gave a brief description about what this property is. Out of this group, 24 referred to family property, property shared with other family members or property that they will inherit. Responses such as *'…house that is co-owned by family members', 'family home', 'a private apartment owned by my parents',* were the kind of explanations given by this group.

Twenty-two respondents also described owning property in Italy, but that was bought as an investment, or that they previously lived in, but it is now rented or being used by a family member. For example, *'House where I used to live before I migrated and a small flat currently used by a family member'* and *'My old flat in Rome, a co-owned flat in Rome, one holiday house'.*

Others described owning a holiday house or investment property which was frequently owned with a family member, for example, *'Holiday apartment, co-owned by many family members'* and '*one for holidays'.*

The remaining twenty referred to owning either property that they had inherited, for example, *'…inherited from parents, now co-owned with siblings'.* Others talked about property owned by their parents, grandparents or siblings that they have a stake in, for example, *'my Mother owns commercial property'* and '*Grandfather owns a farm'.*

These findings suggest that property ownership in Italy represents an important tie for the diaspora in Australia even though it was a minority that identified such links. What is especially interesting is that while 30.5% of Italian born own property in Italy, 16.6% of Australian born do also, indicating strong ties into the second generation through property ownership.

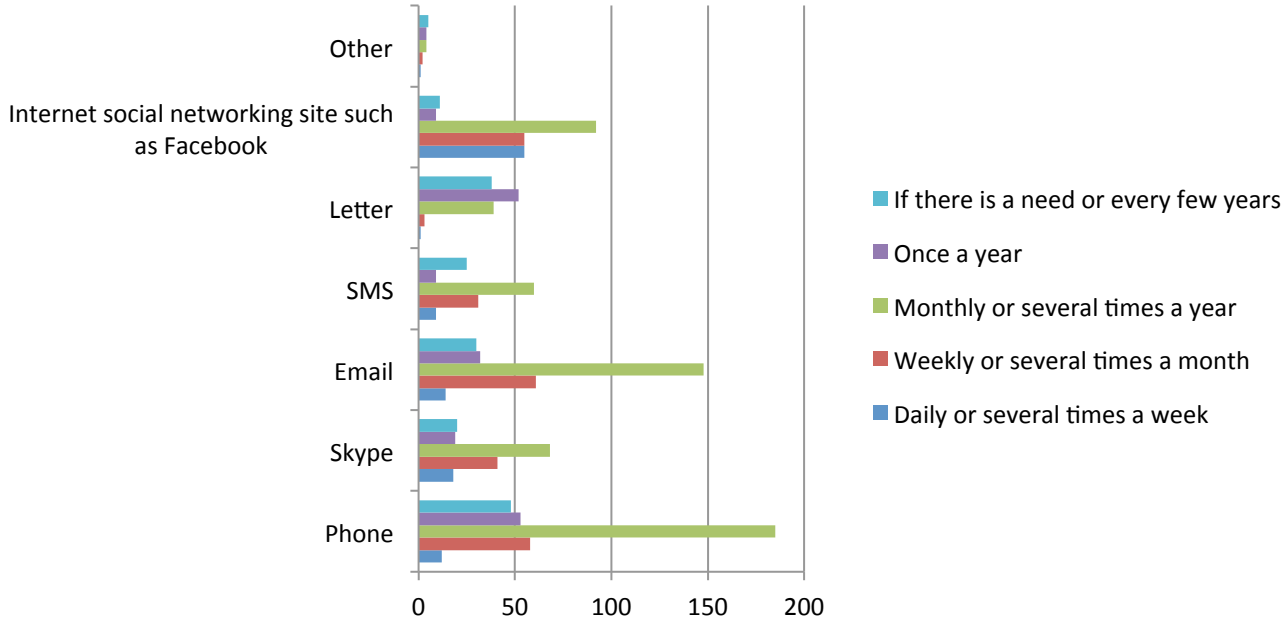
3.3 Communications with Italy

A series of question were asked within the survey about communications with Italy. An objective was to identify both motivation for staying in touch, as well as the mode and frequency. This included asking questions about communications with family and friends, business and professional contacts and with contacts formed through other interests, for example, through recreational, political or charitable interests.

Communications with Family and Friends

Respondents were first asked how and how frequently they stay in touch with family and friends, business and professional contacts and with contacts formed through other interests (e.g., recreational, political, charitable). The survey also included questions about keeping up with Italian media. Asking about communications and media was also one of the key topics of the focus group and the following section discusses these findings and the following chart shows the detailed results to this question showing that the majority stay in touch using phone, followed by Facebook and email to stay in touch.

Chart 3.5 Mode and frequency of contact with family and friends in Italy (frequency)



This chart shows that people communicate frequently although the most common response is that they communicate 'monthly or several times a year'. For those who communicate more frequently, the most common mode is using Facebook. The results also support the literature which suggests that people will use all the forms of technology available to them to stay in touch with family and friends overseas (Baldassar, Baldock & Wilding 2007, Baldassar 2007). However, it also indicates the reality of the so called digital divide, which tends to exclude the elderly from much of this technology. The written comments are particularly revealing as they capture data not evident in the survey responses. For example,

> *'Grandchildren communicate with cousins via email';*
>
> *'my daughters and grandchildren use internet';*
>
> *'son uses internet to keep in touch';*
>
> *'son emails now and then';*
>
> *'daughters keep in touch with family by email';*
>
> *'daughters make contact by internet for me';*
>
> *'daughter has an email address and keeps in touch with family and friends that way'; and*
>
> *'my older relatives don't have internet access so we call/write to each other while the younger relatives use the internet more'.*

The results may suggest that the second generation have more contact with Italy than the first. However, keeping in mind comments like those quoted above, some of this contact is on behalf of the first generation. Here we see the role of the second generation in maintaining diaspora kin ties for the first generation as suggested is the case by the broader literature (Baldassar 2008; Baldassar 2010).

The focus group, however, was revealing about ways in which new technologies are being taken up to facilitate contact with Italian connections, either to maintain contacts with Italian based friends and relatives or to connect the Italian diaspora in Australia in ways that are relevant to postwar, second generation, recent or 'new' migrants.

For example, one of the postwar migrants talked about how she doesn't have a computer, but now uses text messaging to stay in touch with Italian relatives. She said that, '…*SMS yeah, I text message straight away. Even your Aunty texts me now and again. So I keep in contact that way'.*

One of the 'recent' migrants talked about how she used multiple technologies, Skype, email and Facebook, which all were useful in staying close to friends and family. She explained,

> *For me, my main motivation to contact Italy is my family, because they all live there apart from my parents that live here, everyone else is there. I use Skype a lot, probably once a week to talk to my sister … usually on a Sunday, because we're both not working. Also until last year or so - with my grandma - we used to speak on the phone - now finally she has Skype. My cousin set it up for her, so now we speak on Skype and it's the best thing - I remember the first time that she used it was actually quite moving, because she could just not believe that she could see us, she was touching the screen… so Skype's been very, very good. With Face book I use it as well, not to post myself, but to kind of keep an informal contact with my friends…*

The entrance of 'new' migrants, however, is having an impact on communications within the diaspora and between Italy in line with the needs of younger migrants coming to Australia as students, on working holidays or on 457 visas. These contacts go beyond family and friendship networks and are about migrants supporting new migrants. For example, one focus group member, who travels frequently back to Italy, said that she is increasingly being asked to be a contact for new arrivals.

> *I also have received a big number of emails of people asking me - are you in Australia? I got your name from such and such. And this is even people who don't even come to Perth, they go to Sydney, but oh it's nice to have someone in Australia, but I'm in Perth… I say when you come to Perth I'd love to meet you too. So it's a psychological thing, they have someone they know that they may have not met, but they know that they can get in touch with at some stage, whether it's in need or not.*

A further example from the focus group came from someone who, because they received help when they first arrived in Australia, had started a blog about Australia in order to help new arrivals. She explains that the blog has been widely accessed.

> *You feel like helping someone else… we opened a blog on the internet and we've been contacted by so many people, many ages, like pilots from America and others from Canada and people asking how is Perth like. They ask lots of questions like what do you eat there, what do you find at the supermarket?*

Overall, it appears that the use of ICT is facilitating the maintenance and regeneration of the diaspora in line with emerging needs as new migration patterns take hold.

Communications with Business and Professional and Contacts

The survey also asked about communications with business and/or professional contacts who live in Italy as well as with contacts formed through 'other interests'.

Chart 3.6 Frequency and mode of communications with business and professional contacts (frequency)

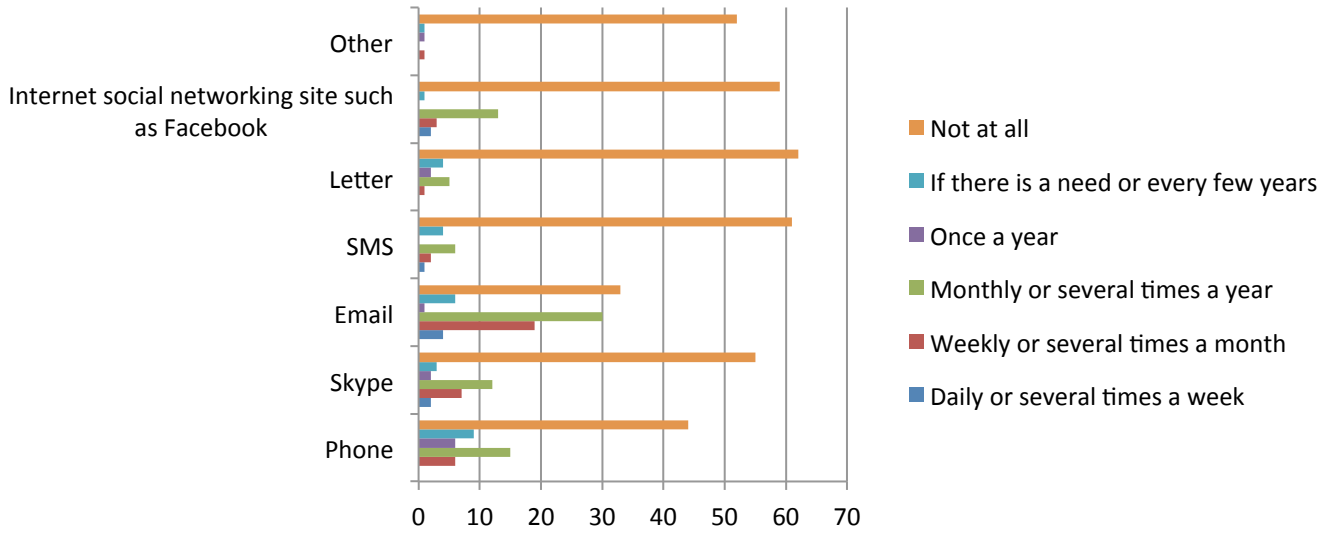


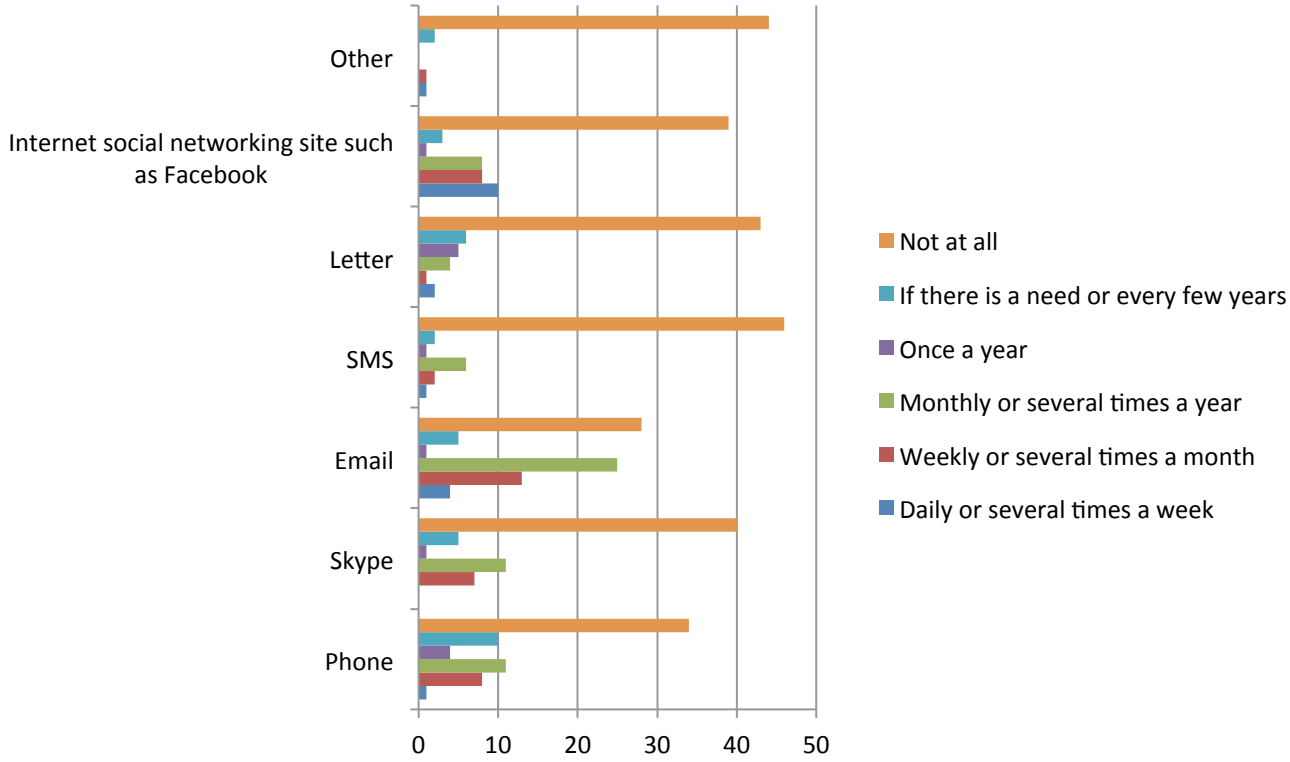
Chart 3.6 shows that there are few who maintain communication with Italy for business or professional reasons. This is in line with the response to an earlier question about whether or not respondents have business or professional contacts in Italy and only 62 (14 per cent) said that they did so. It follows then, that few have this form of communication and of those who do, the most common mode of communication is by email, followed by phone, Facebook or Skype. Less than five people said that they write letters at all.

Amongst the group who do have business/professional contacts, the majority are involved in education and predominantly, are teachers of Italian reflecting both the networks that the survey was distributed through. It may also reflect a common professional pathway for many within the diaspora, who through ties with Italy and language skills are drawn to work in this field.

Communication With 'Other' Contacts?

The survey also asked about communications with contacts formed through 'other interests'. While communication with 'other' contacts is greater than those for 'business and professional' contacts as discussed above, the results to this question was very low and therefore there is very little to usefully comment on. Only 62 (14 per cent) of respondents said they have contacts formed through other interests. As a result, the numbers reporting on use of particular types of communications are very low. In contrast to contact with friends and family, however, email is the most frequent mode of communication with 25 people saying that the use email to communicate 'monthly or several times a year'. This is followed by Skype, phone and then Facebook. Again, very few people send letters by post.

Chart 3.7 Mode and frequency of contact with 'other' contacts in Italy (frequency)

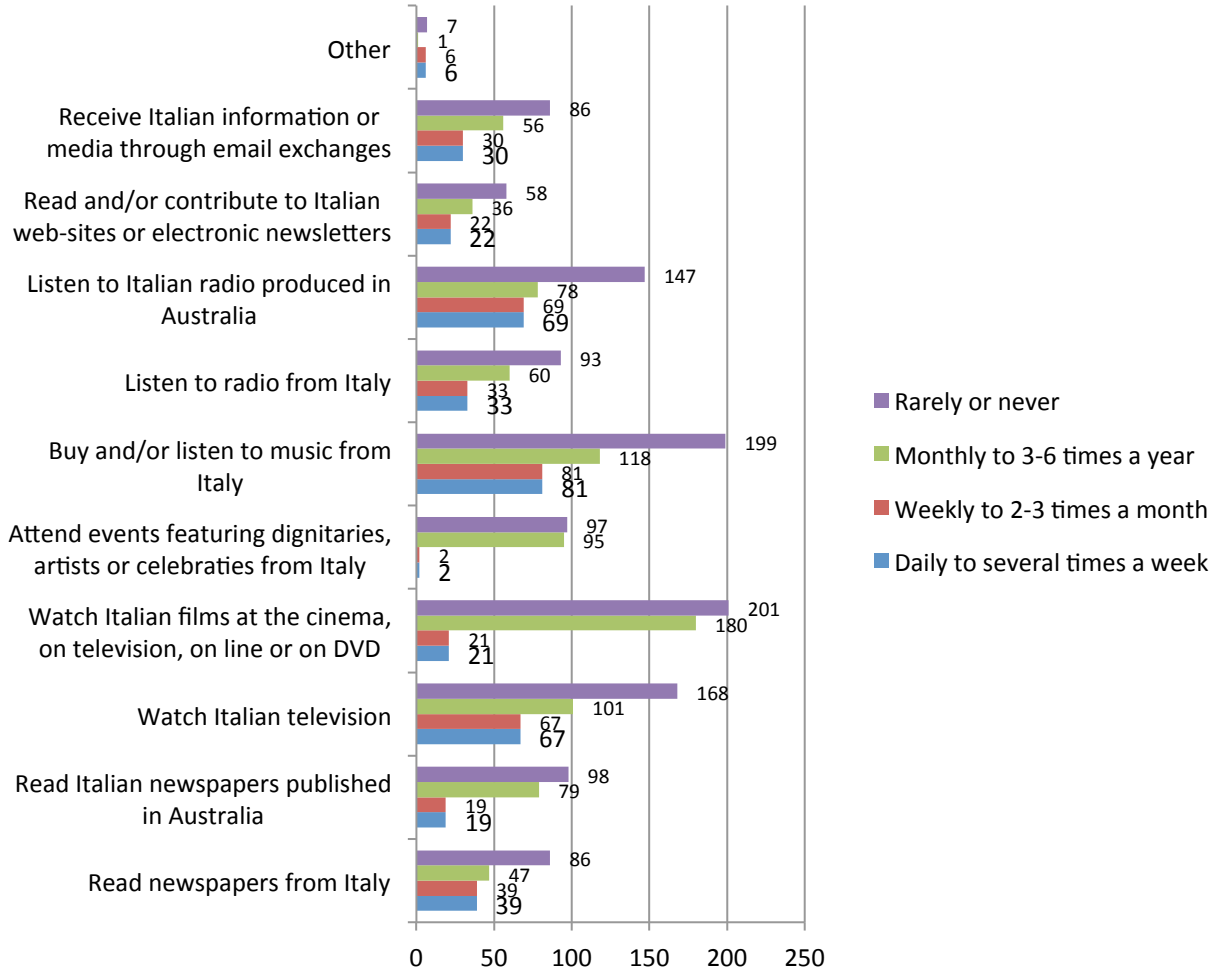


3.4 Italian Media

Media Content

Within the theme of identifying the extent to which respondents maintain communications with Italy, the survey also included questions about the frequency of following different types of media and the purposes for which they do this. The following table shows the responses to a question about the frequency and forms of Italian media followed by respondents.

Chart 3.8 Content and frequency of following Italian media (frequency)



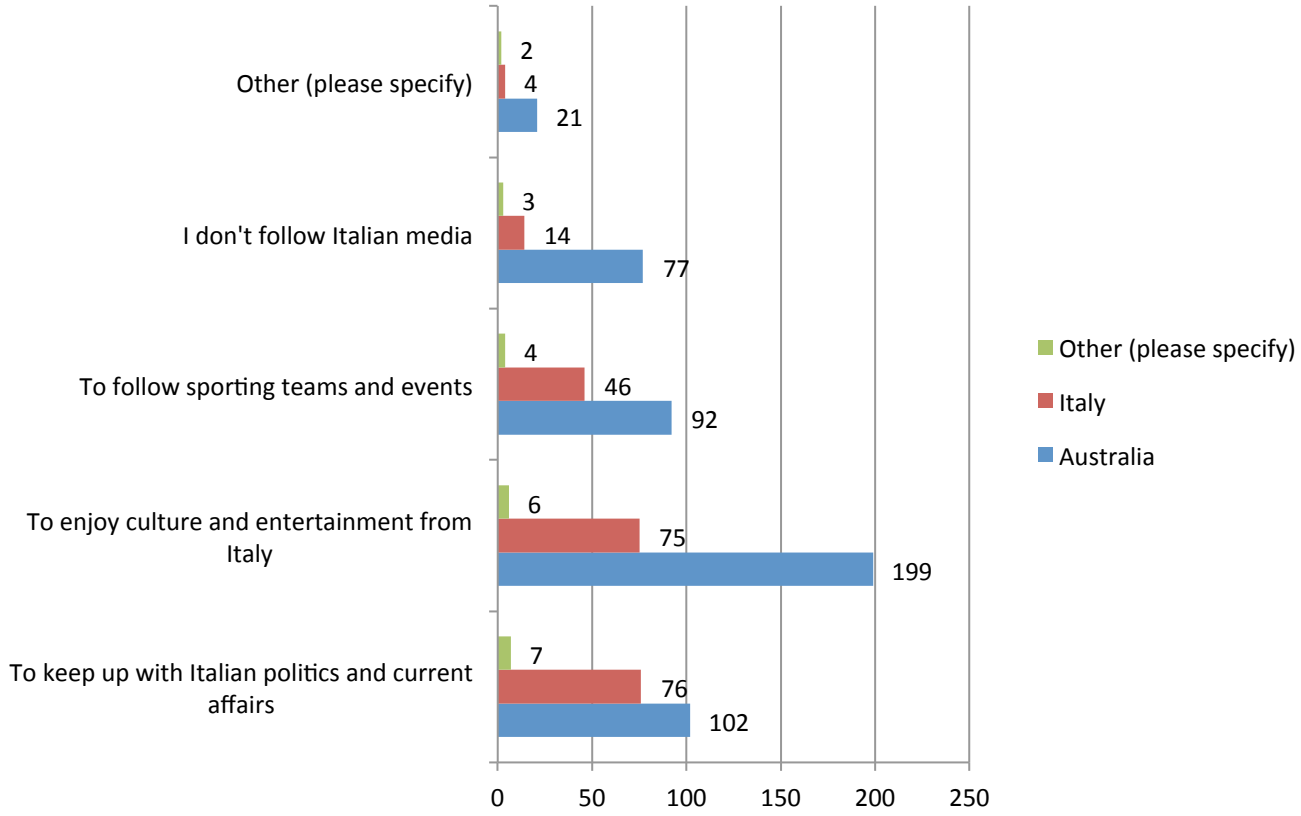
Overall, findings suggest limited engagement with Italian media, with the most common form of media being Italian films followed by listening to Italian music and television. Only small numbers of respondents regularly read Italian newspapers. One of the main reasons for this is that Italian news in both Italy and Australia is in Italian and it is important to note that there is no newspaper or magazine that provides news and information about Italy in English creating a barrier to engagement for second generation Italians with implications for the future of the diaspora in Australia. One possible recommendation from this finding is to provide English language content about Italy to strengthen Italian Diaspora ties. The focus group discussion provided a qualification to this point. The Italian radio program broadcast from Melbourne delivers Italian news (from Italy) in both languages. This radio program has a wide audience in Australia.

In addition, arguably Italian Australians have significant access to Italian diaspora cultural content in Australia in the various 'Little Italys' that exist in the cities as well as some regional areas. There exists quite a visible Italian cultural content in Australian society in general, particularly in Melbourne. A point of reflection is that the cultural content that can be accessed mitigates against the need for diaspora because it is lived here in Australia, especially in Melbourne.

Motivations for Following Media

A further question was asked about motivations for following Italian media and by far the greatest motivation was to 'enjoy culture and entertainment' followed by 'keeping up with Italian politics and current affairs' and then to 'follow sporting teams and events'. Only a small proportion of respondents said that they 'don't follow Italian media' with those born in Italy being less likely to say this. Again, this lends further weight to the notion that the diaspora is better described as a 'cultural diaspora' than a labour diaspora as it could be previously described.

Chart 3.9 Motivation for following media by country of birth (frequency)



3.5 Summary of Visits and Communications With Italy

This section has discussed survey findings in relation to personal ties with Italy through reviewing the findings in relation to visits to Italy, receiving visitors from Italy, communication with Italians and intentions about visiting or living in Italy in future. The section also includes findings in relation to property ownership and consumption of Italian media. All of the findings are discussed in relation to understanding why and how transnational connections are maintained with Italy.

While connections vary across respondents, a large proportion of respondents remain connected to Italy through family and friendship connections and the desire to connect with ancestry. Only a few have never visited Italy and only a few do not have plans for travelling to Italy within the next five years. When they do visit, the majority of respondents stay with family and friends. This is a favor that is returned as many respondents receive Italian visitors who stay with them for considerable periods of time. While there are very few respondents who say they will return to live in Italy permanently, a small majority either intend to live in Italy temporarily or contemplate

doing so. The cost of travel, distance and family commitments in Australia are the barriers that prevent people from going. A further barrier is a lack of opportunities for employment in Italy as well disillusionment about the state of Italian politics and economy.

For a proportion of respondents, links are now weakening as family connections diminish. At the same time, new migration, which is fueled by this disillusionment with Italy and the current economic crisis, has the potential to revitalize the Italian diaspora as it is comprised of individuals who arrive on working holiday visas and are under the age of 30. The size of this group has risen dramatically in recent years from 1,106 entrants in 2006 to 3,178 in 2011 (Markus 2012). This is concurrent with a 64 per cent increase in Italian applications for 457 visas (Business – long stay visas) from 2011 to 2012 (DIAC 2012). This young and rapidly growing cohort (Markus 2012) are highly connected to homeland through all forms of technologies and they are also highly mobile with regular and frequent visits. Another possible finding is that when the homeland is doing poorly, the diaspora is revitalized as source of economic, cultural and community support and sustenance both in reality (providing opportunities especially to youth), as well as through imagined community.

Twenty per cent of respondents are tied to Italy through property that was either bought as an investment, was owned prior to migrating, or was inherited. This is an important tie to Italy for 20 per cent of respondents. Much of this ownership is shared by family members and there is a proportion that treats the property as a holiday home.

The majority of respondents stay in touch with Italian contacts who are primarily family members and to a lesser extent, friends. This is primarily phone or email contact and there is little communication with Italian contacts beyond family members.

Around half of all respondents consume some form of Italian media although this is primarily for entertainment and the most common form of consumption is film, music or Italian (Australian) radio. Very few respondents read Italian newspapers and around one-third use media to keep up with Italian politics and current affairs. A small group, which was slightly biased towards male respondents, with close to 30 per cent of all male respondents compared to 24 per cent of female respondents, indicate that they follow Italian sporting teams and events.

Overall, connections with Italy are maintained by the majority of respondents and these connections are primarily driven by connections through family. Contact for business/professional reasons, as well as for other political or community interest, is very weak.

The following section elaborates on this by exploring the findings of the survey that was specifically aimed at understanding connections with Italy for political or other reasons.

Section 4: Political and Communal Involvement

The following section draws together survey findings that relate to the general theme of 'political and communal involvement'. In particular, we draw from findings that stem from questions relating to the respondent's involvement in political or community activities, their interest in political events in Italy, their contact with people through their political or community interests and the importance placed on government policy in relation to Italy.

4.1 Links to Italy Through Political or Community Involvement

Political Activities

One of the key questions that was asked in relation to political or community involvement was about activities that were aimed at influencing Italian policy. Table 4.1 shows the findings by country of birth.

Table 4.1 Activities relating to the economic or political affairs of Italy

	Australia	Italy	Other	Response per cent	Response count
I am not involved in any activities	246	76	7	79.9%	329
Wrote a letter or commented on an issue or media report by letter, email or talkback radio	3	2	0	1.2%	5
Participated in a public rally or cause	4	5	1	2.4%	10
Wrote to a Member of Parliament in Italy	2	4	0	1.5%	6
Wrote to a Member of Parliament in Australia	2	3	1	1.5%	6
Participated in a fund raising or awareness raising campaign	19	12	1	7.8%	32
Been a member of an Italian organisation that is active in relation to Italian affairs	36	15	3	13.1%	54
I sent money to a charity or welfare organisation in Italy	16	8	1	6.1%	25
Other	6	1	1	1.9%	8

Across both the Italian born and Australian born respondents, almost 80 per cent say that they are 'not involved in any activities. Of those who are or have been involved, the main acitivity was to be 'a member of an Italian organisation active in relation to Italian affairs' (13.1 per cent), followed by 'participated in a fund raising or awareness raising campaign' (7.8 per cent) or have 'sent money to a charity or welfare organisation' (6.1 per cent). All other types of activities recorded a response of less than 3 per cent.

The survey also asked respondents to explain why they participated in an activity and 39 people responded. The major theme from these responses was that some respondents had been active in Italian organisations because they wanted to maintain links with Italy or had a desire to support Italian causes. For example,

> *'I still have a great deal of passion for matters 'Italian''*
>
> *'To create opportunities for my children to maintain a link to their cultural heritage…'*
>
> *'I like to feel I have a connection beyond family. 'Italian' is a part of me and I feel more so by belonging to an organisation'*

Others had contributed to a charity, while others said that, because they have Italian literacy, they would help in Italian organisations, such as charities or welfare organisations, because they could help. Overall, involvement in political or community activities was low and confined to a small minority of respondents.

Organisational Involvement

The survey also asked whether respondents were involved in an Italian organisation in Australia. Findings showed that slightly more than half of the respondents (52 per cent) were involved in an organisation, but the theme continues with that involvement being primarily cultural (27.5 per cent) and social (23.8 per cent) as Table 4.2 shows. It is likely that one of the organisational types that is showing up here is regional associations

established in the postwar period that provide social, personal and welfare support. There is also a very active association called GIA (Giovani Italiani in Australia) targeted at young second generation and new migrants.

A large group (20.4 per cent) is also involved in an educational organisation and a further 9 per cent said they were involved in a 'profession' organisation. Low engagement in political organisations continues with only 4 respondents saying they were involved in a political organisation.

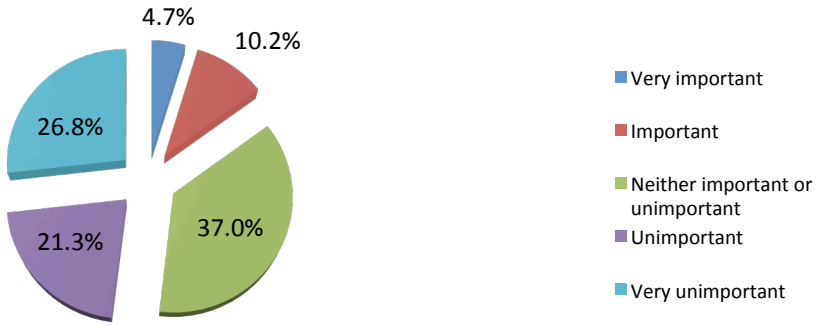
Table 4.2 Involvement in Italian organisations in Australia

Answer options	Response per cent	Response count
I am not involved in any Italian organisations	47.7%	206
Charitable	3.9%	17
Cultural	27.5%	119
Educational	20.4%	88
Religious	4.9%	21
Business (e.g. Italian Chamber of Commerce)	1.2%	5
Professional	9.0%	39
Sporting	6.3%	27
Social	23.8%	103
Political	0.9%	4
Environmental	0.2%	1
Community service (e.g. Italian aged care or other welfare service)	4.2%	18
Military	0.5%	2
Other, please describe	9	9
Answered question	***432***	**432**
Skipped question	***181***	**181**

Government Policy

Evidence of a lack of interest in Italian politics continues with the responses to a question about the importance of Australian government policy in relation to Italy.

Chart 4.1 The importance of Australian government policy in relation to Italy



As Chart 4.1 shows, very few people placed importance on government policy in relation to Italy. Only 63 respondents said that they thought Australia-Italy policy was 'very important' (20 or 4.7 per cent) or 'important' (43 or 10.2 per cent). The large majority were ambivalent on the matter (37 per cent) or 'unimportant' (21.3 per

cent) or 'very unimportant' (26.8 per cent). Such findings reinforce that the diaspora is quite clearly not generated through political ties with Italy.

This impression is further reinforced by findings discussed earlier in relation to the type of contacts maintained by respondents. Very few (14 per cent) identified having any other contacts formed through their interests such as in politics or community organisations in Italy. A minority (42.8 per cent) say that they follow media 'to keep up with Italian politics and current affairs'. Further, while 40 per cent of respondents are eligible to vote in Italian elections, more than half (20.3%) said that they 'chose not to'. Overall, interest in politics is low and is likely to be partly a response to the deep sense of disillusionment that Italians from all walks of life report. From postwar to recent arrivals, there is a general sense of abandoning Italian politics because the economic and political situation is currently in such turmoil.

4.2 Summary of Political and Community Connections With Italy

Overall, it is very clear that the Italian diaspora is not generated through an interest in politics based on the relevant survey questions. Very few people are involved in a political organisation or have been involved in activities that are political in nature. Despite being entitled to vote in Italian elections, less than half took up this option and there is very strong disinterest in Australia-Italy government policy. While there is no doubt from the findings that the diaspora are linked to Italy by family connections, identity and social and cultural interests, political engagement with Italy is clearly not the way in which the diaspora is shaped or formed. However, the new migration is largely fuelled by the disastrous political and economic landscape of contemporary Italy. So politics is a push factor for Italian emigrants to Australia and this could ultimately be one of the most powerful contributions to the Italian Australian Diaspora. Perhaps we could argue that Italian migrants are united by their rejection of Italian politics!

Section 5: Caregiving, Remittances and Philanthropy

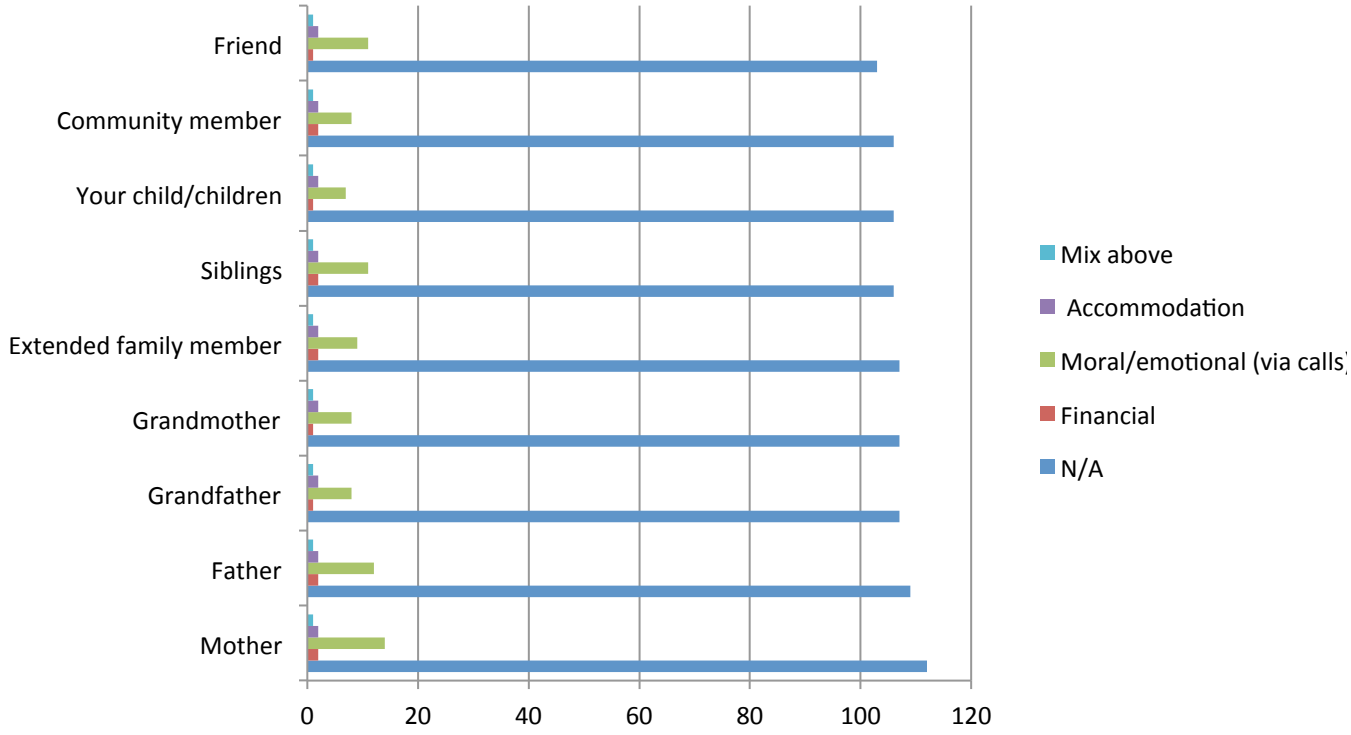
This section reports on the questions that related to care, remittances and philanthropy. In particular, we draw from survey questions that relate to transnational care responsibilities, remittances sent to Italy and the motivations for this. We also draw on information gathered about visiting Italy and the motivations for returning to and spending time in Italy.

5.1 Caring for Friends, Family and Community Members In Italy

Who is Cared For?

The survey asked respondents to identify whether there is a person or people that they care for in Italy. They were also asked to indicate the frequency that they do this and what form this care takes. As the following chart shows, only a small proportion of respondents actually responded to this question (125), and there are few who identify as providing care for friends or relatives in Italy. The very large proportion of respondents said that this question did not apply to them and the open ended responses indicate that most respondents did not have close family members in Italy who they obliged to support. Of the small number of respondents who do provide care, this is primarily 'moral/emotional' through staying in touch by phone and providing emotional support. Very few respondents (1-2 people) said that they send money to various family members. The same applied to people who provide accommodation or a 'mix' of support. Overall, there were very few who have obligations to care for and support people in Italy.

Chart 5.1 Who is cared for and how (frequency)



Visiting Italy to Care For Family, Friends or Community Members

A further survey question that was revealing in terms of respondents care responsibilities was about motivations for visiting Italy. The following chart illustrates the results of this question which shows that shows that, while 'to have a holiday' is the primary reason for visiting Italy, this motivation is also mixed with motivations that stem from family and kinship connections. A small group of respondents say that their motivation is to 'help family members or friends...'. Other important motivations, particularly, 'to strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Italy' of which more than half of all respondents identified as being a motivation for visiting Italy, is within the realm of care and kinship in terms of staying connected with Italy.

Chart 5.2 Motivations for visiting Italy (frequency)

Future Obligations to Care For People in Italy

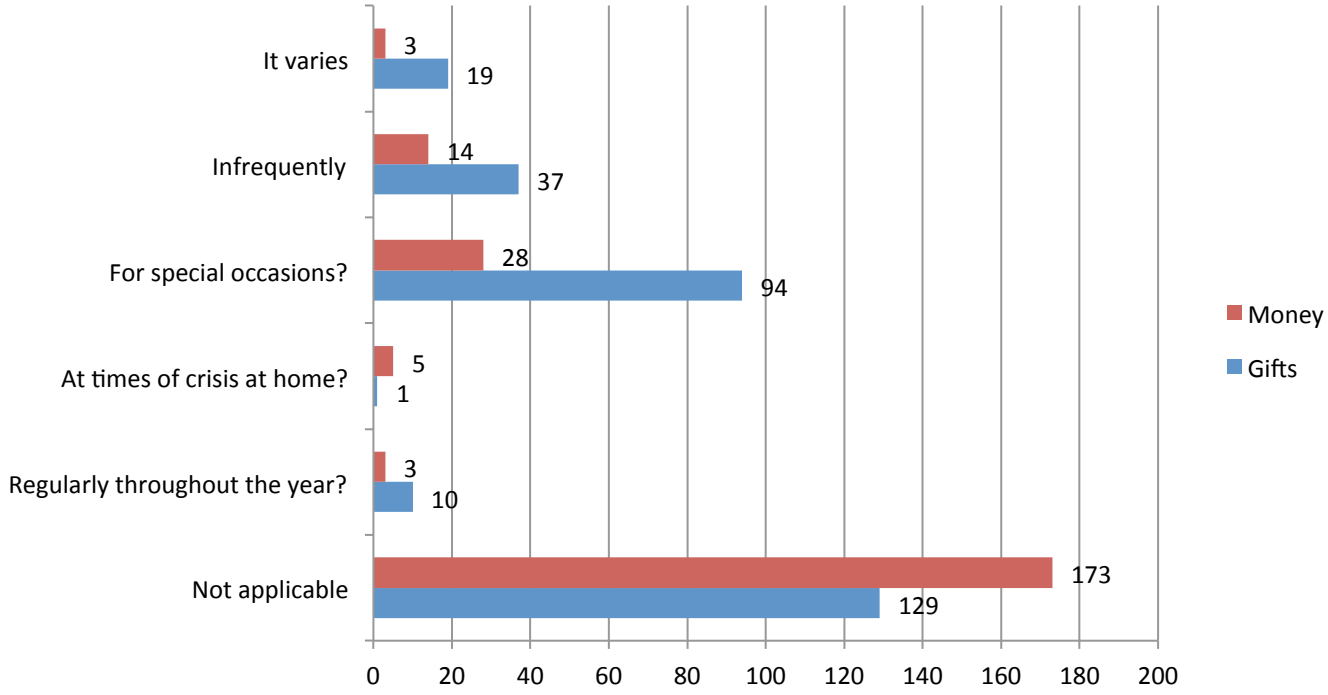
The survey also asked whether respondents anticipated that they will have obligations to care for anyone living in Italy. Four hundred and twenty-four people responded to this question, but only 37 (8.7 per cent) said that 'yes' they anticipate having to care for someone. Open ended responses showed that the main recipients of care will be ageing parents, for example, *'My father, who lives by himself and works full-time, is 81 years old. I anticipate I might have to provide some care.'* Others mentioned other relatives, such as a sibling, aunt and cousins who will need care, for example, *'…my mother's cousin who has no extended family'.*

Overall, however, it is only a small proportion of all respondents who anticipate having to meet future care obligations for family living in Italy.

5.2 Philanthropy and Remittances

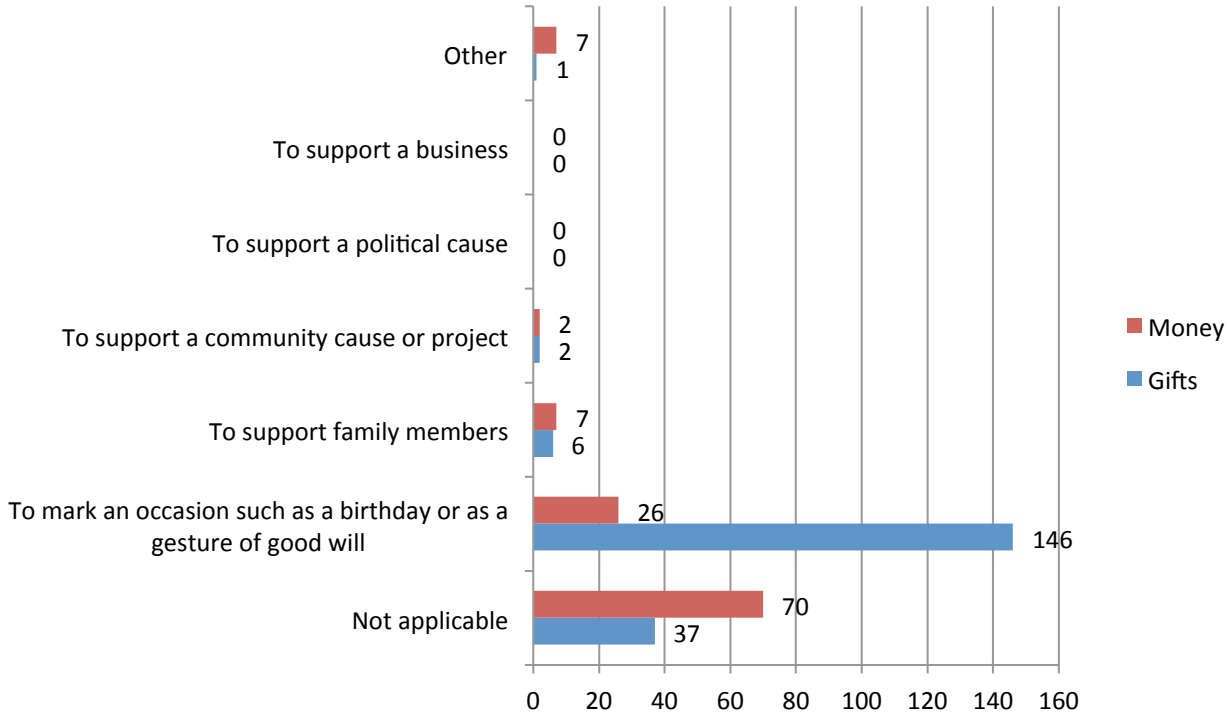
Another important objective of the survey was to identify the extent to which money is sent to the homeland and for what purposes. The survey included a number of questions relating to this objective. The first of these was about the frequency of sending gifts, money or goods to Italy and the following chart shows that the majority of respondents send gifts infrequently for 'special occasions'. There is a similar but lesser frequency of sending money.

Chart 5.3 Frequency of sending gifts, money or goods (frequency)



The survey also asked about the reasons for sending money. Chart 5.4 shows the results of this question which follow from the results of the previous question. That is that the major reason for sending gifts or money Italy is 'to mark and occasion such as a birthday or Christmas'. Very few respondents send money and the only other reasons for sending gifts or money is to support family members and two respondents support a specific cause.

Chart 5.4 Reasons for sending money, gifts or goods to Italy (frequency)

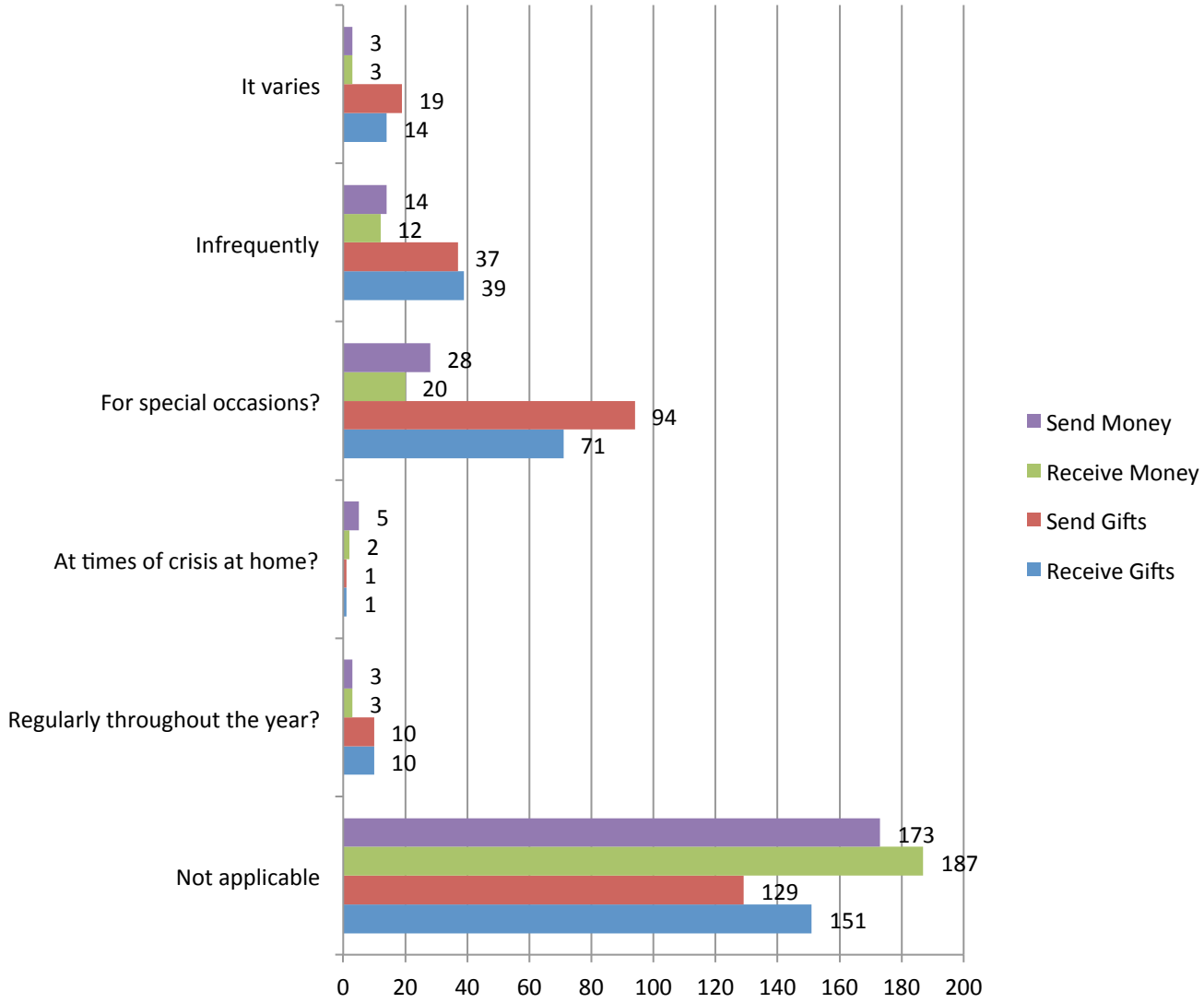


Respondents were also asked to describe the type of goods or gifts that they send to Italy. Eighty-three respondents described what they send. The major type of gift mentioned by 22 respondents was Australian tourist products such as stuffed toys, tea towels, calendars or Australian products such as wine, wool blankets or leather hats. Sending jewelry or clothing was also mentioned or other gifts such as decorations or sweets. Others mentioned family memorabilia such as photos or books. Sending money was mentioned by only five respondents.

Receiving Care From Italian Connections

The survey also asked about gifts or money received from Italian contacts. The findings show that gift giving between the respondents and their Italian contacts is roughly reciprocal with the frequency and purpose of receiving gifts or money being roughly similar to that which is sent as Chart 5.5 shows. For example, 37 respondents send gifts 'infrequently' and 39 respondents receive gifts 'infrequently'. Similarly, 28 respondents send money 'for special occasions' and 20 say that they say that they receive money 'for special occasions'. Very clearly, links with Italy are not forged through remittances or providing financial or other support. Rather, they are reciprocal connections of kinship and friendship.

Chart 5.5 Frequency of sending and receiving gifts, money or goods to and from Italy (by count)



The survey also included a question about the amounts of money sent to Italy and in keeping with the responses shown in Charts 5.5 and 5.4, very few respondents (48) send money to Italy and the majority of this group send money 'infrequently' of amounts less than $1,000 (37). Eight respondents said that they send $1 - $10,000 and only one person sent an amount great than $10,000.

The main recipients of money is a 'relative e. sister or uncle' (23 or 48 per cent) followed by 'a community or religious organisation' (8 or 16 per cent) and immediate family members such as parents or child (7 or 14.5 per cent) and 3 respondents said they sent money to 'others'.

5.3 Summary of Findings in Relation to Care, Remittances and Philanthropy

The discussion above presents the main findings in relation to how ties to Italy are shaped by care-giving, remittances and philanthropy, and the data suggests very little exchange in this regard.

The high proportion of second generation respondents has probably led to the findings suggesting a lower level of transnational activity than that which is actually occurring. While the second generation supports the first

generation in their transnational care-giving connections, primarily by assisting with the use of new technologies, most in this cohort would not have primary responsibility for kin living in Italy.

We also know from the focus group and from the literature that the new migrants are young and so their parents are probably not at a stage in life where they require care. The flow of care-giving for this group is likely to be from home to host country. Further, postwar migrants are all entering their 70s now and so no longer have parents living in Italy, and 1980s migrants have aging parents in need of transnational care-giving but they represent a small proportion of the Italian Australian population. The migration stage and family life cycle stage of the migrant cohorts must be taken into consideration in interpreting these survey findings.

Section 6: Business and Professional Ties

This section draws on survey findings related to how the diaspora is linked to Italy through business and professional connections. These questions relate to trade and import and export activities, interest in business connections with Italy and the motivations for being involved in business and professional activities.

6.1 Business and Professional Contacts

Compared to family and friendship contacts where 96 per cent of respondents have contacts in Italy, there were relatively few who identified having business or professional contacts (62 or 14.1 per cent). In line with this result, very few indicated having regular contact and the primary form of communication is by phone or by email.

The survey also asked whether or not the respondent's job and/or business involves interacting with Italy. A larger number (81 or 19 per cent) said 'yes' to this question. Out of this group, the primary type of interaction was identified as 'business/professional' with 61 people identifying this option. Only two people said they export goods or services to Italy and nine said that they import goods and services.

Open ended responses to this question showed that the largest group of respondents (40 or 57 per cent) related to engagement in education on Italian studies or language. This result was reflective of the high proportion of respondents who are teachers of Italian language or are engaged in studies of Italian migration, history and culture. Many of the responses in this group talked about having contact with a 'sister school' in Italy, arranging student exchanges to Italy, conducting tours as part of an education program or attending conferences in Italy.

There were also seven responses that were related to engagement in tourism, hospitality or cultural exchange. For example, one respondent runs tours to Italy, another is involved with Italian arts organizations and another person said that they visit Italy as they run an Italian restaurant and the go to Italy to keep up with trends and make contacts within their industry. There was a further group of eleven people who listed their exchange with Italy as being connected closely to their profession or industry. For example,

> *'I am a consultant engineer and I maintain some contact with past collaborators, who occasionally call on me for further work. I also provide technical translation services and have done so for Italian clients in the past.'*

Other examples came from people who are involved in publishing, medical, ICT and scientific industries, work with Italian based clients or run part of their business in Italy.

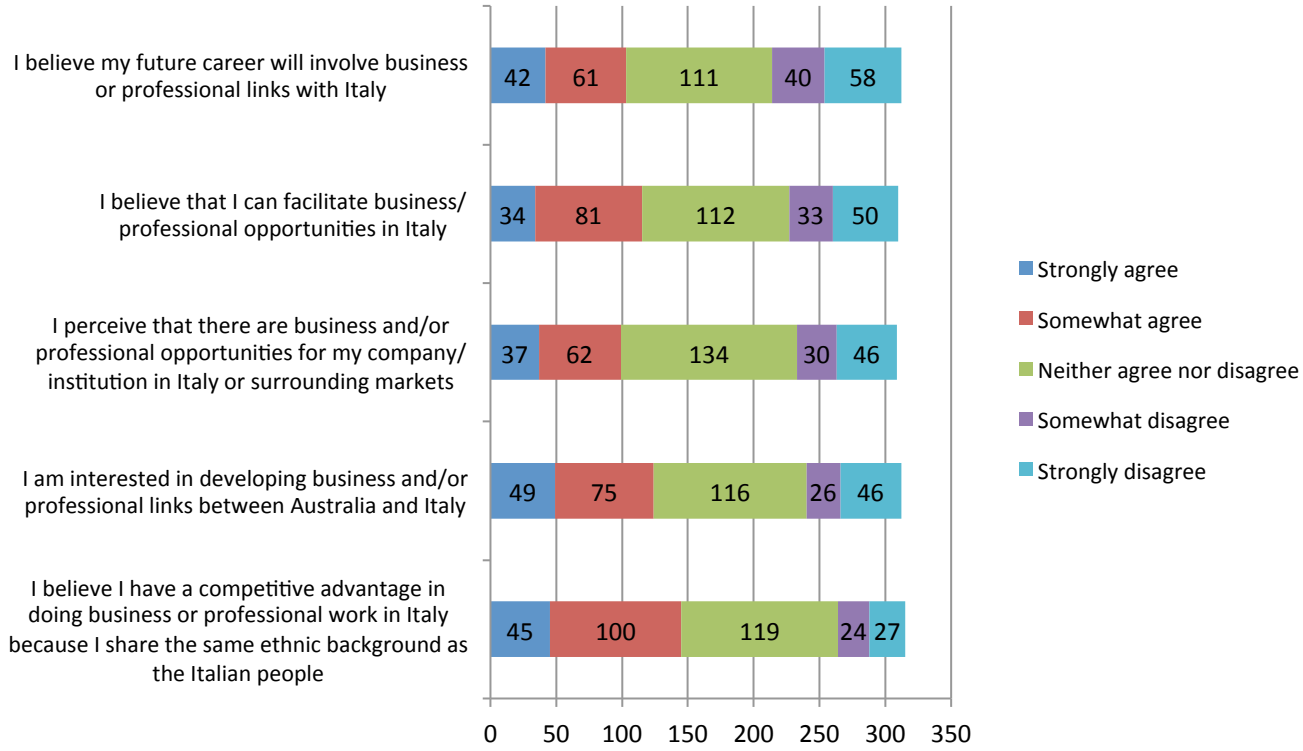
The remaining responses related to importing goods (4). Imports identified included specialty foods, plant equipment and tools. There were also three who work in Italian specific community services which involved engagement with Italy as part of their work. For example, one respondent works for Italian specific aged care services which means that she has need to communicate with Italian based families and other services.

A further question asked whether or not respondents were involved in trade or services with countries in the region. Sixteen (4.5 per cent) respondents said that they did so. Only ten of these respondents explained and half of these responses were essentially to do with shopping online for books, alternative therapies or other goods for personal use. Other responses were relatively brief and revealed little about the nature of the export or import activities they were involved in.

6.2 Motivations and Desire to Engage In Business With Italy

There were a further two questions in relation to business and professional ties with Italy that were to do with their attitudes towards professional engagement and reasons for engagement. Chart 6.1 shows the responses to the first of these questions on beliefs about business or professional contact with Italy.

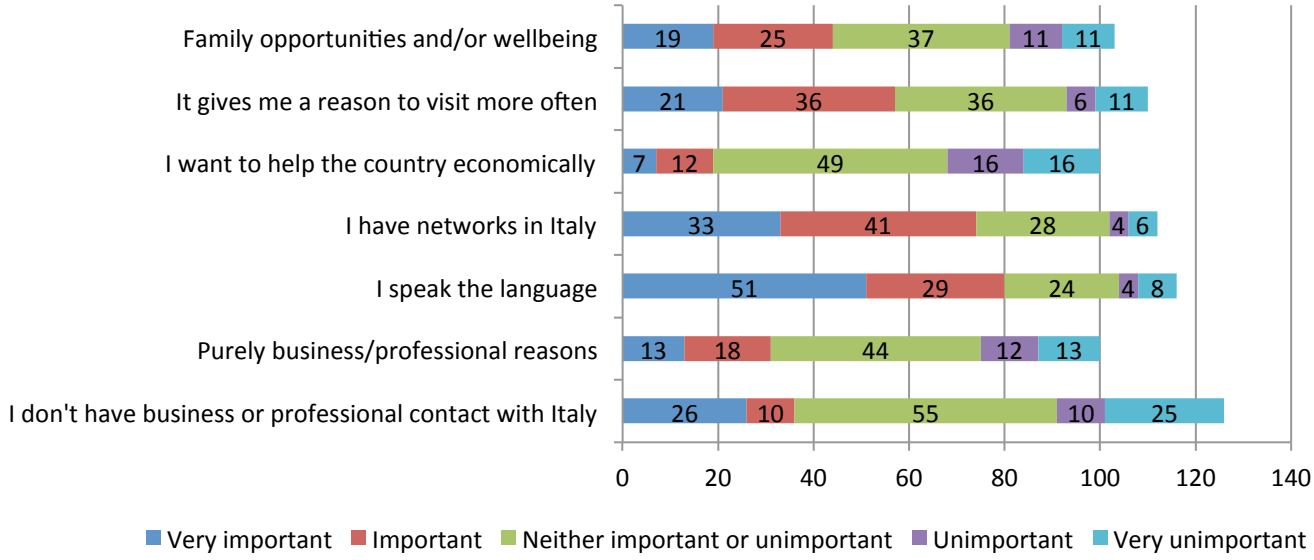
Chart 6.1 Beliefs in business or professional contact (frequency)



The findings shown in Chart 6.1 suggest that there is greater interest and capacity in engaging with Italy professionally and through business than is actually occurring. While the largest group of respondents (approximately one-third in each response category) are ambivalent about business and professional contact, a similar proportion either 'strongly agree' or 'somewhat agree' that they have and interest, capacity or advantage in conducting business in Italy. Of particular interest is the finding that almost 40 per cent of respondents agree that they have an interest in developing business and/or professional links between Australia and Italy. An even greater proportion (46 per cent) believes that they have a competitive advantage in doing business or professional work in Italy. This highlights a gap in the potential for future business and professional engagement with Italy.

A further question asked by the survey was about the rationale for engaging in business or professional contact with Italy. Chart 6.2 shows the results of this question. The factors that stand out from these findings as being either 'very important' or 'important' are those that relate to skills and networks with Italy. The large majority (68 per cent) of respondents to 'I speak the language', identify this as an import skill. There is a similar result in relation to 'I have networks in Italy.' A majority (52 per cent) also identified 'it gives me a reason to visit more often', as a reason for engaging in business and professional connections. In contrast, a smaller proportion (43 per cent) identified 'family opportunities and/or wellbeing' as being a motivation, and a small minority (19 per cent) identified 'to help the country economically' as a motivation for business or professional engagement.

Chart 6.2 Main reasons for having business or professional contact with Italy (frequency).



6.2 Summary of Business and Professional Connections

This section shows the findings from the diaspora survey in relation to those questions that are specifically focused on business and professional engagement with Italy. The results show that only a small proportion of respondents have business and professional ties with Italy, with most of this group being involved in education or research about Italy. Despite this low level of connection, there were considerably more people who expressed both an interest in, and capacity to, having greater business and professional ties with Italy. It is this gap that requires further investigation.

Section 7: Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this report is to report on the key findings of a survey and focus group of the Italian Diaspora in Australia in relation to homeland connections with Italy. These are discussed in light of the history of Italian migration to Australia and the characteristics of the Australian population with Italian ancestry.

The Italian diaspora is one that is shaped by multiple waves of migration since early European settlement, and until recently post-war migrants from Italy have been the most numerically and culturally significant. This period of migration was followed by what we have called here as 'recent' migrants who arrived between 1970 and 2000, which is a group that was primarily motivated by 'love' or lifestyle. While not numerically significant, it was during this period that the Italian diaspora could be understood as a cultural diaspora rather than as a labour diaspora, which was the case during the post-war period. This is currently changing with a new wave of Italian immigration, spurred by the imperative for young Italians to seek better employment prospects than is possible in Italy due to the current economic crisis. However, this wave of immigrants is largely temporary with most entering on temporary student or working holiday visas. There is also an increase in those entering on 457 (business – long stay) visas. So while the survey and focus group identifies much about the character and mode of the Italian diaspora in Australia, these findings need to be seen in light of the contemporary migration dynamics. Australia, in contrast to Europe, is once again seen as a destination that offers migrants opportunities for economic advancement, in some ways similar to their post-war predecessors.

What the survey and focus group did find, however, was a diaspora that remains linked and connected to Italy. The links are largely driven by family and friendship ties, a sense of cultural connection and an identity that is distinctively Italian. The sense of being close to Italy remains strong as well as a sense of identity that is defined both by Italian and Australian national identities. To a large extent, the diaspora is distinguished as being 'bi-cultural' in so far as people feel both identities to varying degrees and depending on context. This is the case for those born in Australia as much as it is for those born in Italy.

There are strong and frequent patterns of visitation to Italy, and the majority express a desire to spend considerable time in Italy in future. This visiting is motivated by a love of Italian culture which means that Italy, to a large extent is a preferred holiday destination. The motivation to visit is also strongly driven by the desire to strengthen connections with family and friends.

The findings show high language literacy and use, engagement in Italian cultural activities in Australia and considerable appreciation and consumption of Italian cultural film and entertainment. Respondents also communicate frequently with Italian contacts and the modes of communication is changing with ICT as vehicle for communication with family and friends with Italy, but also to the broader diaspora as a new wave of migration is emerging. Skype, Facebook and blogs provide the means to disseminate information and form contacts for the increasing travel to and from Australia and Italy.

While these links are strong, there are few connections with Italy that are forged through community or political organisations focussed on supporting the interests of Italy. There is evidence, however, of considerable disillusionment with the Italian political and economic landscape, generating a strong push factor for emigration from Italy. The diaspora is currently being renewed with recent arrivals who are generally highly skilled. This group appear to have little interest in political affairs in Italy – rather they are abandoning a situation for better employment prospects in Australia.

Similarly, there is very little connection that is related to business or professional connections. The exception was those engaged in Italian education, and there were a small group who travel regularly to Italy for professional reasons. There was an apparent gap, however, between the actual level of business and professional engagement between Italy and Australia, which was low, with the level of interest and capacity for engaging with Italy on a business/professional basis. This finding raises some important questions about how that gap might be addressed.

Overall, the survey and the focus group show a diaspora that remains connected to Italy through family and friendship networks, a sustained identity as Italian, a love of Italian culture and through Italian language. It is not a political diaspora, nor one that is sustained through business and professional ties. It is clearly dynamic, however, and currently in a renewed phase of change generated by the European financial crisis and the relatively better economic prospects available to young Italians in Australia. The diaspora in Australia is playing a role in supporting this new wave which will ultimately change the character of Australia/Italian diaspora relations.

The high proportion of second generation respondents has probably skewed the findings for this section to suggest a lower level of transnational activity than is actually occurring. While the second generation support the first generation in their transnational caregiving connections, primarily by assisting with the use of new technologies, most in this cohort would not have primary responsibility for kin living in Italy.

We know from the focus group and from the literature that the new migrants are young and so their parents are probably quite independent still. The flow of caregiving for this group is likely to be from home to host country. The postwar migrants are all entering their 70s now and so no longer have parents living in Italy. The 1980s migrants have aging parents in need of transnational caregiving, but they represent a small proportion of the Italian Australian population. The migration stage and family life cycle stage of the migrant cohorts must be taken into consideration in interpreting these survey findings.

References

ABS (2006). Census of Population and Housing: Cat No 2914.0.55.002, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

Aikins, K. & Sands, A. (2009). The global Irish making a difference together: A comparative review of international diaspora strategies, Dublin.

Anthias, F. (1998). Evaluating 'Diaspora': Beyond ethnicity? Sociology 32(3), 557-580.

Asmar, C. (2005). Internationalising students: reassessing diasporic and local student difference. Studies in Higher Education 30(3), 291-309.

Baldassar, L. (2008). Missing kin and longing to be together: emotions and the construction of co-presence in transnational relationships. Journal of Intercultural Studies 29(3), 247-266.

Baldassar, L. (2010). Italian migrants in Australia and theri relationship to Italy: return visits, transnational caregiving and the second generation. Journal of Mediterranean Studies 20(2).

Baldassar, L., C. V. Baldock, et al. (2007). Families caring across borders : migration, ageing and transnational caregiving. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Bettoni, C. and A. Rubbino (1996). Emigrazione e Comportamento Linguistico: un' indagine sul trilinguismo dei Siciliani e dei Veneti in Australia. Sociolinguistica e Dialettologia, Collana diretta da A. Sobrero, Congedo Editoriale: Galatina (Le) 7.

Bickman, L. and D. Rog (2008). The Sage handbook of applied social research methods. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Bosworth, R. and M. Bosworth (1990). Fremantle's Italians. Fremantle, Fremantle Arts Centre Press.

Bosworth, R. and R. Ugolini, Eds. (1992). War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1945. Rome, Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale.

Bottomley, G. (1992). From Another Place: Migration and the Politics of Culture. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Braziel, J. (2008). Diaspora : an introduction. Malden, Mass., Blackwell Pub.

Brown, P. and H. Lauder (2006). Globalisation, knowledge and the myth of the magnet economy. Globalisation, Societies and Education 4(1), 25-57.

Caruso, M. F. (2010). Italian language attrition in Australia: the verb system. Based on the author's thesis (Ph D), FrancoAngeli, University of Western Australia.

Castles, S., C. Alcorso, et al., Eds. (1992). Australia's Italians: Culture and community in a changing society. North Sydney, Allen & Unwin.

Chiro, G. and J. Smolicz (2002). Italian family values and ethnic identity in Australian Schools. Educational Practice and Theory 24(2), 37-51.

Clyne, M. (2003). Dynamics of language contact: English and immigrant languages. Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M. and S. Kipp (2002). Australia's Changing Language Demography. People and Place 10(3), 29-35.

Cohen, R. (1997). Global diasporas : an introduction. Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Cresciani, G. (2003). The Italians in Australia. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Cutler, T. (2001). A clever country connection. BRW 23(33), 26.

de Lepervanche, M. (1991). The family: in the national interest? Intersexions: Gender Class Culture Ethnicity. G. Bottomley, M. de Lepervanche and J. Martin. Sydney, Allen & Unwin.

DIAC (2012). Subclass 457 State/Territory summary report: 2011-12 to 31 January 2012, Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Canberra.

Douglass, W. (1995). From Italy to Ingham: Italians in North Queensland. St. Lucia, Qld., University of Queensland Press.

Fuchs, T. and L. Wößmann (2007). What accounts for international differences in student performance? A re-examination using PISA data. Empirical Economics 32(2-3), 433-464.

Gabaccia, D. (2000). Italy's Many Diasporas. Seattle, Univeristy of Wellington Press.
Gentilli, J. (1983). Italian Roots in Australian Soil: Italian Migration to Western Australia 1829–1946. Marangaroo, Italo-Australian Welfare Centre.
Griffin, L. (2006). International Graduate Learns the Value of Education. Texas Magazine: 4-4.
Huber, R. (1977). From Pasta to Pavlova: A Comparative Study of Italian Settlers in Sydney and Griffith. St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.
Hugo, G. (2006). An Australian Diaspora? International Migration 44(1), 105-133.
Iuliano, S. (1999). Donne e Buoi Dai Paesi Tuoi: Italian Proxy Marriages. Australian Journal of Social Issues 34(4), 319-335.
Jackling, B. and M. Keneley (2009). Influences on the supply of accounting graduates in Australia: a focus on international students. Accounting & Finance 49(1), 141-159.
Jayasuriya, L., D. Walker, et al., Eds. (2003). Legacies of White Australia: race, culture and nation. Nedlands, University of Western Australia Press.
Johnson, B. and S. Sedaca (2004). *Diasporas, Emigrés and Development, Economic Linkages and Programmatic Responses,* A Special Study of the US Agency for International Development, Carana Corporation.
Jupp, J. (2001). The Australian people : an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins. Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic., Cambridge University Press.
Kitching, J., D. Smallbone, et al. (2009). Ethnic Diasporas and Business Competitiveness: Minority-Owned Enterprises in London. Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies 35(4), 689-705.
Konwiser, K., D. Kavanagh, et al. (2001). Miss Evers' boys. [New York, N.Y.], HBO Home Video.
Larner, W. (2007). Expatriate experts and globalising governmentalities: the New Zealand diaspora strategy. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 32(3), 331-345.
Lee, H. (2003). Tongans overseas : between two shores. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.
Lee, R. (2006). 'Flexible Citizenship': Strategic Chinese Identities in Asian Australian Literature. Journal of Intercultural Studies 27(1/2), 213-227.
MacKinnon, V. (1998). Language Difficulties and Health Consequences for Older Italian-Australians in Ascot Vale. Australian Journal of Primary Health Interchange 4(4), 31-43.
Markus, A. (2012). Australian population and immigration statistics, Scanlon Foundation Social Cohesion Research Program, Faculty of Arts, Monash University, Melbourne.
Mascitelli, B., R. Steele, et al. (2010). Diaspora parliaments : how Australia faced the Italian challenge. Ballan, Vic., Connor Court Publishing.
McDonald, P. (1996). Community Profiles, 1996 Census Italy Born. Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Research and Statistics Unit.
Porpora, D. (2001). Do realists run regressions? After postmodernism: an introduction to critical realism. J. Lopez and G. Potter. London and New York, The Athlone Press.
Price, C. (1993). Australia: A New Multicultural Country? The Politics of Migration Policies. Settlement and Integration. The First World into the 1990s. D. Kubat. New York, Center for Migration Studies, 3-22.
Rubino, A. (2000). Italian and emigration. Encyclopedia of contemporary Italian culture. G. Moliterno. London, Routledge.
Sandler, S. (2003). Towards a Conceptual Framework of World Jewish Politics: State, Nation and Diaspora in a Jewish Foreign Policy. Israel Affairs 10(1/2), 301-312.
Saxenian, A. (2005). From Brain Drain to Brain Circulation: Transnational Communities and Regional Upgrading in India and China. Studies in Comparative International Development 40(2), 35-61.
Sheffer, G. (2003). Diaspora politics : at home abroad. New York, Cambridge University Press.
Teferra, D. (2005). Brain Circulation: Unparalleled Opportunities, Underlying Challenges, and Outmoded Presumptions. Journal of Studies in International Education 9(3), 229-250.
The Economist (2003). A world of exiles. Economist 366(8305), 41-43.

Thompson, S. (1980). Australia Through Italian Eyes. A Study of Settlers Returning From Australia to Italy. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
Tung, R. L. (2008). Brain circulation, diaspora, and international competitiveness. European Management Journal 26: 298-304.
Vinokur, A. (2006). Brain migration revisited. Globalisation, Societies & Education 4(1), 7-24.
Ware, H. (1981). A Profile of the Italian Community in Australia. Melbourne, Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs and COASIT.
Waters, M. (1995). Globalization. London, Routledge.
Welch, A. (2008). Higher Education and Global Talent Flows: Brain Drain, Overseas Chinese Intellectuals, and Diasporic Knowledge Networks. Higher Education Policy 21(4), 519-537.
Xiang, B. and W. Shen (2009). International student migration and social stratification in China. International Journal of Educational Development 29(5), 513-522.

Appendix 1: Research team members and project partners

Research Team

Associate Professor Danny Ben-Moshe	Victoria University
Professor Graham Hugo	University of Adelaide
Professor Loretta Baldassar	University of Western Australia
Professor Therese Joiner	Monash University
Dr Joanne Pyke	Victoria University
Dr Steve Bakalis	Victoria University
Dr Steve Francis	Australian Red Cross
Mr Ordan Andreevski	United Macedonian Diaspora

Project Partners

The Australian Research Council Linkage Project funding
The Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship, State Government of Victoria
The Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Centre for Multicultural Youth
The Australian Vietnamese Women's Association
The Footscray Asian Business Association
The Indochinese Elderly Refugee Association
The Quang Minh Temple
Co.As.It. Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne
The Italo-Australian Welfare and Cultural Centre, Perth
Council for International Trade and Commerce SA Inc.

Appendix 2: Italian Diaspora Questionnaire and Aesults

Introduction - Australian Diasporas: A Survey About Homeland Connections

We would like to invite you to fill in this research questionnaire about people of Italian background living in Australia. This research project is supported by the Italian/Australian Welfare & Cultural Centre and the COASIT Italian Society. The questionnaire is about the ways in which connections with Italy are maintained by migrants, children of migrants and those who have a close connection with Italy. It should take about 10 to 20 minutes to complete depending on how much you want to say.

This is part of a research project being coordinated by Victoria University, the University of Adelaide, the University of Western Australia and LaTrobe University. The purpose of the study is to improve our understanding of how people maintain links with a homeland which represents an important part of their family background, identity or cultural heritage. The information is being collected to understand the connections between homelands and Australia so that government can be advised about how to maximise potential benefits that can flow from these ties.

The following questionnaire asks for a range of details about your background, circumstances and the many ways, and reasons for, staying connected to Italy. All of this information, including financial information, will be treated as completely confidential. Survey responses will be kept securely at Victoria University and no other organisation or government agency will have access to the information. It is also not possible for the researchers to identify any individual who has responded. We do ask at the end of the survey for contact details if you are willing to receive further information about the project or to be involved in other ways.

We do not expect any risks linked with taking part in the survey. If there are any questions that you would prefer not to answer, please only answer the questions you feel comfortable with. If you feel you need any support after completing the survey you can contact a psychologist: Dr Harriet Speed, Ph (03) 9919 5412, email: harriet.speed@vu.edu.au.

If you have any further enquiries, or wish to make comments, please contact Joanne Pyke at Victoria University on (03 9919 1364). If you have any other concerns about this survey, you may contact the Ethics and Biosafety Coordinator, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, 8001, Ph (03) 9919 4148.
March, 2010

Section 2: Background Information

Q. 2.1 Country of Birth?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Australia	72.2%	390
Italy	24.8%	134
Other (please specify)	3.0%	16
	answered question	**540**
	skipped question	**70**

2.1a) 'other' countries of birth.

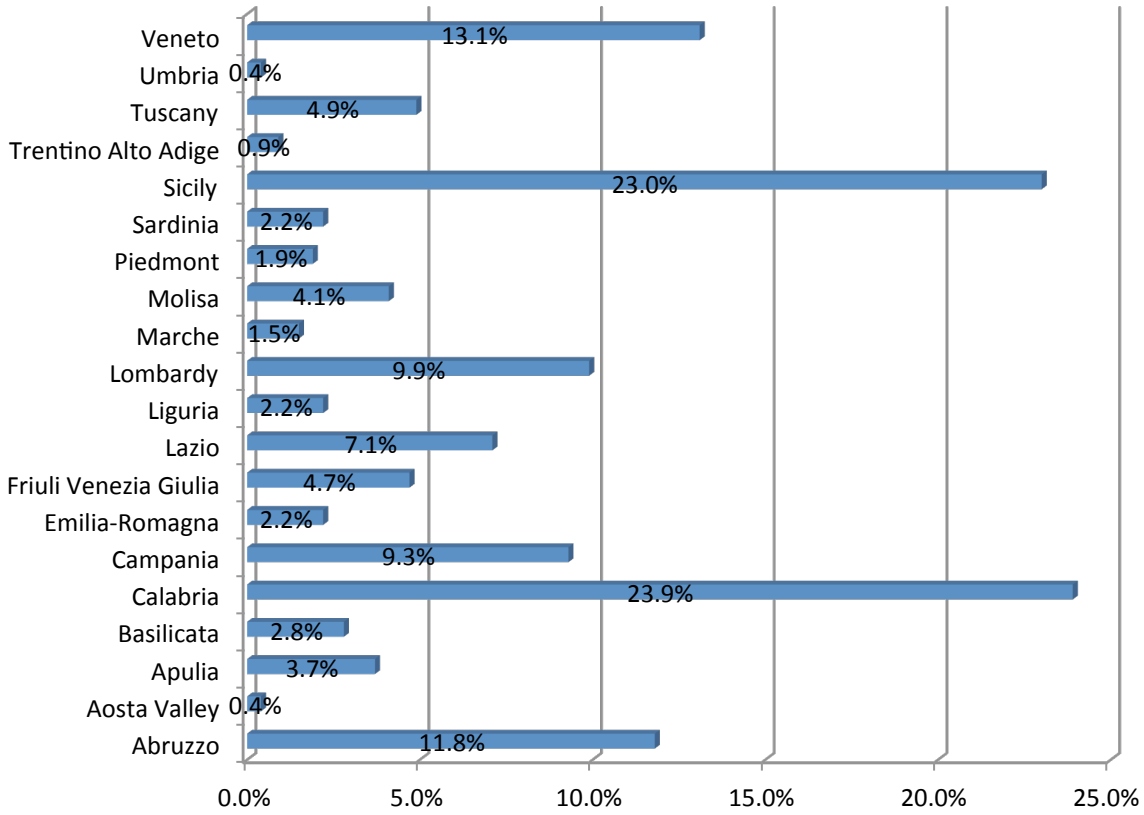
	Frequency	%
UK	4	25.0
Brazil	3	18.8
USA	2	12.5
Africa (incl. Zambia/Ethiopia/SA)	3	18.8
Other European	3	18.8
Bahrain	1	6.3
Total	**16**	**100.0**

Q 2.2 If you were not born in Australia, what year did you arrive?

	Frequency	%
Prior to 1950	2	1.4
1950-1959	42	28.8
1960-1969	26	17.8
1970-1979	11	7.5
1980-1989	10	6.8
1990-1999	15	10.3
2000-today	40	27.4
Total	**146**	**100.0**

Q 2.3 What is the main Italian region that you and/or your family members are connected to?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Abruzzo	11.8%	63
Aosta Valley	0.4%	2
Apulia	3.7%	20
Basilicata	2.8%	15
Calabria	23.9%	128
Campania	9.3%	50
Emilia-Romagna	2.2%	12
Friuli Venezia Giulia	4.7%	25
Lazio	7.1%	38
Liguria	2.2%	12
Lombardy	9.9%	53
Marche	1.5%	8
Molisa	4.1%	22
Piedmont	1.9%	10
Sardinia	2.2%	12
Sicily	23.0%	123
Trentino Alto Adige	0.9%	5
Tuscany	4.9%	26
Umbria	0.4%	2
Veneto	13.1%	70
	answered question	**535**



Q 2.4 Post code?

	Frequencies	%
NSW	20	3.8
VIC	237	45.0

QLD	19	3.6
SA	47	8.9
WA	200	38.0
Nonsense/Other	4	0.8
Total	**527**	**100.0**

2.5 Gender?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Male	36.0%	192
Female	64.0%	341
	answered question	**533**

2.6 Year of birth?

	Frequency	%
1920-1929	6	1.1
1930-1939	25	4.7
1940-1949	27	5.1
1950-1959	90	16.9
1960-1969	91	17.1
1970-1979	69	13.0
1980-1989	127	23.9
1990-1999	96	18.1
Total	**531**	**100.0**

2.7 Your highest level of education?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Post-graduate degree	25.8%	138
University degree	39.4%	211
Non university trade, technical or professional qualification	7.3%	39
Secondary school	19.3%	103
Primary school	4.7%	25
Other (please specify)	3.6%	19
	answered question	**535**

2.7a) 'Other education'

	Frequency	%
Current University Student	7	36.8
Currently at TAFE	2	10.5
Other diploma	2	10.5
University degree (as above)	2	10.5
Postgraduate degree (as above)	1	5.3
Current Secondary School student	1	5.3
Other/Unsure of classification	4	21.1
Total	**19**	**100.0**

2.8 Your current workforce status?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Employed full-time	35.7%	192
Employed part-time	30.7%	165
Self employed	6.5%	35
Unemployed	1.5%	8
Studying full time	30.5%	164
Studying part time	3.9%	21
Full time home duties	1.5%	8
Retired	7.6%	41
Other (please specify)	2.2%	12
	answered question	**538**
	skipped question	**72**

2.8a) Other

	Frequency	%
Maternity leave	4	33.3
Casually employed	2	12.5
University student	2	16.7
Full-time Uni/Part-time TAFE	1	8.3
Finishing PhD/Part-time employed	1	8.3
Full-time Study/Casual work	1	8.3
Finished course and employed for next year	1	8.3
Total	**12**	**100.0**

2.9 What is your occupation?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Manager	6.2%	32
Professional	41.3%	213
Technical or Trade	4.3%	22
Community and Personal Service	2.5%	13
Clerical or Administrative	7.6%	39
Sales Work	10.1%	52
Machinery Operation or Driver	1.0%	5
Labourer	3.9%	20
Other (please specify)	23.3%	120
	answered question	**516**
	skipped question	**94**

2.9a) Other

	Frequency	%
Education/Research (teacher, academic, tutor, lecturer)	29	24.2
Hospitality	23	19.2
Student	36	30.0
Healthcare (Nursing/Psychology)	7	5.8
Belongs with "Professional" category	8	6.7
Assistant/Retail/Home Duties/Babysitting	8	6.7
Random	3	2.5
Retired/Volunteer work	3	2.5
Unemployed/not working	3	2.5
Total	120	100.0

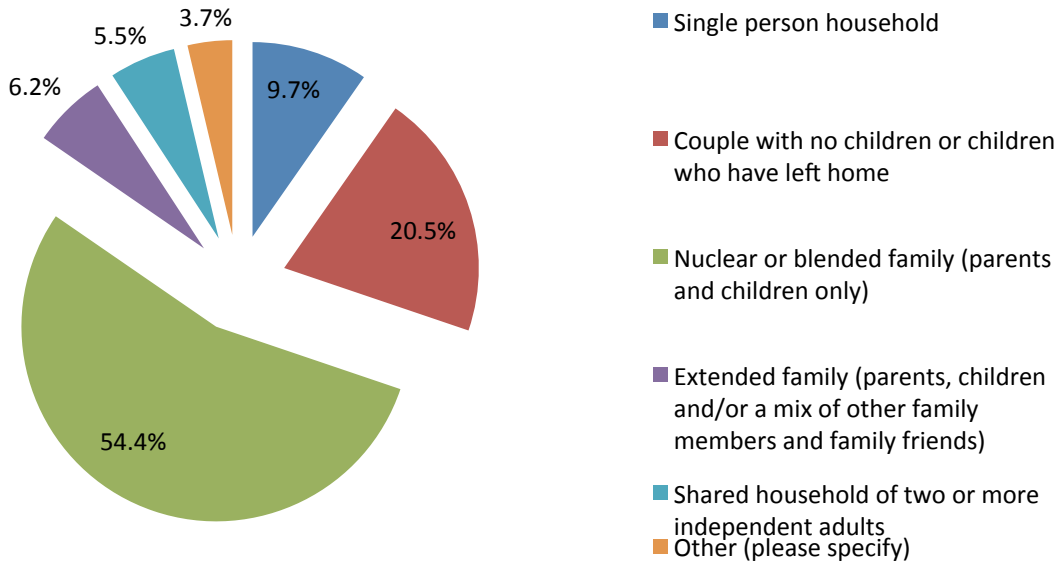
Section 3: Household Information

Q 3.1 Including yourself, how many people live in your household?

Household size	Frequency	%
One	42	9
Two	118	25.2
Three	89	19
Four	143	30.5
Five	54	11.5
Six	11	2.3
Seven	9	1.9
More than 7	2	0.4
Total	**468**	
Average household size	**3.34**	

Q3.2 What description best matches your household?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Single person household	9.7%	47
Couple with no children or children who have left home	20.5%	100
Nuclear or blended family (parents and children only)	54.4%	265
Extended family (parents, children and/or a mix of other family members and family friends)	6.2%	30
Shared household of two or more independent adults	5.5%	27
Other (please specify)	3.7%	18
	answered question	**487**
	skipped question	**123**



Q3.3 Are any members of your household migrants to Australia?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
No	53.6%	255
Yes	46.4%	221
If yes, please state the approximate year that the first household member arrived in Australia.		207
	answered question	**476**

Q 3.3a) Year of arrival of first household member to migrate to Australia.

	Frequency	%
Prior to 1950	3	1.4
1950-1959	62	30.0
1960-1969	59	28.5
1970-1979	28	13.5
1980-1989	14	6.8
1990-1999	13	6.3
2000-today	24	11.6
Missing/N/A	4	1.9
Total	**207**	**100.0**

Q 3.4 Are you the first member of your extended family to arrive in Australia from Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	20.7%	100
No	79.3%	383
	answered question	**483**

Q 3.5 If 'no', who was the first member of your family to arrive and approximately what year did they arrive?

Q 3.5a) First member of the family to arrive:

	Frequency	%
Parent	157	40.2
Grandparent	181	46.3
Aunt/Uncle	21	5.4
Sibling	11	2.8
Great/Great great grandparent	8	2.0
Random (ie. Great uncle, wife's sister, father's cousin)	11	2.8
Nonsense	2	0.5
Total	391	100.0

Q 3.5b) Approximate year of arrival

	Frequency	%
Prior to 1920	6	1.5
1920-1929	25	6.4
1930-1939	26	6.6
1940-1949	42	10.7
1950-1959	199	50.9
1960-1969	65	16.6
1970-1979	11	2.8
1980-1989	3	0.8
1990-1999	2	0.5
2000-2009	2	0.5
Missing/wrote comments	11	2.8
Total	391	100.0

Q 3.6 What were the main reasons your family initially left Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Don't know/not applicable	4.4%	21
Employment and/or business opportunities	49.9%	238
To gain international experience for career enhancement	2.7%	13
Opportunity for a better quality of life	71.3%	340
Escape from dangerous or threatening circumstances in Italy	12.2%	58
Family reunion	8.2%	39
Marriage to an Australian citizen	2.1%	10
Opportunities for children	22.2%	106
Study	1.7%	8
Adventure	5.2%	25
Other (please specify)	4.2%	20
	answered question	**477**
	skipped question	**133**

Q 3.6a) Other

	Frequency	%
Belongs with employment/business opportunities	4	20.0
Belongs with escape from dangerous threatening circumstances	3	15.0
Belongs with adventure	2	10.0
Displaced persons	2	10.0
Other reasons	5	25.0
Response not clear or N/A	4	20.0
Total	20	100.0

Q 3.7 Please identify the country of birth of each of the other household members and your relationship to that person.

Q 3.7a)Country of birth of other household members

Answer Options	Australia	Italy	Other	Response Count
Person 1	250	138	52	440
Person 2	230	68	25	323
Person 3	193	18	13	224
Person 4	74	11	8	93
Person 5	25	6	2	33
Person 6	8	5	3	16
Others	3	1	2	6

Q 3.7b) Your relationship to that person

Answer Options	Wife/husband or life partner	Parent	Grandparent	Brother or sister	Child	Grandchild	Other relative	Friend	Other	Response Count
Person 1	215	149	6	17	22	0	3	10	5	427
Person 2	8	145	1	27	114	1	2	11	3	312
Person 3	1	26	6	93	78	2	2	5	3	216
Person 4	1	6	6	36	26	4	2	3	4	88
Person 5	0	3	1	7	10	4	4	0	2	31
Person 6	0	2	1	3	3	2	3	0	2	16
Others	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	5

Q3.8 What languages are spoken in your household?

Q3.8a)Language

Answer Options	English	% total respondents	Italian	%total respondent	Other	%total respondent	Response Count
Language 1	401	86	60	12.9	5	1	466
Language 2	45	9.6	235	50.4	18	3.8	298
Language 3	7	1.5	6	1.3	31	6.6	44

Q3.8b) Approximate % time spoken

Answer Options	Not at all	Less than 20%	20 - 40%	40 - 60%	60 - 80%	80 - 100%	Always	Response Count
Language 1	0	5	13	38	57	160	143	416
Language 2	1	126	71	41	7	10	5	261
Language 3	3	25	3	1	1	5	2	40

Q3.8c) (Other) please specify.

	Frequency	%
Italian	18	29.0
Other Italian dialect	14	22.6
French/Spanish/Portuegese/Combination of these	15	24.2
German/Polish/Russian/Slovenian	6	9.7
Mandarin/Sinhalese/Indonesian	4	6.5
Maltese/Sicilian	3	4.8
Greek	1	1.6
Africaans	1	1.6
Total	62	100.0

Q3.9 How well do you speak, read and write in:

Speaking					
Answer Options	**Very well**	**Well**	**Not well**	**Not at all**	**Response Count**
Italian?	206	154	104	23	487
English?	408	42	3	1	454
Another language?	31	44	49	42	166

Reading					
Answer Options	**Very well**	**Well**	**Not well**	**Not at all**	**Response Count**
Italian?	187	160	94	35	476
English?	400	32	6	7	445
Another language?	18	53	41	44	156

Writing					
Answer Options	**Very well**	**Well**	**Not well**	**Not at all**	**Response Count**
Italian?	146	145	118	64	473
English?	381	36	10	14	441
Another language?	13	40	55	48	156

	Question Totals
answered question	**487**
skipped question	**123**

Q3.10 Please indicate the main languages that you speak with different family members?

Answer Options	Not applicable	Always or mostly English	Always or mostly Italian	Always or mostly English and Italian	Other	Response Count
The main language you speak to your children	189	165	20	48	2	424
The main language your children speak to you	192	196	11	21	3	423
The main language you speak to your parents	16	188	130	93	15	442
The main language your parents speak to you	17	173	151	84	14	439
The main language you speak to your siblings or other family	17	325	52	47	13	454
The main language you speak to your Grandparents	145	76	121	70	5	417
The main language your Grandparents speak to you	137	47	140	86	8	418
The main language your siblings or other family members speak to you	15	312	67	51	13	458
The main language you speak to your family members in Italy	48	22	321	49	14	454
Other (please specify)						50
				answered question		**477**

Q3.10a) Other, please specify

	Frequency	%
Other Italian dialect (or Italian and dialect)	25	50.0
Other comments about the question	17	34.0
Spanish or Portugese	4	8.0
Croation or Slovenian	2	4.0
German or French	2	4.0
Total	50	100.0

Q3.11 Do you have a property such as a house or land in Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
No	80.2%	386
Yes	19.8%	95
If yes, please describe		79
	answered question	**481**

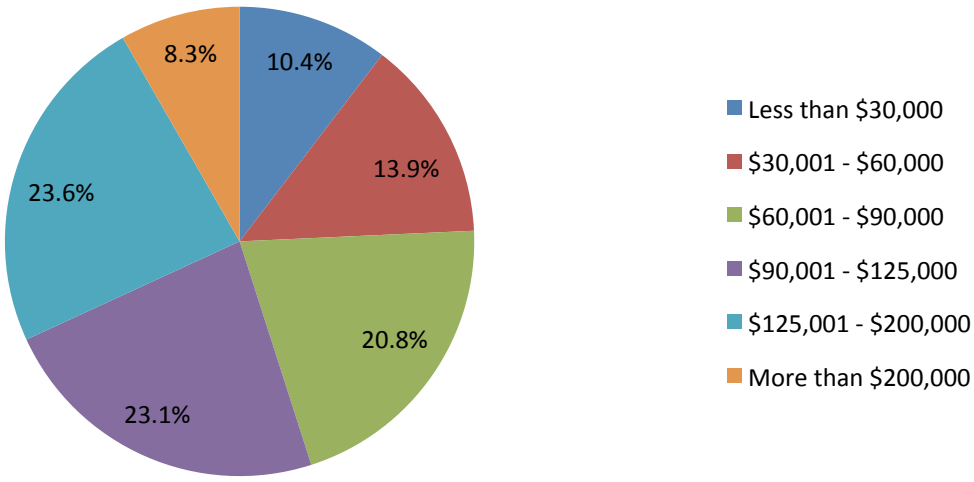
Q3.11a) If yes, please describe

	Frequency	%
House	13	16.5
Land	5	6.3
2 properties listed (eg. House and land)	6	7.6
Unit/Apartment	7	8.9
Family owns property	28	35.4
Farmland/fields/holiday house	11	13.9
Nonsense	4	5.1
Multiple properties listed (eg. House, apartment & land)	2	2.5
Inherited property	3	3.8
Total	79	100.0

Q3.12 Approximately, what is your total household annual income?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Less than $30,000	10.4%	44
$30,001 - $60,000	13.9%	59
$60,001 - $90,000	20.8%	88
$90,001 - $125,000	23.1%	98
$125,001 - $200,000	23.6%	100
More than $200,000	8.3%	35
	answered question	**424**
	skipped question	**186**

Approximately, what is your total household annual income?



Section 4: Citizenship and relationship with Italy

Q4.1 What is your citizenship status?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Australian citizen	68.7%	327
Citizen of another country	3.8%	18
Dual citizenship	28.6%	136
Temporary resident	1.3%	6
Permanent resident	3.8%	18
Visitor	0.8%	4
If you are a citizen of another country, please specify the country. If you are have a temporary Australian visa, please specify the type of visa you hold.		89
answered question		**476**
skipped question		**134**

Q4.1a) Type of visa/citizenship other than Australian

	Frequency	%
Italian	59	66.3
Italian and Australian	15	16.9
UK/Britain	6	6.7
Dual (Italian and one other)	2	2.2
Student or student visa	3	3.4
Other European	3	3.4
Brazil	1	1.1
Total	89	100.0

Q4.2 If you are not an Australian citizen, would you like to become a citizen?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	47.5%	28
No	27.1%	16
Other, please explain	25.4%	15
answered question		**59**
skipped question		**551**

Q4.2a) Other, please explain

	Frequency	%
Already Australian citizen or dual citizen	6	40.0
N/A or Maybe or Don't Know	6	40.0
Other random	3	20.0
Total	15	100.0

Q4.3 Did you vote in the last elections held in Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	19.3%	91
No, I chose not to OR	20.4%	96
No, I am not entitled to vote	57.3%	270
Other comments	3.0%	14
	answered question	**471**
	skipped question	**139**

Q4.3a) Other comments

- Can't remember/Don't know if entitled
- Did not receive voting information
- No - too young, was not Italian citizen
- Anti-voting

Q4.4 How do you describe your identity?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Australian	19.1%	91
Italian	13.2%	63
Italian/Australian	26.1%	124
Australian/Italian	33.0%	157
Other (please specify)	8.6%	41
	answered question	**476**
	skipped question	**134**

Q4.4a) Other (please specify)

	Frequency	%
Some combination of Australian/Italian	9	22.0
Italian/Something else	5	12.2
Italian/Australian/one other (listed 3 nationalities)	12	29.3
Silician or Calabrese/Australian	3	7.3
Depends/Other/Confused	8	19.5
Global/American/European	3	7.3
First gen Australian	1	2.4
Total	41	100.0

Q4.5 How close do you feel towards Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Very close	26.7%	127
Close	37.7%	179
Not close or distant	24.2%	115
Distant	6.3%	30
Very distant	2.9%	14
Other (please specify)	2.1%	10
	answered question	**475**
	skipped question	**135**

Q4.5a) Other

	Frequency	%
Heart is in Italy	2	20.0
Feel close to family/people there	2	20.0
Close (for other reasons)	3	30.0
Not sure/Nonsense	3	30.0
Total	10	100.0

Q4.6 How often do you visit Italy?

Answer Options	Response %	Response count
I have never visited/have not had the opportunity to visit Italy	15.8%	73
I visit approximately every 2 - 3 years	28.8%	133
I visit every year	7.4%	34
I visit several times a year	0.2%	1
I visit when there is a need or occassion	18.6%	86
Other	29.2%	135
Please explain the reasons why you visit as frequently or infrequently as you do		262
	answered question	**462**
	skipped question	**148**

Q4.6a) Other

	Count	%
Holidays	17	6.5
Family (incl. Family & love the country)	41	15.6
Family and holidays	27	10.3
Work/Research/Study/Business (incl. these reasons + family or holiday)	15	5.7
Have visited but do not give reason	55	21.0
Lists financial reasons, time, or distance for going infrequently or not as frequently as would like	67	25.6
Love for country/heritage/background/culture reasons	7	2.7
Could not go frequently because of family or other commitments in Australia	12	4.6
Haven't been or haven't had the chance to go	5	1.9
Have lived in Italy or want to live there for extended period of time	6	2.3
Does not visit frequently for other reasons (eg. Afraid of flying, cannot travel)	5	1.9
Other	5	1.9
Total	262	100.0

Q4.7 In the last five years, how long did you spend in Italy in total?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I don't intend to go to Italy in the next five years	14.2%	66
Less than two weeks	4.5%	21
More than two weeks to less than one month	25.4%	118
More than one month to less than three months	30.6%	142
More than three months to less than six months	13.8%	64
More than six months	9.9%	46
I live in both Italy and Australia	1.5%	7
Please describe why you went to Italy		181
	answered question	**464**
	skipped question	**146**

Q4.7a) Describe why you plan to go to Italy

Answer options	Frequency	%
To see family/Family reasons	52	28.7
Holiday/Vacation/Touring	22	12.2
Holiday & Family	37	20.4
Love of the country/to explore culture/background/roots	21	11.6
For study/work/school trip	25	13.8
"As above"	5	2.8
Long service leave	2	1.1
Expressed desire to go but did not say why	8	4.4
Other reasons	6	3.3
No plans to go to Italy in the next 5 years	3	1.7
Total	181	100.0

Q4.8 In the next five years, how long do you intend to spend in Italy in total?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I don't intend to go to Italy in the next five years	14.2%	66
Less than two weeks	4.5%	21
More than two weeks to less than one month	25.4%	118
More than one month to less than three months	30.6%	142
More than three months to less than six months	13.8%	64
More than six months	9.9%	46
I live in both Italy and Australia	1.5%	7
Please describe why you plan to go to Italy		181
	answered question	**464**

Q4.8a) Please describe why you plan to go to Italy

	Frequency	%
To see family/Family reasons	52	28.7
Holiday/Vacation/Touring	22	12.2
Holiday & Family	37	20.4
Love of the country/to explore culture/background/roots	21	11.6
For study/work/school trip	25	13.8
"As above"	5	2.8
Long service leave	2	1.1
Expressed desire to go but did not say why	8	4.4
Other reasons	6	3.3
No plans to go to Italy in the next 5 years	3	1.7
Total	181	100.0

Q4.9 Do you want to live in Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, permanently	3.6%	17
Yes, temporarily	33.5%	159
No	47.4%	225
Unsure	15.6%	74
Please explain the reasons for your answer to this question.		233
	answered question	**475**
	skipped question	**135**

Q4.9a) Explain the reasons for you answer to this question

	Frequency	%
No - prefer to live in Australia/cannot leave Australia/Concerned about life there	132	56.7
Would like to temporarily or permanently depending on circumstances	82	35.2
Ambiguous/Depends/Unsure how to interpret	19	8.2
Total	233	100.0

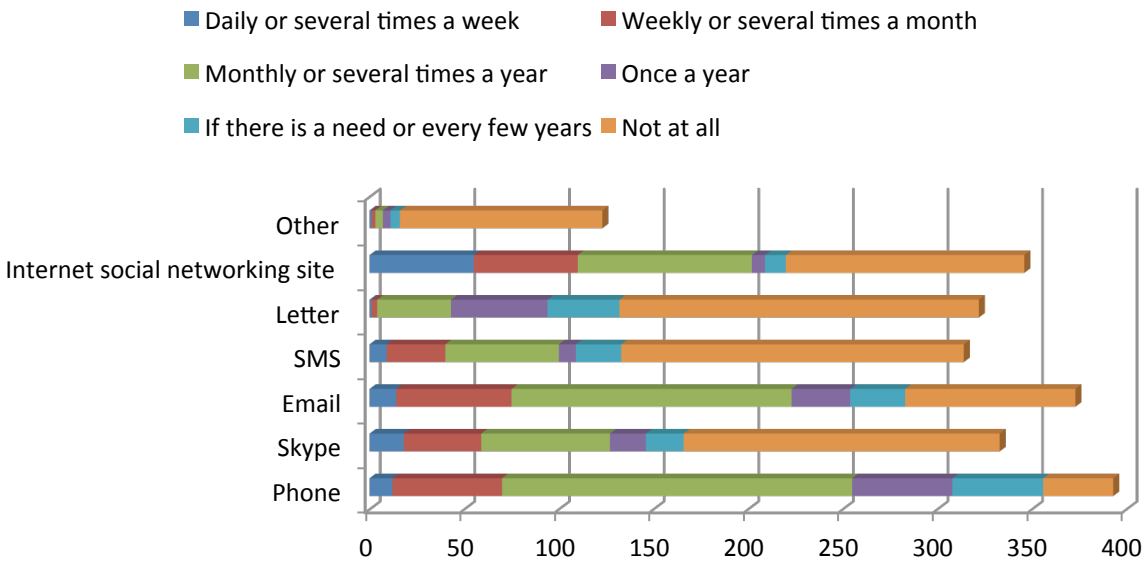
Section 5: Links with Italy

Q5.1 Do you have family members or friends who live in Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	95.7%	428
No	4.3%	19
	answered question	**447**
	skipped question	**163**

Q5.2 How do you stay in touch with family members and friends?

Answer Options	Daily or several times a week	Weekly or several times a month	Monthly or several times a year	Once a year	If there is a need or every few years	Not at all	Response Count
Phone	12	58	185	53	48	37	393
Skype	18	41	68	19	20	167	333
Email	14	61	148	31	29	90	373
SMS	9	31	60	9	24	181	314
Letter	1	3	39	51	38	190	322
Social media eg Facebook	55	55	92	7	11	126	346
Other	1	2	4	4	5	107	123



Q 5.2a) Other forms of communication

Answer options	Frequency	%
Other family member is in touch	17	48.6
Send cards/gifts on special occasions	5	14.3
In person - seen family/friends when travelling to Italy	3	8.6
Don't keep in touch	2	5.7
MSN or gmail	3	8.6
Other	5	14.3
Total	35	100.0

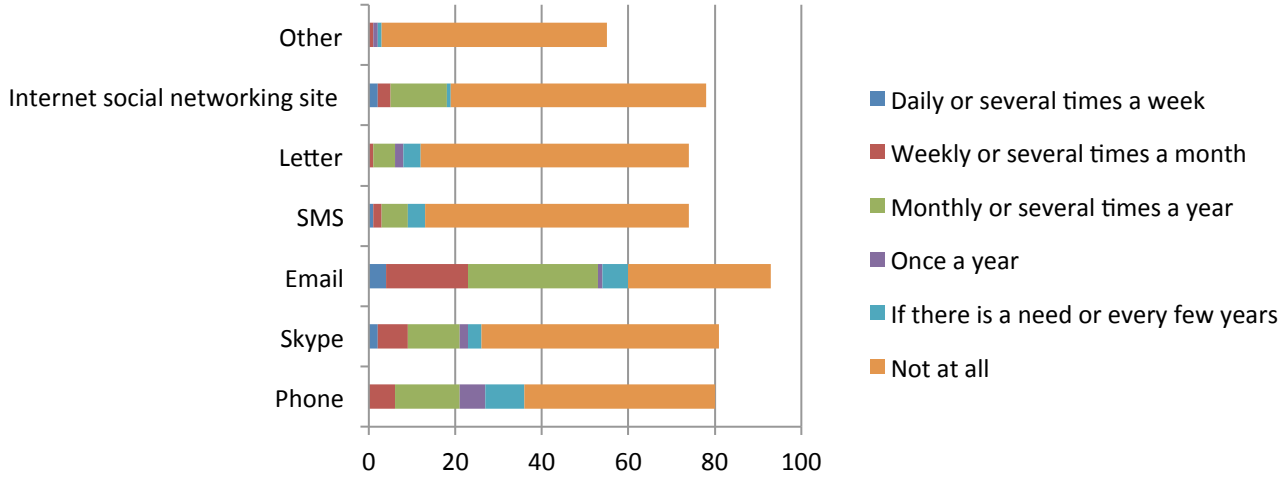
Q5.3 Do you have business and/or professional contacts who live in Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	14.1%	62
No	85.9%	377
	answered question	**439**
	skipped question	**171**

Q5.4 How do you stay in touch with business and/or professional contacts?

Answer Options	Daily or several times a week	Weekly or several times a month	Monthly or several times a year	Once a year	If there is a need or every few years	Not at all	Response Count
Phone	0	6	15	6	9	44	80
Skype	2	7	12	2	3	55	81
Email	4	19	30	1	6	33	93
SMS	1	2	6	0	4	61	74
Letter	0	1	5	2	4	62	74
Internet social networking site such as Facebook	2	3	13	0	1	59	78
Other	0	1	0	1	1	52	55

	Question Totals
If other, please describe	10
answered question	**101**
skipped question	**509**



Q5.4 Other

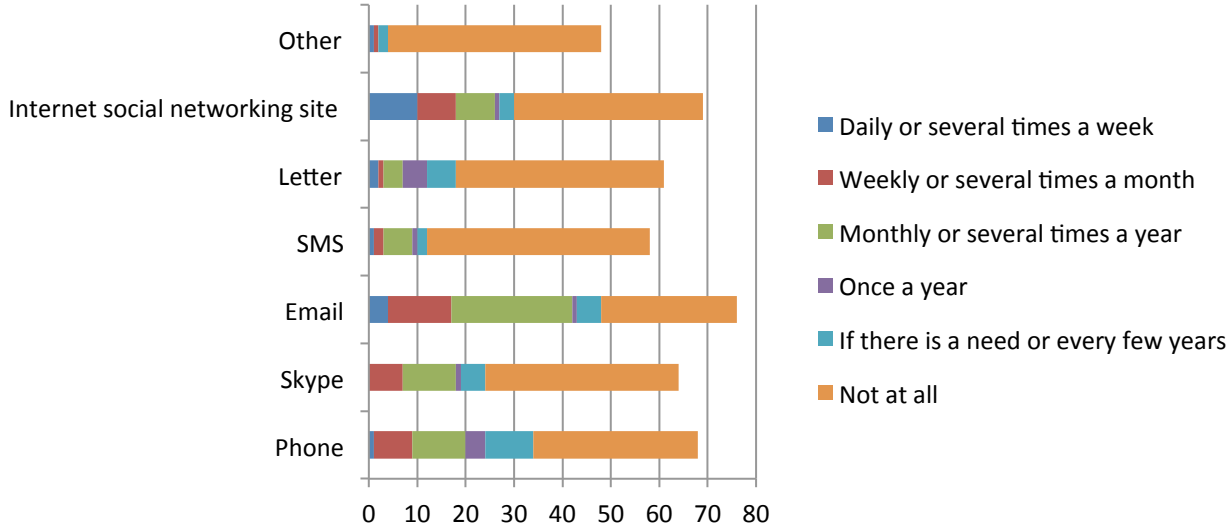
	Frequency	%
N/A	5	50.0
Conferences	1	10.0
Other person (relative) makes contact	2	20.0
Other	2	20.0
Total	10	100.0

Q5.5 Do you have contacts that you have through your interests or beliefs such as a religious or community network who live in Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	14.3%	62
No	85.7%	371
	answered question	**433**
	skipped question	**177**

Q5.6 How do you stay in touch with your contacts who share your interests?

Answer Options	Daily or several times a week	Weekly or several times a month	Monthly or several times a year	Once a year	If there is a need or every few years	Not at all	Response Count
Phone	1	8	11	4	10	34	68
Skype	0	7	11	1	5	40	64
Email	4	13	25	1	5	28	76
SMS	1	2	6	1	2	46	58
Letter	2	1	4	5	6	43	61
Social media/Facebook	10	8	8	1	3	39	69
Other	1	1	0	0	2	44	48
If other, please describe							9
					answered question		**95**
					skipped question		**515**



Q5.7 What have been the major motivations for your visits to Italy? Please indicate all that apply.

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I rarely/do not visit Italy	17.7%	77
A special occasion such as a funeral, wedding, anniversary, birthday or baptism	14.7%	64
To help family members or friends who are unwell and need care and/or assistance	8.0%	35
To strengthen family and/or friendship connections with people in Italy	60.7%	264
Business or professional reasons	12.9%	56
To have a holiday	73.3%	319
To make a personal contribution to a political or community cause, event or project	3.9%	17
Other (please specify)		30
	answered question	**435**
	skipped question	**175**

Q5.7a) Other

Answer options	Frequency	%
Study/Work	8	26.7
Visit friends or family	6	20.0
Cultural/language/ancestry	7	23.3
Live or lived in Italy	2	6.7
Exchange program/sporting event	2	6.7
Personal enrichment/sightseeing	2	6.7
Other	3	10.0
Total	30	100.0

Q5.8 If you visit Italy, where do you usually stay?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I don't visit Italy	13.8%	60
With family	70.3%	306
With friends	14.7%	64
In my own/family house or apartment	8.7%	38
In a hotel or other temporary accommodation	41.6%	181
Other (please specify)	2.3%	10
	answered question	**435**
	skipped question	**175**

Q5.8a) Other (please specify)

	Frequency	%
Host family	2	20.0
Combination of family/hotels	3	30.0
Hotels/B&Bs	4	40.0
Living with other Italians	1	10.0
Total	10	100.0

Q5.9a) If you have visitors from Italy, please indicate how often you often and how long they stay.

Answer Options	I don't receive any visits	Once every few years	Once a year	Several times a year	More than several times a year	Response Count
Family	80	253	27	2	1	363
Friends	127	98	19	4	1	249
Business/professional associates	156	17	3	4	1	181
Government or associates from non-Government organisations	167	3	2	0	1	173
Community associates or people from a home town	154	16	2	1	0	173
Other people	134	8	1	0	0	143

Q5.9b)

Answer Options	Not applicable	One to three days	Three days to a week	One - two weeks	Two to four weeks	One - three months	More than three months	Never	Response Count
Family	28	0	10	40	105	106	9	8	306
Friends	46	3	10	27	42	16	8	7	159
Business/professional associates	66	1	5	10	5	1	1	1	90
Government or associates from non-Government organisations	72	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	76
Community associates or people from a home town	67	1	4	3	3	3	1	2	84
Other people	63	0	1	0	3	3	0	1	71

	Question Totals
Other (please specify)	18
answered question	**376**
skipped question	**234**

Q5.10 How frequently do you?

Answer Options	Daily	Several Times a Week	Weekly	2-3 Times a Month	Monthly	3-6 Times a Year	Rarely	Never	Response Count
Read newspapers from Italy	21	18	17	23	17	30	112	200	438
Read Italian newspapers published in Australia	5	14	26	21	27	51	119	176	439
Watch Italian television	43	23	58	30	48	52	95	88	437
Watch Italian films at the cinema, on television, on line or on DVD	8	13	28	58	50	129	82	69	437
Attend events featuring dignitaries, artists or celebraties from Italy	1	1	3	16	15	80	152	165	433
Buy and/or listen to music from Italy	49	32	30	30	38	80	93	84	436
Listen to radio from Italy	18	15	20	16	22	38	100	205	434
Listen to Italian radio produced in Australia	36	33	29	30	29	48	81	146	432
Read and/or contribute to Italian web-sites or electronic	9	13	16	19	16	20	84	254	431

newsletters									
Receive Italian information or media through email exchanges	12	18	17	28	19	37	74	229	434
Other If other, please describe	5	1	3	3	0	1	9	118	140

answered question	**443**
skipped question	**167**

Other:

	Frequency	%
Facebook	3	21.4
Other online	2	4.3
Italian News/Radio	3	21.4
Teaching/Research related	3	21.4
Other	3	21.4
Total	14	100.0

Q5.11 For which of the following purposes do you use media from Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
To keep up with Italian politics and current affairs	43.0%	185
To enjoy culture and entertainment from Italy	64.7%	278
To follow sporting teams and events	33.0%	142
I don't follow Italian media	21.9%	94
Other (please specify)	6.0%	26
	answered question	**430**
	skipped question	**180**

Other

	Frequency	%
Language	8	30.8
For study/work/teaching	12	46.2
For other reasons	4	15.4
No/Political	2	7.7
Total	26	100.0

Q5.12 Are you involved in any activities that are related to the social, economic and/or political affairs of Italy. Please indicate all that apply.

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I am not involved in any activities	79.8%	328
Wrote a letter or commented on an issue or media report by letter, email or talkback radio	1.2%	5
Participated in a public rally or cause	2.4%	10
Wrote to a Member of Parliament in Italy	1.5%	6
Wrote to a Member of Parliament in Australia	1.5%	6
Participated in a fund raising or awareness raising campaign	7.8%	32
Been a member of an Italian organisation that is active in relation to Italian affairs	13.1%	54
I sent money to a charity or welfare organisation in Italy	6.1%	25
Other	1.7%	7
Why did you take this action?		39
	answered question	**411**
	skipped question	**199**

Q5.12a)

	Frequency	%
Altruistic	7	17.9
To promote culture/heritage/language/passion	10	25.6
To create opportunities for younger generations	3	7.7
Identity/Feel a connection	7	17.9
Other reasons to be involved	7	17.9
Other reasons not involved or used to be involved	5	12.8
Total	39	100.0

Q5.13 Are you involved with an Italian organization in Australia? Please indicate what type of organization this.

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
I am not involved in any Italian organisations	47.7%	205
Charitable	4.0%	17
Cultural	27.7%	119
Educational	20.5%	88
Religious	4.9%	21
Business (eg. the Italian Chamber of Commerce)	1.2%	5
Professional	9.1%	39
Sporting	6.3%	27
Social	23.7%	102
Political	0.9%	4
Environmental	0.2%	1
Community service (eg. Italian aged care or other welfare service)	4.2%	18
Military	0.5%	2
Other, please describe		9
	answered question	**430**
	skipped question	**180**

Other

	Frequency	%
Some type of "Italian club" (eg. Social, regional, business)	4	44.4

Italian language/research association		2	22.2
Other		2	22.2
Not involved at present		1	11.1
	Total	9	100.0

Q5.14 How important are the policies of Australian political parties in relation Italy in terms of how you vote in Australian elections?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Very important	4.8%	20
Important	10.2%	43
Neither important or unimportant	36.7%	154
Unimportant	21.4%	90
Very unimportant	26.9%	113
	answered question	**420**
	skipped question	**190**

Section 6: Family and financial support to Italy

Q6.1 If you have a person or people you care for in Italy, please identify who you support, the main type of support you provide and how often you do this.

Type of support

Answer Options	Not applicable	Financial	eg. phone emotional during	care organisin as	with them staying	the above A mix of	Response Count
Mother	112	2	14	0	0	2	1	131
Father	115	1	8	0	0	3	0	127
Grandfather	116	0	3	0	0	0	0	119
Grandmother	115	0	6	0	0	1	0	122
Aunt, Uncle, cousin or other extended family member.	85	4	41	0	0	13	6	149
Sibling	109	0	15	0	0	1	0	125
Your child/children	116	1	0	0	0	1	0	118
Community member	116	0	2	0	0	1	0	119
Friend	95	0	23	0	0	6	1	125

How often

Answer Options	Not applicable	Daily	Weekly	2-3 times a month	Monthly	Every 2-3 months	Once a year	every year Less than	Response Count
Mother	39	3	10	2	1	0	1	0	56
Father	39	2	4	3	1	1	1	0	51
Grandfather	41	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	44
Grandmother	41	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	48
Aunt, Uncle, cousin or other extended family member.	32	1	0	7	11	14	10	14	89
Sibling	38	1	4	5	3	0	0	0	51
Your child/children	41	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
Community member	40	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	43
Friend	38	2	2	4	5	5	2	5	63

Other comments

	Frequency	%
Do not support anyone	11	68.8
Did support in past but no longer as relatives died	2	12.5
Gifts or money	2	12.5
Not relevant	1	6.3
Total	16	100.0

Q6.2 Do you anticipate that in future you will have any obligations to provide care to a family member or friend living in Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count

Yes	8.5%	36
No	91.5%	386
If you answered 'yes', please explain why you might have to provide this care.		27
	answered question	**422**

Q6.2a) why you might have to provide this care.

	Frequency	%
Aging parents	18	66.7
Other relative requires support	5	18.5
Other/random	4	14.8
Total	27	100.0

Q6.3 Do you send gifts or money to Italy?

How often?

Answer Options	Not applicable	Regularly throughout the year?	At times of crisis at home?	For special occasions?	Infrequently	It varies	Response Count
Gifts	129	10	1	94	37	19	290
Money	173	3	5	28	14	3	226

What is the main reason?

Answer Options	Not applicable	To mark an occasion such as a birthday or as a gesture of good will	To support family members	To support a community cause or project	To support a political cause	To support a business	Other	Response Count
Gifts	37	146	6	2	0	0	1	192
Money	70	26	7	2	0	0	7	112

Description of gifts

	Frequency	%
Clothing	7	8.4
Australiana or toys	14	16.9
Money	4	4.8
Any combination of Clothing/Australiana/Money	15	18.1
books or clothing/books	10	12.0
Jewellery/Jewellery and something else	11	13.3

For special occasion (eg. Birthday, wedding)	5	6.0
Miscellaneous	10	12.0
Other combination	5	6.0
No	2	2.4
Total	83	100.0

Q6.4 Do you receive gifts or money from Italy?

How often?

Answer Options	Not applicable	Regularly throughout the year?	At times of crisis at home?	For special occasions?	Infrequently	It varies	Response Count
Gifts	151	10	1	71	39	14	286
Money	187	3	2	20	12	3	227

What is the main reason?

Answer Options	Not applicable	To mark an occasion such as a birthday or as a gesture of good will	To support family members	To support a community cause or project	To support a political cause	To support a business	Other	Response Count
Gifts	45	127	1	0	0	0	2	175
Money	71	26	6	0	0	0	3	106

Q 6.2 Do you anticipate that in future, you will have any obligations to provide care to a family member or friend living in Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	8.5%	36
No	91.5%	386
If you answered 'yes', please explain why you might have to provide this care.		27
	answered question	**422**

Q 6.2a) Explanations of the need to provide this care.

	Frequency	%
Aging parents	18	66.7
Other relative requires support	5	18.5
Other/random	4	14.8
Total	27	100.0

Q 6.3 Do you send gifts or money to Italy?

How often?							
Answer Options	**Not applicable**	**Regularly throughout the year?**	**At times of crisis at home?**	**For special occasions?**	**Infrequently**	**It varies**	**Response Count**
Gifts	129	10	1	94	37	19	290
Money	173	3	5	28	14	3	226

What is the main reason?	**Not applicable**	**To mark an occasion such as a birthday or as a gesture of good will**	**To support family members**	**To support a community cause or project**	**To support a political cause**	**To support a business**	**Other**	**Response Count**
Gifts	37	146	6	2	0	0	1	192
Money	70	26	7	2	0	0	7	112

Q6.3a) Description of the gifts sent.

	Frequency	**%**
Clothing	7	8.4
Australiana or toys	14	16.9
Money	4	4.8
Any combination of Clothing/Australiana/Money	15	18.1
books or clothing/books	10	12.0
Jewellery/Jewellery and something else	11	13.3
For special occasion (eg. Birthday, wedding)	5	6.0
Miscellaneous	10	12.0
Other combination	5	6.0
No	2	2.4
Total	83	100.0

Q 6.4 Do you receive gifts or money from Italy?

Q 6.4a) How often?

Answer Options	**Not applicable**	**Regularly throughout the year?**	**At times of crisis at home?**	**For special occasions?**	**Infrequently**	**It varies**	**Response Count**
Gifts	151	10	1	71	39	14	286
Money	187	3	2	20	12	3	227

Q6.4b) Type of gifts received

	Frequency	%
Clothing/Jewellery/Clothing & Jewellery	17	27.4
Money	6	9.7
Books or Books & Clothing	3	4.8
Any other combination of Clothing/Jewellery/Money/Books & Other	16	25.8
For occasion	4	6.5
Response includes music/DVDs	4	6.5
Souvenirs/Merchandise	4	6.5
Other (incl. paintings, tapestries, flowers)	3	4.8
Various	2	3.2
No or "as above"	3	4.8
Total	62	100.0

Q 6.5 If you send money to Italy, please indicate who you sent money to, approximately how much you sent and how you sent it.

Q 6.5a) Approximately how much money was sent.

Answer Options	Less than $1,000	$1,000 - $10,000	$10,000 - $50,000	More than $50,000	Response Count
Mother	1	1	1	1	4
Father	1	1	0	0	2
A child	2	0	0	0	2
Another relative eg. Sister or Uncle	19	5	0	0	24
A friend or friends of the family	5	0	0	0	5
A community or religious organisation	8	0	0	0	8
A political organisation or cause	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	1	1	0	3

Q6.5b) How did you send it?

Answer Options	Electronic transfer via the internet	Cash that was delivered	Cash transfer via a bank	Mobile phone banking	Cheque or bank cheque by mail	Other	Response Count
Mother	1	0	2	0	0	0	3
Father	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
A child	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Another relative eg. Sister or Uncle	2	6	7	0	7	1	23
A friend or friends of the family	1	1	1	0	0	1	4
A community or religious organisation	1	0	0	0	6	1	8
A political organisation or cause	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	2	1	0	0	0	0	3

Other comments

	Frequency	%
Don't send money or n/a	8	61.5
Send cash by post	1	7.7
Random/unclassifiable	4	30.8
Total	13	100.0

Section 7: Business and professional links with Italy

Q 7.1 Does your job and/or business involve interacting with Italy?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	19.0%	81
No	81.0%	346
	answered question	**427**
	skipped question	**183**

Q 7.2 If you answered yes to the question above, what does this interaction involve?

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Exporting goods and/or services to Italy?	2.9%	2
Importing goods and/or services from Italy?	12.9%	9
Other business/professional interactions with Italy?	87.1%	61
Please briefly describe the interaction that you have with Italy.		67
	answered question	**70**
	skipped question	**540**

Q7.2a) If yes, briefly describe the interaction that you have with Italy

	Frequency	%
Educational	35	52.2
Involved with exchange programs	6	9.0
Translator	2	3.0
Tour operator/Tourism	4	6.0
Importing goods	4	6.0
Art/Music/Culture/Social interaction	5	7.5
Other work related	10	14.9
N/A	1	1.5
Total	67	100.0

Q7.3 Do you import or export goods and/or services from countries

Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	4.5%	16
No	95.5%	340
If yes, please identify the countries and the main reasons for trading.		10
	answered question	**356**
	skipped question	**254**

Q7.3a) If yes, please identify the countries and the main reasons for trading

	Frequency	%
Buy things online (eBay or online stores)	3	30.0
France, Spain, USA	2	20.0
Work/business related	2	20.0
Other	3	30.0
Total	10	100.0

Q7.4 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Answer Options	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Rating Average
I believe I have a competitive advantage in doing business or professional work in Italy because I share the same ethnic background as the Italian people	45	100	117	24	27	2.64
I am interested in developing business and/or professional links between Australia and Italy	48	75	115	26	46	2.83
I perceive that there are business and/or professional opportunities for my company/institution in Italy or surrounding markets	36	62	133	30	46	2.96
I believe that I can facilitate business/professional opportunities in Italy	33	81	111	33	50	2.95
I believe my future career will involve business or professional links with Italy	41	61	110	40	58	3.04
Other (please specify)						

answered question

Other (please specify)

	Frequency	%
N/A or do not have business contacts	5	50.0
To do with teaching/student exchange	2	20.0
Other	3	30.0
Total	10	100.0

Q7.5 If you have business or professional contact with Italy, what are the main reasons you engage in this? Please indicate how important each of the following reasons is to you?

Answer Options	Very important	Important	Neither important or unimportant	Unimportant	Very unimportant	Rating Average	Response Count
I don't have business or professional contact with Italy	26	10	55	10	25	2.98	126
Purely business/professional reasons that have nothing to do with my family history	13	18	44	12	13	2.94	100
I speak the language	51	29	24	4	8	2.04	116
I have networks in	33	41	28	4	6	2.19	112

Italy							
I want to help the country economically	7	12	49	16	16	3.22	100
It gives me a reason to visit more often	21	36	36	6	11	2.55	110
It is important to my family and their opportunities and/or wellbeing	19	25	37	11	11	2.71	103
					answered question		**172**
					skipped question		**438**

OTHER COMMENTS

	Frequency	**%**
Support for survey	7	15.9
Comments/Concerns	20	45.5
Provided contact details	3	6.8
Provide family history	5	11.4
Other (unable to be categorised)	9	20.5
Total	44	100.0