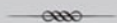
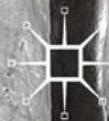


Trilingual Talk in Sicilian-Australian Migrant Families



Playing Out Identities
Through Language Alternation

Antonia Rubino



Trilingual Talk in Sicilian-Australian Migrant Families

Also by Antonia Rubino

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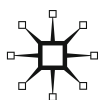
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**Playing Out Identities through Language
Alternation**

Antonia Rubino

Department of Italian Studies, University of Sydney, Australia

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*For my family, close and distant, and in particular
for my mother*

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Transcription Conventions

I have adopted the conventions below, based on Psathas (1995), to transcribe the excerpts of conversation in Chapters 1, 4 and 5.

The transcription of the Sicilian dialect is broadly based on Matranga (2007); retroflex consonants are underlined. In transcribing Italian I have taken into account some major regional features.

The turns that are most relevant to the analysis are highlighted in grey.

The English translation is given in the column on the right. In order to fully understand the meaning of the interactions, it is advisable to also look at the original excerpt.

<i>iddu</i>	italics are used for Sicilian
GREAT	small caps are used for English
mangia	plain font is used for Italian
oraiitti [all right]	cases of non-language alternation (both borrowing and code mixing) are transcribed in the font of the receiving language and in bold. When necessary, the word in the source language is provided in square brackets.
<u>mangia</u>	stress via amplitude or pitch
CAPITALS	louder talk
=	latching between words and utterances, within turn or across turns
(.)	micro-pause
(5.0)	longer pauses
((laughs))	paralinguistic information and contextual notes
[	beginning of overlapping speech
::	phonemic lengthening; more colons indicate more lengthening
,	continuing intonation
?	questioning intonation
!	animated or emphatic tone
°	encloses soft tone or low volume
+	self or other interruption of word

> <	fast talk
< >	slow talk
(...)	omitted speech
(?)	doubtful word
*	names of people or places that have been omitted

Introduction

When I first arrived in Australia and started working for a transport firm, I was duly and courteously introduced to the rest of the staff, mostly Anglo-Australians, as the new employee for the Italian section. I was very surprised when a large number of my new colleagues guessed – rightly – my region of origin ('Oh, you must be from Sicily'), attempted to guess my name ('I bet you are called Maria') and did not pay much attention to my feeble attempts to resist such a stark categorization.

During the following months, the meaning of their responses remained obscure to me as I was not familiar with the Italo-Australian migrant scene, nor did I know many Italians, let alone Sicilians, living in Sydney. It was only much later, when I came into contact with many Sicilians throughout the various identities in my Australian life (as a teacher of Italian to Sicilian children; as a research assistant interviewing Sicilian families; as a member of community-based organizations involving other Sicilians), that I understood the prominent role played by Sicilians in mass migration from Italy to Australia. And I realized why in the collective imaginary of the Anglo-Australians of the early 1980s, Italians were mainly migrants, most likely coming from Sicily or from nearby Calabria. Sicilian (or southern) migrants were viewed in the main as small-sized individuals with black hair and dark complexion, where women were called *Maria* and men *Giuseppe*.

This book sheds some light on the linguistic and cultural identity of Sicilians in Australia, one of the largest regional groups within the broader context of twentieth-century Italian immigration to this continent (and elsewhere). It explores the sociocultural and linguistic changes that Sicilians and their children have undergone as a result of contact (or lack of) with the dominant English-speaking majority and other regional groups of Italian migrants. More specifically, it focuses on the complex

linguistic dynamics within the family, since Sicilian – and Italian – migrants have been in the main (Italian–dialect¹) bilinguals who then proceeded to become trilinguals through the acquisition of the host language.

Such linguistic and cultural dynamics are analysed by comparing the multilingual practices of two families who migrated from Sicily to Australia as part of the mass migration movement that took place after the Second World War. The first family (henceforth Family A) belongs to the immediate post-war migration of the 1950s; they migrated from a small village through the chain migration process, and arrived in Australia when the prevailing immigration policy was assimilation, whereby migrants were expected to leave behind their languages and cultures and quickly turn into English-speaking Australians. They display a strong orientation towards Australia and have maintained minimal contact with Sicily, mainly due to high costs and financial constraints. The second family (henceforth Family B) migrated from a large Sicilian town as a single family unit at the end of the 1960s, during the second phase of post-war migration from Italy. This wave consisted of a more qualified workforce that was pushed to migrate by a desire to improve its own social condition rather than from stringent economic necessity. In its case contact with Sicily is much more frequent. Family B arrived in Australia in the years of the policies of integration and multiculturalism, when the different languages and cultures brought by immigrants were acknowledged as having a legitimate space in a pluralistic country. Thus, while both families share a number of features (for example similar social class and level of education), they are representative of different migration and settlement stages and patterns, which in turn are reflected in their sociolinguistic situation before and after migration as well as in the multilingual practices of each family.

The book explores trilingual (Sicilian, Italian and English) spontaneous conversations that the participants themselves have gathered within the intimacy of their own family. Taking an interactional approach to the study of language alternation combined with the language and identity paradigm (cf. Chapter 3), I analyse the linguistic choices and practices of first- and second-generation family members in talking within each generation and across generations (Chapters 4 and 5). In particular, I focus on their use of code-switching as a resource to contextualize particular speech activities, and in so doing also construct (and contest) conversational and social identities in and through interaction. The linguistic practices identified through such microanalyses are viewed also in light of the participants' self-reported language use and their language attitudes, and more extensively also vis-à-vis larger patterns of language use and shift in the broader

Sicilian-Australian community, through another corpus of quantitative data (Chapter 6).

By focusing on the Sicilians, I attempt to partly fill a gap in the studies of the Italian diaspora. In spite of the regional nature of Italian migration, there is a scarcity of investigations into the language dynamics arising from it, with a few exceptions (e.g. Bettoni and Rubino, 1996; Scaglione, 2000; Cavallaro, 2010; Di Salvo, 2012). Consequently we know little about the ways in which dialect, Italian and the host language are actually used, particularly in the family and in the transition from the first to the second generation. Some work focuses on family talk among the second and third generations (for example, Cavallaro, 2010 for Australia), however these contexts are characterized by strong language erosion, with use of dialect and Italian being extremely limited or virtually absent.

This book also contributes to our knowledge about Australian multilingualism, and more broadly multilingualism as it occurs in the family in a migration context. While Australian research into immigrant languages boasts a long and influential tradition,² studies conducted in the qualitative and more specifically interactional perspective as the one adopted here are very few.³ This gap is particularly noticeable in research conducted within the family (Pauwels, 2005). More broadly regarding multilingualism in migrant families, while there is an abundance of studies focusing on specific aspects of communication (e.g. Li Wei, 1994; Zhu, 2008; De Fina, 2012), this book enriches the field by presenting a more complete sociolinguistic profile of each family. Furthermore, rather than relying on (self)reported language use, it explores in depth rich conversational data collected by the participants, focusing on bilingual and trilingual interactions in communication between parents and children. Thus, the book contributes to our understanding of the dynamics of language choice – and change – across generations in a situation of trilingualism where two of the languages (Sicilian and Italian) are in a diglossic relationship; and of the impact of external factors, in particular migration policies, on language choices in conversation.

The post-war experience of the Sicilians in Australia, as embodied through these two families, is representative of the Italian migrant experience in many ways. It includes the economic reasons that forced them to leave their land, their limited educational experience in their homeland and their low socio-economic status. Nonetheless, the Sicilians stand out among the various regional groups of Italian migrants for some specific features: in particular, for a strong sense of regional identity and, as will emerge from this book, a particularly deep attachment and loyalty to their dialect.

1

The Context of Italian Migration

For many centuries Italians have been leaving their home in search of better lives in great numbers, to the extent that some historians talk of them as 'among the most migratory of peoples on the earth' (Gabaccia, 2000: 1). Migration took on epic dimensions particularly after Italy became a unified country in 1861, and between 1876 and 1976 about 26 million Italians left the country (Favero and Tassello, 1978). Mass migration stopped in the 1970s, thanks to the considerable improvements in social and economic conditions, and in that same decade Italy became a country that attracted, rather than produced, migrants (Castles, 1992: 37).

In the initial stages of Italian mass migration and up to 1945, the majority of migrants were from the northern regions (particularly Veneto, Friuli, Piedmont and Lombardy). However, between 1946 and 1976, it became a predominantly southern phenomenon. Also, the routes of Italian migrants changed throughout the century. While Europe was always a preferred destination, South American countries (for example, Argentina and Brazil) and the United States were well represented in the first stages. In the post-Second World War period, Australia and Canada increased remarkably their appeal as host countries.

Among all Italian regions, Sicily is the one that, together with Veneto and Calabria, has yielded most migrants in absolute numbers in these 100 years of mass migration. Over 2.5 million Sicilians have left the island (Favero and Tassello, 1978), which represents approximately 50 per cent of the current population of Sicily. After 1976, as for the rest of Italy, migration from Sicily also declined considerably. However, as the socio-economic development of the island continued to lag far behind compared with the rest of Italy, Sicily remained one of the regions with the highest number of migrants.¹

Against the background of Italian migration, in this chapter I provide a brief historical introduction to the migratory experience of my participants. In the first part I present Sicilian migration to Australia within the broader context of the Italian presence in this continent. In the second part I illustrate some features of the Sicilian-Australian community, taking Sydney as an example.

1.1 Italian migration to Australia

Italian migration to Australia became a mass phenomenon only in the post-Second World War period.² However, relatively sizeable Italian settlements were present even before; for example, in the late nineteenth century fishermen from Sicily and Puglia settled in Western Australia (Alcorso, 1992: 9–10). In 1933, numbering over 26,000, the Italians represented 3 per cent of the overseas-born population, and Sicilians were well represented.

The Italian presence increased dramatically in the late 1940s, as a result of Australia's mass migration programme and a series of bilateral agreements with Italy. Although the Italians were allowed to enter the country, they did so under a very discriminatory system that differentiated between the more 'desirable' northern European migrants and the less desirable southern ones (Castles, 1992: 40). The peak in arrivals was reached in the decade 1951–61, with an average of almost 18,000 new migrants per year and a total of 179,420 net migrants (Castles, 1992: 43). Among the over 4.3 million migrants that arrived in the continent between 1945 and the 1980s, the Italians represented the largest group with a non-English-speaking background (Collins, 1988: 29).

The intake of migrants from Italy started to decline in the decade 1966–75, when economic conditions in Italy improved and access to employment in other nations of the European Community became less restrictive. At the same time the Australian government redirected its recruitment efforts for migrants to other European and Middle Eastern nations (Castles, 1992). The decline in new arrivals from Italy is reflected in Table 1.1.

In 1971, with 289,476 people born in Italy, the Italians in Australia represented 11.2 per cent of the overseas-born population (Castles, 1992: 43). In 2011, with 185,402, the percentage has decreased to 3.5 per cent (ABS, 2013). Italians now represent the third largest non-English-speaking ethnic group.

Six regions – Calabria, Sicily, Veneto, Campania, Friuli and Abruzzo (all from the South except Veneto and Friuli) – have been the source of

Table 1.1 Italian-born population in Australia

Census year	Number
1947	33,632
1954	119,897
1961	228,296
1971	289,476
1981	275,883
1991	253,332
1996	238,246
2001	218,718
2006	199,124
2011	185,402

Sources: Castles (1992); McDonald (1999); ABS (2007, 2013).

approximately 60 per cent of Italian migrants to Australia (Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 1982: 199). This is partly the result of chain migration, a mechanism that has characterized Italian migration to Australia since its very beginnings (Alcorso, 1992: 9). In the post-war period discussed here, chain migration, lack of settlement services and the fact that most employment opportunities were in the largest cities meant that the majority of Italians settled in Melbourne and Sydney, which are still the cities with the highest number of Italian born. Furthermore, Italians tended to congregate in fairly clustered communities, often forming subcommunities from particular villages, towns and regions in individual suburbs.

The majority of post-war Italian migrants were day labourer agricultural workers from small rural villages and towns who were forced to emigrate due to the poor socio-economic conditions of the country and encouraged by the policy of the Italian government of the time. The first inflow was dominated by men; this imbalance, however, was soon to a large extent redressed as a result of the processes of chain migration. Furthermore, most of the Italian born who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s only attended primary or lower secondary school.³ Given their limited formal qualifications and the difficulties in having them recognized when they did exist, a great proportion of them worked in the semi-skilled or unskilled sectors of industry. Chain migration also had an impact on occupational patterns, as the Italians already established in Australia often employed the newly arrived compatriots (for example, in construction and building industries). Another typical feature of employment among Italians has been the high rate of self-employment,

which also provided an escape from the racism of employers and other workers (Collins, 1992: 75). The typology of Italian migrants changed at the end of the 1960s, when more tradespeople and skilled workers came from larger cities and emigrated, often as individuals, mainly in order to better their conditions. As mentioned in the Introduction, Family A is representative of the first wave, Family B of the second.

The Italo-Australian community is also characterized by the maintenance of strong family ties. Chain migration and a relatively high rate of 'in-marriage' (endogamy) among the Italian born have contributed to such maintenance (Ware, 1981: 79–81). Attachment to and respect for the family are fundamental to most Italo-Australians, irrespective of the region of origin, so much so that it has been recognized as their major 'core' value (Smolicz, 1981). Thus, family networks as well as co-regional friends have been the two important support systems socially, emotionally and economically (cf. Vasta, 1995).

As a result of lack of new arrivals from Italy and the ageing of the Italo-Australians, since the 1990s the proportion of second-generation Italians⁴ has outnumbered the Italy born (by nearly 30 per cent according to the 1996 Census, McDonald, 1999: 5); today the community is well into the third generation. Compared to their parents, second-generation Italians display higher levels of educational attainment and different occupational patterns, with a remarkable shift from the trades and labouring area to clerical jobs, that is, from blue-collar jobs to the lower status end of the white-collar occupational scale. As Collins (1988: 192) observes, this is not so much an 'upward' movement in wage and career structure terms as a mere 'sideward' shift. Indeed, until the late 1990s Australian-born people with Italian-born parents were still overrepresented in the trades sector or among process workers, and underrepresented in the professional and technical categories, with skilled vocational qualifications representing the highest percentage of all qualifications they obtained (McDonald, 1999: 37).⁵

With regard to the broader Australian context, the immediate post-war migrants of the late 1940s and 1950s, like the parents in Family A, arrived when the prevailing immigration policy of the Australian government was one of assimilation, whereby migrants were expected to quickly assimilate into Australian society. Many Italian born reacted by sheltering within their networks in the Italo-Australian community and minimizing any contact with the Anglo section of society, while others, particularly the younger ones, reacted by assimilating. On the other hand, the Italians who came in the late 1960s, like the parents in Family B, arrived during the adoption of the policies of integration

first and then of multiculturalism, which fully acknowledged and promoted the different languages and cultures brought by immigrants (Ozolins, 1993).

On the whole, the Italian community in Australia is considered to represent a case of successful settlement both in terms of economic indicators and acceptance by the wider society (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989). Italians enjoy a relatively good level of economic security which has been achieved through very hard work and a life of sacrifice and savings, not just in the attempt to improve their own condition, but in particular to give a better future and better opportunities to their children. This optimistic view of the community, however, is not shared equally by historians (cf. Cresciani, 2003: 175–7).

1.1.1 A brief history of Sicilians in Australia

Information about Sicilian migration to Australia is far from being systematic and exhaustive, as a history of this regional group – like many others – is still to be written. So far we have only a limited number of studies on specific subgroups, such as the fishermen in Fremantle (Gamba, 1952), migrants from Messina (Pascoe, 1987), or the *Liminoti* in Sydney (Wilton and Rizzo, 1983; see however Biscaro, 2006). Therefore this presentation is based mainly on information gathered from a number of sources that deal more generally with Italian migration to Australia.

Sicilians appear to have been in Australia as far back as 1788, when a presumably Sicilian sailor, Giuseppe Tusa, allegedly landed in Botany Bay with the First Fleet (Cresciani, 2003: 28), and 1811, when three Sicilian convicts arrived in New South Wales (Randazzo and Cigler, 1987: 17). In the late 1850s the two Orsini brothers appeared to have sailed from Catania to the Victorian coast (Randazzo and Cigler, 1987: 111). (See Map 1.1.) Even before the Italian Unification formal diplomatic relations existed between the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Cresciani, 2003: 39).

The first sizeable settlements of Sicilians date back to the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Small groups of fishermen from Lipari in the Eolian Islands and from villages near Messina (particularly Capo d'Orlando) settled down in Western Australia (Randazzo and Cigler, 1987: 85), and later on also on the eastern coast south of Sydney (for example, Ulladalla). In the 1920s other Sicilians, particularly from the area of Catania, headed for north Queensland to work on the sugar cane plantations, joining the Piedmontese, Lombard and Veneto migrants who were there already (Pascoe, 1987: 114;



Map 1.1 Map of Sicily with its nine provincial capitals

Menghetti, 2001: 491). In Sydney, Sicilians have been one of the major regional groups since the 1920s, when clusterings from specific Sicilian villages were identified in such parts of the city as Woolloomooloo, Balmain and Leichhardt (Burnley, 1988: 628). In these early years, in the inner suburbs of both Sydney and Melbourne migrants from the Eolian Islands ran fruit and vegetable shops (Pascoe, 1987: 15).

Racism, scarcity of services and chain migration were all factors that encouraged Sicilians, like most other regional groups, to settle down in fairly clustered communities. In spite of the hostility that such concentrations often encountered, they are to be seen 'as an inevitable and necessary accompaniment to a new land' (Price, 1963a: 273). In the pre-1940 migration, most southern Italian migration chains showed relatively high rates of village-based concentrations compared with northern Italian chains (Price, 1963a: 251). However, in the majority of cases mixed concentrations, with people from different districts,⁶ regions or nations, were more the rule. In the Sydney suburb of Leichhardt, for example, in the 1930s–1940s the first families to settle were not just from Catania and the Eolian Islands but also from Veneto and Friuli (Pascoe, 1987: 166). Overall, between 1890 and 1940 almost 6000 Sicilian men arrived in Australia, the majority of whom from

the Eolian Islands and the areas of Messina and Catania (Price, 1963a: 19–20). This represents 23 per cent of the total 25,680 Italian males who came in the same period.

In the post-Second World War period, of the over 400,000 Sicilians who migrated in the 1950s and the 1960s, about 25 per cent chose transoceanic countries, not just the United States but also Canada, Oceania, Africa and Asia. The majority moved to northern European countries and over one quarter chose the thriving industrialized regions of North Italy of the ‘economic miracle’ (Tirabassi, 2008). In selecting a destination, distance and possibility of returning home frequently were important factors to be considered, which did not favour Australia. This is attested in Angela’s⁷ words, who migrated from Palazzolo (in the province of Syracuse) to Sydney in 1958, to follow her husband. In spite of her efforts, her brother turned down her offer to join her, and decided instead to move to Germany.

Non vuole venire nessuno qua ci sembra troppo lontano perché c’è mio fratello c’ha tanti anni che lavora in Germania (.) prima voleva venire qua e poi la moglie *rici* no *rici* io non ci vado dice in Australia dice perché è troppo lontano (.) poi io ci ho detto dico ma tu no mica ti devi fare la strada a piedi non vengo dice in Australia dice è troppo lontano (.) fa’ come ti vuoi e così e poi mio mio fratello è andato e:: in Germania a lavorare in Germania e lui lavora in Germania (...) la moglie sta:: al paese (...) lui è sempre in Germania ogni sei mesi va a casa no (...) là è vicino

(Nobody wants to come here, it seems too far away, because there is my brother, he has been working in Germany for many years. First he wanted to come here and then his wife said no she said I won’t go she says in Australia she says because it’s too far away. Then I said to her but you don’t have to come here by foot. I am not coming she says to Australia she says, it’s too far away. Do as you like. And so and then my brother went to Germany to work in Germany and he works in Germany, his wife lives in the village, he is always in Germany, every six months he goes home, there it is near.)

Although it is difficult to have exact numbers, using 1961 Census figures Cronin (1970: 128) estimates 31,000 Sicilians living in Australia; similarly, for the decades 1959–79, Bertelli (1987: 4) gives the figure of 35,000, which represented 25.5 per cent of all Italians and, just after Calabria (26.22 per cent), the second largest regional group in Australia.

Table 1.2 shows the seven largest regional groups present in Australia for the period 1920–76, and their rank among all the groups. In spite of some discrepancies due to the different sources used for the rankings, the table confirms the increase in number of Sicilian migrants from the pre- to the post-war period, within an overall prevailing migration from the south of Italy (five out of seven regions).

As a result of family reunions and the continuation of pre-war migratory chains, Sicilians were – and still appear to be – more numerous in Victoria, New South Wales and Western Australia than in other states. For example, in the early 1950s the suburb of Brunswick in Melbourne had a very high concentration of Sicilians from Ragusa, Solarino (in the province of Syracuse), Licodia Eubea and Vizzini (both in the province of Catania; Bertelli, 2001: 518). By the early 1960s, sizeable communities from the Eolian Islands, eastern Sicily and Catania were identified in Sydney, in the inner-city suburbs of Leichhardt, Annandale and Balmain (Burnley, 2001: 512, 515), and in western Sydney, in the areas of Fairfield and Liverpool. In Western Australia concentrations from Messina were identified in Perth and from Naso (in the same province) in Fremantle (Bertelli, 1988: 80). This is how Francesco, who migrated from Canneto, a village in the island of Lipari, in 1956, describes Five Dock, an inner-west suburb of Sydney with a high concentration of post-war migrants from the Eolian Islands:

Oh qua ce ne sono tutt'italiane sono qua paisane uh ce n'è *assà* paesane proprio Canneto Canneto proprio Canneto sì (.) poi:: italiane ce n'è *assà* ma anche paisane paisane ce n'è *assà*

Table 1.2 Largest regional groups of Italians born in Australia, 1920–76

Region	Number	Rank in 1920–39*	Rank in 1960–69*	Rank in 1976
Sicily	55,180	2	1	1
Calabria	47,400	3	2	2
Veneto	31,120	1	6	3
Friuli Venezia Giulia	27,570	11	6	4
Abruzzi	24,630	8	3	5
Campania	22,420	9	6	5
Puglia	10,360	6	8	7

* The rankings for 1920–39 and for 1960–69 are based on figures of emigrants leaving Italy for Australia, the ranking for 1976 on the Australian Census.

Source: Ware (1981: 27).

(Oh here there are, all Italians they are here, 'paesani', there are a lot of 'paesani', from Canneto itself, Canneto itself. Yes, then Italians there are a lot of them, but also 'paesani' 'paesani' there are a lot of them.)⁸

With the passing of time, however, patterns of settlement also changed as Sicilians, like other regional groups, gradually moved from the inner to the middle and finally the outer suburbs of the cities, for example in Sydney and Melbourne (Pascoe, 1987: 168).

Even after the end of the mass migration period, although the numbers decreased remarkably, Sicily continued to be one of the main source regions for Italian migrants to Australia. According to 2003 data in the Registry of Italian Residents Abroad (quoted in Biscaro, 2006: 64), with over 22,000 people, currently Sicilians are still the second largest regional group after the Calabrians (about 28,000).

In terms of areas of origin, as is clear from above, some of the traditional places have continued to be well represented in Australia. For example, according to Pascoe (1987: 70), by the 1980s the number of Eolian islanders would have probably doubled compared to the figure given by Price in 1963. But Sicilians started to migrate – although to a lower degree – also from other areas, for example from the inland towns in the province of Messina. The village of Limina, in the foothills of Mt Etna, is one such example (Wilton and Rizzo, 1983). Overall the two provinces of Messina (including the Eolian Islands) and of Catania are still yielding the highest number of migrants, followed by Syracuse (Biscaro, 2006: 65).

Like the large majority of post-war Italian migrants, lack of work was the main reason that pushed Sicilians out of their homeland. Indeed for some it would seem the *only* reason why anyone would choose to leave Sicily for such a faraway country. When I asked why he came to Australia, Giuseppe, who left Palazzolo in 1957, replied: 'Eh, chi vuoi che vorrebbe venir qui per lavoro no?' ('Who would want to come here. For work, no?').

Until the 1940s, migration from southern Europe was essentially a peasant migration from coastal and inland villages (Price, 1963a: 17). Sicilians were no exception to this, therefore agriculture was a major activity (for example, dairy farming in Victoria, Price, 1963a: 151). However great differences in occupational patterns existed among Sicilian migrants according to their area of origin, partly as a result of chain migration (Price, 1963a: 162, 164). Almost 90 per cent of those coming from the Mt Etna area settled in north Queensland and worked

as farmers and agricultural labourers. Those from northern Messina went mainly to Western Australia and Queensland to work almost equally in catering, farming and other activities such as mining, timber cutting, fishing and unskilled labouring. On the other hand, the majority of migrants from the Eolian Islands settled in the inner suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne to work in the small catering business, in shops and fruit shops especially (Price, 1963b: 56). In these metropolitan areas the catering business accounted for nearly half the southern European population up to 1946, due to 'the traditional peasant desire for independence and (...) the anxiety (...) to establish themselves in positions of security and proprietorship' (Price, 1963a: 156). Some of the very early café restaurants in Sydney were opened by Sicilians (Reynolds, 2002).

With regard to the post-war Sicilian community, it is difficult to find specific data regarding its socio-economic positioning. However a study conducted in Sydney of 48 Sicilian migrants living in Sydney (Cronin, 1970) can be considered representative of more general patterns among Sicilians at the time. In Cronin's sample, 62 per cent of the participants were blue collar, 23 per cent white collar and 15 per cent in the professions and in managerial positions. As post-war Sicilians settled down for the most part in Melbourne and Sydney, work was abundant in factories, therefore they often left behind the activity they did at home. For example, Giuseppe refers to his occupation in Sicily as 'ortolano' (fruit and vegetable grower), however his work experience in Sydney has been mainly in factories before finding a more rewarding job with the then telecommunication state enterprise Telecom:

Quando io sono 'rivato ho lavorato due anni *nda* una **fattoria**⁹ di ferro filato (...) vicino alla **fattoria** da:: dal CHOCOLATE NESTLE poi ho lasciato ho lavorato un anno su una **fattoria** di (.) PLASTIC SHOES di scarpe e:: dopo di quello (.) lavorai due anni su WATERBOARD (.) dopo ho 'ncominciato a lavorare ne Mal (?) industria di MARRICKVILLE fo **fattoria** di ferro (.) undic'anni e adesso sono undic'anni che lavoro nella TELECOM e sono passati ventisette anni così

(When I arrived, I worked for two years in a factory of barbed wire, near the Nestle Chocolate factory. Then I left, I worked for one year in a factory of plastic shoes, and after that I worked two years at the Waterboard. Then I started working in the Mal (?) industry in Marrickville, an iron factory, eleven years, and now it's eleven years that I work at the Telecom. And twentyseven years have passed like this.)