Australian Post-war immigration issues according to

Italian-language newspaper *Il Globo*, 1959 - 1969

Submitted by

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**Declaration**

This thesis contains no material accepted toward any other degree, diploma or similar award, in any university or institution and that, to the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

Brent R T Edwards

November 6, 2008

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# Abstract

This study investigates the Italian language print media outlet *Il Globo*, which operated for the Italian community, then largest culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) community in Post-war Australian society. In particular, this study focuses on the editorial commentary produced by then sub-editor Nino Randazzo for the newspaper between 1959 and 1969, a period of Australian Post-war history where notably discriminatory immigration policy and racist attitudes were expressed toward non-Anglo Saxon background residents, creating hardship for settling CALD communities in Australia. Previous study has failed to produce consistent cross-sectional and non-partisan analysis of *Il Globo*'s editorial commentary. This study conducts content analysis to research consistently the editorial content of *Il Globo* in relation to Italian migration, the Australian Immigration Department and Policy, including assimilationist/integrationist phenomena, the problems of immigration for Italian migrants, and issues related thereto.

# Chapter 1 - Introduction

## 1.1 Objective of the Study

This Honours dissertation aims to analyse the editorial commentary of the Melbourne-based national Italian language newspaper *Il Globo* on the issues of immigration, from 1959 to 1969. This period was a time of difficulty for Italian migrants in Australia and a time of cultural change for Australia.

After World War II, the Australian Government embarked on the most extensive Immigration Scheme devised since the convict arrivals of the previous centuries, in an effort to re-populate the nation and secure its future (Jupp 1966). In 1959, the Italian population numbered over 200,000 (ABS 1962), representing the largest group of non-English speaking background to immigrate to the continent (Castles 1992). This year also represents the inception of Italian language newspaper *Il Globo,* and the starting point of this study. Between 1947 and 1971, the Immigration Scheme granted and assisted settlement to over 285,000 Italians in Australia, but was not without its criticisms or problems (Price 1979).

In the post-war period, the Italian and other migrant communities in Australia were affected by the discriminatory White Australia policy, in operation under the immigration legislation since the federation of Australia in 1901 (Jupp 2007). Under the Legislation, migrants were encouraged to renounce their Italian passports and become 'new Australians', assimilating into the Australian society and landscape. Not uncommon were stories of migrant deportation and separation from families, and the inverse situation of migration refusal that also deprived the unity of migrating families (Jupp 1966). The legislation also failed to recognise the academic qualifications of migrants, which caused further hardship and forced many into physical and unskilled work (Loh 1980).

A change of Federal Government in 1966 with the instatement of Prime Minister Holt brought a change in immigration policy, but it was not until the Whitlam Government of 1972 - 1975 that the 'new Australians' saw the abolition of the White Australia Policy and the removal of other racially discriminatory legislation (Lopez 2000). By this time, gradual support towards multiculturalism was growing; there was a push to embrace rather than abandon ethnicity in Australia (Jupp 2007).

A prominent institution and an influential medium in the Italian-Australian community, *Il Globo,* from the first issue of November 1959*,* produced articles concerning these issues on behalf of and for the community. Its stance and changing attitudes towards immigration issues and the Australian Government were articulated through editorial commentary, which has been rarely studied in past research on the topics of Italian studies in Australia. Gilson and Zubrzycki (1967) provide evidence that NESB (Non-English-speaking background) print media in Australia articulated commentary on these issues, and nominate *Il Globo* as a contributor. Their study looked at NESB print media content in relation to immigration and the associated discourse, and is a solid indication that *Il Globo* did generate articles based on these contemporary problems. Although not definitive for any specific newspaper, the research encourages further analysis into the Italian press in post-war Australia. Carli (1982) provided an analysis of Italian post-war society including the Italian media and *Il Globo* in an Honours thesis research study, which covered the period from 1965 to 1977. He concluded that *Il Globo* had published an unrealistic view of Italy, and failed to address important issues in print, concerning Italians in Australia. However, the objectiveness and validity of Carli's conclusions can be challenged on the basis that he was a member of an association known to oppose *Il Globo* (Battiston 2004). This argument is reinforced by a lack of research methodology detail in the thesis, which is discussed below.

This thesis aims to contribute to the existing literature on the role of *Il Globo* in the Italian-Australian communities*,* by documenting and analysing its editorial articles on the topic of immigration and the associated problems from the perspective of Australia's largest migrant community. In addition, the results of this thesis may shed light on the issue of media regulation in Australia. During the period in which this study is set, ethnic media was seen as 'trivial', therefore its regulation was not considered to be worthwhile (Jakubowicz and Seneviratne 1996). If the results of this analysis show that *Il Globo* had expressed critical opinion of the Australian Government during this period, the study could suggest that the Government was erroneous in its disinterest toward foreign language media in Australia between 1959 and 1969. Moreover, the conclusions of the study may stimulate research on the role of other foreign-language media outlets in Australia. In particular it may encourage research on the role of other ethnic print media sources in their respective ethnic communities, and their impact on issues of immigration in contemporary Australian history.

## 1.2 Definition of Key Terms

*Ethnic* indicates having a distinctive culture (Edmonson 1997). In recent times the term has been gradually substituted with the expression *culturally and linguistically diverse* (CALD), notably by Australian Federal and State Government departments and agencies. CALD encompasses a broader range of cultural-based diversities, not only of ethnic origin or of non-English-speaking background (NESB). The term ethnic is therefore herein used interchangeably with the acronym CALD.

The *Italian community* encompasses all persons born in Italy, as well as persons born in Australia to at least one Italy-born parent, grandparent or arguable ancestor (Ruzzene & Battiston 2006). Furthermore, the term *Italian-Australian community* includes those persons in the Italian community, but extends to a broader societal spectrum, including persons of distant Italian background and Italian ancestry (Ruzzene & Battiston 2006).

## 1.3 Rationale for the Study and Research Question

In both mainstream and CALD media, the layout and content of a publication may be configured in a way that is pleasing to the ownership and/or the editorial board (Bell 1992). Yet it is open to question whether CALD media is subject to the same regulations of mainstream media. It could be posed that ethnic media, in the time frame of this study, operated in a more relaxed environment, where the freedom to comment was greater than that of English language media. According to Tosco (2007, p. 39), "ethnic press has always received scarce interest, if not completely ignored by studies on the subject and by Australian political components". Jakubowicz and Seneviratne (1996, p. 8) underline the Australian Government's disinterest by stating that ethnic press is seen as "publicly insignificant" and that this is the reason there are no data or information concerning it.

From the 1950s throughout the 1960s, Italian immigration to Australia was *en masse* (Mascitelli & Battiston 2007), creating immense CALD communities around the nation, with majorities in Victoria and New South Wales (Jupp 1988). During this period, *Il Globo* was created and served these communities through its newspaper.

Jakubowicz and Seneviratne (1996) further argue that in this period, Australian Government focus shifted from ethnic media to English mass media, and in particular to electronic media such as commercial television and radio. Therefore, with Government focus toward English-language electronic media, *Il Globo* could have arguably experienced an increasing ability to voice its opinion on the issues that concerned its respective community. This includes the immigration schemes and legislation such as the Migration Act (1958) and the migrant phenomena assimilationism and integrationism, and the adverse effects of these political strategies on the Italian communities in Australia.

In the mid 1960s, Australian Government policy towards migrants did change and had become more relaxed, as ethnic assimilation policy became redundant and a new effort to encourage integration, and later multiculturalism, was adopted (Jakubowicz 2002). As a result, ethnic newspapers were no longer limited to one per group, nor would they need to provide the Department of Immigration with an English translation of the editorials printed (Kalantzis 1999).

In recent times, a newspaper editorial has been described as "the anonymous public voice of the newspaper" where individual and subjective opinions are expressed (Franklin B 2008, p. 109). *Il Globo* Editor in Chief Nino Randazzo carried this responsibility in this role for over forty years. As a prominent and highly opinionated person in Italian-Australian society, he admits he has been influential through his presence in *Il Globo* (ABC 1999), and considers his career to be one extended service to the large Italian community in Australia (Jupp, cited in Farouque 2006).

The objective of this Honours thesis is to examine the editorial comment of *Il Globo* on immigration areas of discourse. As such, the study adopts the following research question: What editorial commentary did *Il Globo* articulate on issues of post-war immigration in Australia between 1959 and 1969? This broad question draws on the editorial commentary of *Il Globo* on the contemporary issues faced by the Italian population in Australia in the nominated timeframe. The analysis presented in this thesis will provide an account of opinions on the Federal Institutions governing Australia, and opinions on related immigration and societal issues, from the perspective of one of Australia's many culturally and linguistically diverse minority communities.

**1.5 Thesis Structure**

This Honours thesis is delivered in six chapters. Chapter two provides a critical review of the literature relevant to the topic: ethnic media in Australia; brief history of Italian print media in Australia; *Il Globo* and Editor in Chief Nino Randazzo, a brief history of Italian immigration to Australia; and an outline of the political environment in post-war Australia. Chapter three outlines the data framework and research methodology, specifically the research approach and the methods of data analysis adopted. Chapter four provides analysis of the editorial commentary on the issues identified and presents the findings, and Chapter five provides discussion and conclusions, details the study's limitations, and provides directions for future research.

## Chapter 2 – Literature Review

**2.1 Introduction**

To date, there has been substantial academic and non-academic work produced in the area of Italian studies, including on the topics of Italian immigration and communities in Australia. Cresciani (1985), Castles (1992, 1993), Rando (1992), Pascoe (1992) Alcorso (1992) and Alcorso (1992) are just a few major contributors in these fields. There is an equally substantial amount of work on immigration to Australia, Australian Government politics and policies, and the controversial topic of multiculturalism in Australia. Jupp (1966, 2007), Jakubowicz (1996, 2002) and Zubrzycki (1959) are some scholars who have made large contributions to the understanding of these sociological trends in Australian history.

There is however less in depth material on NESB media and its role in society, possibly due to the lack of interest by Government authorities for so many years. One key reference is Gilson and Zubrzyczi (1967) who executed a study on the foreign language media in Australia from 1848 to 1964. The research found that NESB many newspapers in Australia were producing comment on the topics of immigration policy, citizenship, and the acts of assimilation and integration. Encasing the commentary of at least nine publications, Gilson and Zubrzycki single out some of *Il Globo*'s comments

on the issues, which indeed seem at times more controversial than the other NESB media prints at the time.

There is even less information on contemporary Italian print media in Australia. Tosco (2002, 2005, 2007) provides valuable insight into the history of Italian press from the late 19th century until the First World War, as do Cresciani (1985) and Castles (1992), until the mid 20th century. On the subject of *Il Globo*, Carlo Carli is the only significant work. Researching a 12-year snapshot of *Il Globo* on issues including migrant welfare and immigration, Carli made a significant and unique contribution to the literature. He made provocative statements and drew interesting conclusions about the Italian community in contemporary society, and about the newspaper, including its Editor in Chief Nino Randazzo. According to Carli (1982, p. 14), *Il Globo* portrayed Italians in Australia as living an "idyllic and peaceful existence", as a partisan community that had great influence on Australian politics; details that he claims were not true. He also determines that issues conflicting this ideology were seen as illegitimate, and were therefore not reported in *Il Globo*. Furthermore, Carli provided evidence that *Il Globo* started to act as a lobby group to defend Italians in Australia and debate issues such as the overseas vote in Italian elections, but interestingly, contrasts the newspaper's lack of reportage and comment about other issues regarding migrant rights at the time. Notwithstanding this valuable contribution, Carli's conclusions have some limitations relating to the methodology and objectivity of his study. It is not known what articles provided the basis for his study, nor the basis on which the data sample of *Il Globo* articles was selected, collected or analysed. This lack of information suggests that Carli's analysis of *Il Globo* may have lacked consistency and rigor, and was therefore not wholly representative of the newspaper's content. As previously mentioned, Battiston (2004) claims that Carli's work was not purely objective as he was a member of The Italian Federation of Migrant Workers and their Families (FILEF), an association known to antagonise *Il Globo*. This chapter will synthesize Carli's work, provide background information critical to understanding the topic, and, more importantly, the political and social environment in which *Il Globo* and indeed the Italian population operated from 1959 to 1969. This time frame will provide the focal point for analysis presented in this thesis.

**2.2 Ethnic Media in Australia: An Overview**

Ethnic or CALD media in Australia can be divided into two categories: electronic, which consists of television and radio programmes, and print media, which comprises newspapers and magazines (Strate, Ford & Jankowski 1994). At present there are over 150 NESB newspapers published in Australia (Alarcon 2004), which account for 16% of the total national press (Tosco 2002). Of these, 80 per cent originate from Melbourne and Sydney (Bell 1992, Pe-Pua cited in ABC 1999), where the largest number of CALD Australians live (ABS 2007).

Electronic media in Australia is broadcast in over 180 programmes in languages other than English (LOTE) (Alarcon 2004). According to Jakubowicz and Seneviratne (1996) Australia is a world leader in electronic community media. This can be partly attributed to the Australian Government legislature on ethnic broadcasting, which created the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). The SBS in particular has a significant presence in the CALD communities, and is a standalone example of institutional or subsidised support for ethnic media in comparison to other countries (Karim 1998). It was set up in 1978 for the purpose of ethnic and community media through radio and television broadcasting, replacing the small-scale ethnic programs from Melbourne's 3EA Radio and Sydney's 2EA Radio (SBS Corporation, 2007). It was implemented as a result of the pro-Multiculturalist Galbally Report, with the raisons d'etre to: provide a method to inform and entertain NESB residents in their own language; assist NESB cultures to maintain their culture between them and their descendants; provide information and advice to NESB residents in merit of settlement; encourage and catalyse English learning; and avoid political prejudice (Commonwealth of Australia 1982, 1985).

The ABC has a similar practise in Victoria through the broadcaster 3ZZZ, which is subsidised by the Victorian Government. At present, the ABC and SBS together broadcast over 22,000 hours of national radio programs in over 60 languages every year, whilst SBS television telecasts programs in over 60 languages, with NESB content constituting over 50% of its broadcasting schedule (3ZZZ 2004, SBS 2008). The focus of this study is however print media. It is necessary to understand the history of Italian

print media in Australia to specifically conceptualise contemporary medium *Il Globo* and its role in the Italian communities of Australia.

## 2.3 Background: Italian print media in Australia 1885 - 1969

In 1885, the first Italian periodical *L'Italo Australiano* was founded in Sydney. It had a brief 7-month run and was distributed within New South Wales, where the Italian community numbered 500 people (Tosco 2005). Despite its short-lived term, the *L'Italo Australiano* is evidence that the Italian population was active in attempting to service the community during this period and was the first step in the passage of Italian media in Australia.

Between 1901 and 1947, there were at least 9 print periodicals[1], operating mainly from Melbourne and Sydney, where the greatest populations of Italians were concentrated (Tosco 2007). It could be argued that politics was the catalyst for a number of these newspapers. Many Italians in Australia had expressed their support of, or opposition to Fascism, and evidently this was expressed through the print mediums in the Italian community. Pro-fascist newspapers such as *L'Italo-Australiano* and *Il Giornale Italiano* were circulated in the Italian community. These were two newspapers that were notably funded by the National Fascist Party of Italy (PNF), and at the beginning of WWII they were shut down by the Australian Government (Tosco 2005). In opposition to these, anarchist Francesco Carmagnola founded two strong anti-fascist periodicals *Il Risveglio* and *La Riscossa* in 1927 and 1929, which together sold over 3000 copies per month not only in Australia but also in France, South America and the United States (Cresciani 1985). Ultimately, the Australian Government closed down *Il Risveglio* in 1927 and closed down *La Riscossa* and another newspaper, *L'Avanguardia Libertaria* in 1932 due to their extreme political tendencies (Carli 1982).

Evidently, the Australian Government shut down the fascist print media after closing the anti-fascist print media. Alcorso and Alcorso (1992, p. 29) reason that the Australian Government was more concerned with anarchists, communists and socialists who "were considered to pose a greater threat to society". Moreover, the Bruce and Hughes Governments of the 1920s and the Lyons Government of the 1930s (Alcorso

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[1] The print periodicals include: *L'Italo Australiano (1885), Uniamoci (1903), Oceana (1913), Il Risveglio (1927, reformed 1944),Il Corriere degli Italiani in Australia (1928), La Riscossa (1929), L'Avanguardia Libertaria (1930), L'Angelo della Famglia (1944), La Fiamma (1947)*

and Alcorso 1992; Cresciani 1985) had actually been favourable to Italian fascism, as it was thought to be "a positive political force with the potential to defend the established order against the communist menace" (Alcorso & Alcorso 1992, p.18).

The literature suggests that many sources of Italian print media were successful. Despite this, many were highly politically motivated, which not only brought attention and animosity toward the Italian communities in Australia, but impeded the longevity of the newspapers. *Il Globo* had notably not followed this pattern.


## 2.4 Italian Language Newspaper *Il Globo*

Established in Melbourne 1959, *Il Globo* was financed by the Valmorbida family and was published in weekly editions, in collaboration with Director Ubaldo Larobina and writer Nino Randazzo (Carli 1982).

As migrants from the Veneto Region of Italy, the five entrepreneurial Valmorbida brothers established an importing business called 'Conga Foods' in the 1950s, and later began producing wine with the acquisition of two regional Victorian wineries in the 1980s (Hougaz & Betta 2007). During the period of this study, *Il Globo*'s weekly newspaper sold circa 20,000 copies, and initially circulated only in Victoria (Gilson and Zubrzycki 1967), until in 1979 the Valmorbida family bought out Sydney-based competing newspaper *La Fiamma*, which retains the same title but is in essence almost identical to *Il Globo*. This takeover in effect doubled the national print run to 60,000 copies per day (Alcorso et al. 1992) and according to Carli (1982, p.14) this secured a "virtual monopoly on the Italian media". In recent years, the younger Valmorbida generations have expanded the family's operation in commerce and media which is currently worth an estimated $501 million, rendering the family one of Australia's wealthiest 200 entities (BRW 2008).

*Il Globo* is said to be one of the most successful, long-running and 'conservative' newspapers in the Italian language in Australia (Alcorso Popoli and Rando 1992). Today, the 'Italian Media Corporation' comprises not only *Il Globo* and *La Fiamma*, but also *Radio Rete Italia*, the national Italian-language radio station broadcast through 27 frequencies throughout Australia (Rete Italia 2007). Bolton (cited in ABC 1999) argues that these newspapers are arguably two of the only four Italian newspapers serving the Italian-Australian community today, giving the 'Italian Media

Corporation' a majority of market share. The other Italian journalism in Australia consisted of periodical *Nuovo Paese*, created in 1974 by FILEF (Battiston 2005), and periodical *Il Progresso Italo-Australiano,* published by the organization Consiglio Italo-Australiano del Lavoro (CIAL) which was founded in 1974 by Giuseppe di Salvo and in collaboration with Nino Randazzo (Battiston 2004).

Alcorso et al (1992, p. 121) argue "[Italian print media] have provided at times a forum for the debate of … differences, but often a vehicle for submerging them… ". Carli's perception of *Il Globo*'s stance in Italian society indirectly substantiates this argument. Carli (1982, p. 29) suggests that *Il Globo* has portrayed a 'distorted view' of contemporary Italy to its readers. Specifically, he argued that *Il Globo* has neglected to report the important social and political progress of contemporary Italy, and contrasts this against *Il Globo*'s depiction of Australia's Italians as living in Utopia. Furthermore, he claims that this opinion was advocated to such an extent that *Il Globo* failed to comment on any issues conflicting with it, for example the Migrant Education Action Conferences in the 1970s. According to Carli (1982, pp. 30-31), FILEF proposed a direct threat to *Il Globo* because it:

*"Began producing evidence that Italians were far from living an idyllic existence, but were in fact heavily exploited and politically powerless… Secondly, FILEF was developing a nucleus of efficient young activists and organizers, which represented a challenge to the establishment through a new militant intelligentsia in the community"*

This threat was furthermore directed at the 'Italian Establishment', a group of middle-class Italians and business leaders who Carli (1982, p. 15) claims were "servicing the Italian community" in order to "extend their status". Moreover, this served as an ideological threat to Randazzo and the Valmorbida family, whom Carli identifies as members. Another criticism on Carli's research is the lack of information regarding research methodology. His Honours thesis does not provide details on the type of data used, whether it constituted editorials or articles in general, nor does it explain the completeness of the data collected, which provided points for analysis. In this regard, he may have overlooked certain articles that contradicted his opinion in the study he conducted.

### Editor in Chief Nino Randazzo

Born in the Aeolian Islands of Sicily in 1932, Nino Randazzo migrated to Australia in 1952 and became a naturalised Australian citizen under the assimilation policies in 1957 ('*Briefing notes to the Minister… Randazzo'* c.1968). He has since maintained a strong involvement with the Italian communities in Australia in diverse capacities.

As a theatre playwright in Italy and Australia, Randazzo co-founded the Compagnia Teatrale Italo-Australiana di Melbourne, and scripted over fifteen productions, including the English translation of 'Victoria Market', which earned him a prize at the Australia and New Zealand Theatre Writers' Conference in 1987 (Nisa 2008). He is the author of three books of Italian-Australian history, and is highly recognised for his translations of 'The History of Australia' by Manning Clark, and 'Eureka Stockade' by Raffaello Carboni.

In 1956, he co-established the CIAL and collaborated with print periodical *Il Progresso,* before starting at *Il Globo* in 1959 as sub-editor of the newspaper (Randazzo & Cigler 1987; Battiston 2004). He became Editor-in-Chief in 1978 (Nisa 2008), a position he held until 2005 (Battiston 2004).

Socially active in the Italian Communities in Australia and beyond, Randazzo is the President of the Associazione Eoliani nel Mondo (AEM), and a co-founder of the Iniziativa Culturale Australia-Isole Eolie (ICAIE), La Famiglia Siciliana, and the Federation of Sicilian Associations in Victoria (Nisa 2008). In 1980, he was awarded 'Cavaliere Ufficiale' Order of Merit by the Italian Republic for his cultural achievements, and in 2002 he received the annual prize 'Premio Carretto Siciliano' for his work in the Italian community.

In the past, he has been a member of 'The Prime Minister's and Cabinet's Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs', a member of the 'Administration Council of the Tre Mondi Spoleto-Melbourne-Charleston Festival', member of the 'Labour Group for Relations' with the Italian Regions of the Ministry of Ethnic Affairs of the Victorian State Government, the Comitato di Consulenza del Ministero federale della Sicurezza Sociale per l'Accordo di Sicurezza Sociale Italo-Australiano, the Vaccari Historical Trust, the Commissione di Consulenza per le Politiche Demografiche del Ministero dell'Immigrazione, and the Administrative Council of the Victorian branch of Comitato Assistenza Italiani (COASIT) (Nisa 2008).

Randazzo has also been politically active in the Italian communities of Australia. He was a member of the Australian Labour Party (ALP) and then the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) where in 1963 he ran unsuccessfully for the Victorian seat of Fitzroy (Carli 1982). In April 2006, he campaigned in the Italian Elections for the Africa-Asia-Oceania-Antarctica seat with fellow MP Marco Fedi, under the leadership of centre-left candidate Romano Prodi and the Partito Democratico. The party won by a majority of two seats and Randazzo was elected into the Italian Senate, effectively ending his editorship at *Il Globo* (Sirignani 2006). In April 2008, Randazzo and Fedi again ran in the Italian Elections for the same seat, however this time under centre-left leader Walter Veltroni and the Partito Democratico. Veltroni lost to centre-right candidate Silvio Berlusconi, but Randazzo and Fedi won and were re-elected into the Senate and House of Deputies (Bennett 2008).

## 2.5 The role of Italian Print Media in post-war Australia

Ethnic media has been described as a communication tool that perpetuates the culture of a minority community in a culturally dominant society (Alarcon 2004). Moreover, it is thought to be an influential medium in CALD communities where editorials, news items and opinions from the community shape the discourse both within and outside it. Described as rising spontaneously from a necessity of an ethnic group living amongst an "alien society" (Tosco 2007 p. 41), it acts as a "personal and emotional contact" in a community in contrast to the mass communication contact of many English language Anglo-Australian newspapers (Alarcon 2004).

Historically, Italian print media has provided an invaluable service contribution to the Italian community. According to Tosco (2007, p. 42), it acted as "the first and most important means of communication with the host nation" as it was written in the Italian language and this formed a basic rapport with its readers. Zubrzycki (1959) has researched the role of print media and has categorised the areas of print: news from the host nation, news from the world, news from the patria, life and activity of the ethnic group; and lastly, editorials on topics of interest for the readers. *Il Globo* fulfilled Zubrzycki's theoretical structure; it was a source of information about current affairs in Australia and Italy (Alcorso et al. 1992), providing updates on political and economic issues, regional stories and sport results. More importantly, it acted as a community information exchange for Italians in Australia by printing notices of births, deaths and

marriages, as well as providing TV guides and news of social clubs and events. Commercially, it provided contact points for Italian speaking services including lawyers, doctors and tailors, retailers such as car dealers and Italian grocers, provided advice on buying or selling a house, and even instructions about how to send money back to loved ones in Italy (*Il Globo,* November 10 1964).

Zubrzycki's structure provides a spectrum of information, and whilst these categories form the basis of a newspaper, it is important to understand the way in which the media presents this information. Tosco (2002, p.16) describes the data process of a newspaper or periodical:

*"A newspaper does not ever present raw journalistic material to its readers, but an elaborated and modified product which is manipulated in an extremely sophisticated way".*

This is in effect the factor that distinguishes different media outlets, in print or otherwise, from one form to another. The basis on which the information is elaborated and manipulated is dependent on the views and opinions of the editorship and ownership boards of the newspaper or broadcaster.

In discussing the role of print media in the Italian-Australian communities, it is necessary to outline the history and motivations of Italian migration to Australia, and various aspects of their communities. This provides a greater understanding of both the Italian communities and *Il Globo* who grew to serve these communities, and will reinforce the role of Italian-language print media in their society.

## 2.6 Background: Italian migrants in Australia

Historically, Italian immigration is documented as early as the mid 19th century when Italians migrated to Australia as missionaries, and later for the prospect of finding gold (Cresciani 1985, Pascoe 1992). Settlement increased in the period from 1901 until after World War II in 1947, where the number of Italian-born residents in Australia rose from 5,678 (ABS 1908) to 33,632 (ABS 1951). According to Randazzo and Cigler (1987) the immigrants could be classified under two groups: *contadini*, and educated persons. The former category consisted of peasants, and the latter category consisted of businessmen, artisans, academics, doctors and scientists, who migrated in search of a better life (Alcorso 1992). As Cresciani (1985, p. 45) describes, they left Italy to

"escape the shackles of their centuries-old customs", which brought governmental neglect or persecution and prohibited them for so long. These political beliefs, including fascism and communism, were therefore brought into the new Diaspora. Fascism was prevalent in the Italian community of Australia from 1923, with the establishment of both official and un-official Fascist Parties in Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney or any other place there was a growing Italian community (Cresciani 1985). Fascism was a shared ideology amongst Italian traders, businessmen, journalists, importers and diplomats (Cresciani 1985). Furthermore, it was condoned by the Catholic Church (Cresciani 1985) who also promoted fascism to children from an early age through *'i Balilla'*, a Fascist Youth Organisation (Randazzo & Cigler 1987). Anti-fascism was equally prevalent in society. Groups and clubs, like the *Matteotti Club* founded in 1927 in Melbourne, by anarchist Francesco Carmagnola countered the right-wing atmosphere through the diffusion of anarchist and anti-fascist literature (Randazzo & Cigler 1987).

In 1939, Australia's alliance with Britain brought her inclusion in the war against Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany (Randazzo & Cigler 1987). As a result, Italians in Australia became enemy aliens (Fischer 1989), and some 18,500 fascist and anti-fascist Italians were interned together in prisoner of war camps across Australia (Alcorso & Alcorso 1992).

Italian migration to Australia was at its highest in the period from 1948 to 1969 (ABS, *See Appendix 1*). This migration from Italy was initially due to the "chaos of political, economic and social collapse" that World War II had brought to the country (Cresciani 1985, p. 91). The foreign invasions, civil war, and the general killing of Italian civilians resulted in "social dislocation" and "physical uprooting" of the Italian population, which in turn had a dramatic effect on emigration (Cresciani 1985, p.91). Consequently 347,204 Italians immigrated to Australia between 1948 and 1969[2] (ABS, *See Appendix 1*). Pascoe (1992) argues that these new immigrants consolidated in the existing community (of first and second generation migrants) to undergo a process of transition from 'Italian community' to the concept of the 'Italian-Australian'. He deduces that there are all the characteristics of a community: a popular language, shared public ceremonies and a recognised territory. This large community in Australia had immigrated in accordance with the Immigration Policy adopted by the Government at

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[2] This figure does not take into account Italian departures from Australia between 1948 and 1969

the time, and was now living under Australian law, accepting the problems associated with being a NESB and non-British community.


**2.7 Immigration and Immigration Issues in Australia 1945 - 1970**

Much academic literature has been produced on the history of Australian post-war politics and immigration policy change, including the concept of a developing multicultural society. Even so, the intervallic genesis of immigration related phenomena such as assimilation or integration is notional, and the topic of multiculturalism is, even now much a controversial one. The purpose of the information presented below is to provide a historical framework for understanding government-implemented change in policy towards immigrants in Australia, which created hardships for the Italians in Australia, and arguably formed the basis of discourse for editorial commentary in *Il Globo*.

The aftermath of World War II brought to Australia an economic slump, a staggered gender gap and dramatically reduced the manual labour force (Jupp 1966). In 1945, the First Minister for Immigration, Arthur Caldwell implemented a new plan for Australia's economic future: an annual projected population increase of two per cent for 20 years, half of which was to be through immigration (Jupp 1966; Castles 1992; Macintyre 2004). The campaign, synonymous with the Minister's revival of the phrase 'Populate or Perish' sought to encourage mainly British emigration to Australia. The scheme, which adopted the slogan 'Bring out a Brit' proved to be initially successful, and reinforced the high numbers of British settlement in Australia to the extent that it constituted the largest national immigrant entity every year for over a century (Jupp 2007). Despite this, in the aftermath of WWII, Britain offered full employment to citizens and this reduced the need to emigrate overseas (Jupp 2007). Consequently, British immigration to Australia became harder to engage. Therefore, the Australian Government implemented a plan to recruit 'displaced persons' or refugees, and aimed to encourage emigration from nationalities just as desirable as the British, from northern Europe and areas such as Scandinavia and Holland. Encouragement from these countries proved to be difficult, as these countries at times offered situations better than that offered by Australia (Jupp 1966). Additionally, the costs for attracting these immigrants were exorbitant with respect to persons from southern European countries

such as Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia, because the nations' situations were competitive with Australia (Jupp 1966). Southern Europeans had been blocked from immigrating to North America as the United States of America tightened their post-war immigration policy toward Europeans, which made Australia an attractive solution to the problems of their homelands (Jupp 1966). As part of the plan, the Australian authorities proposed inter-governmental agreements for 'Assisted Passage Schemes' (Jupp 2007). The agreements, such as the Scheme contracted between Italy and Australia in 1951, provided that European citizens could migrate to Australia, at a travel cost subsidised by the Australian Government, and a plan to secure future migration of other family members (Jupp 1966).

### *The Immigration Restriction Act (1901)*

The Immigration Restriction Act (Commonwealth of Australia 1901) openly discriminated against the types new migrants in Australia, and gave full discretionary power to Department of Immigration officers in deciding the nature of the candidates. According to Clause 3 of the Act (1901 p. 2), 'idiots', 'loathsome characters', 'diseased characters', ex-convicts, prostitutes, persons in contract to perform manual labour in the Commonwealth, or any 'person likely to become a charge on the public', or suspect thereof, were prohibited from entering Australia. Additionally, if a candidate could not complete a dictation of 50 words in a European language, determined by and in the presence of an officer, the candidate could be deported from the Commonwealth (Immigration Restriction Act, Clause 3 1901). This requirement was incumbent on every migrant at any time, within one year of settlement in Australia (Clause 5 (2), 1901).

Upon settlement in Australia, immigrants were encouraged to assimilate, or "leave their cultural baggage…under duress" when becoming 'new Australians' (Jupp 2002). The process was not uncommon in Australia at the time, nor in other parts of the world, and it was achieved through naturalization. This procedure granted citizenship to foreign migrants five years after relinquishment of their foreign citizenships; a demonstration of loyalty to the adopted nation (Castles 1992). The method was linked with the White Australia Policy (dating from the 1880s), which was notoriously discriminatory towards Aborigines and immigrants from non-white backgrounds, thus projecting and perpetuating an image of Australia as a "racist nation" (Horne 1980).

### *The Migration Act (1958)*

The Migration Act replaced the Immigration Restriction Act in 1958. This statute revised various Clauses of the previous legislation, including a more objective change of title. The Act, according to a report by the Australian Political Ministry Network Ltd in 2003, replaced the 'dictation test' requisite of the old legislation with a the new 'entry permit scheme' (Clause 6, Migration Act 1958). The scheme saw the issue of permits either in Australia or offshore, to migrants seeking settlement in Australia. Notably, the modifications to the Act did not address the discretion and authority of Immigration Officers in determining individual cases.

Lopez (2000) outlines the various policies in Australian post-war and identifies the diverse academic typologies of multiculturalism and the journey toward it in Australia. In his work "The origins of multiculturalism" he consolidates the research and outlines the shift from assimilation to the emergence of integrationism from 1959 to 1965. The phenomenon of integration sought to tolerate greater cultural diversity, a 'melting pot' of cultures, which may create even a superior Australian culture and possibly benefit Australia in the future (Lopez 2000). In order for this to happen, Government aid in the form of welfare, and English language tuition was needed to make immigration to and settlement in Australia more inviting (Lopez 2000).

Jupp (2007, p. 10) argues that in reality this was not the case. He claims that the Migration Act perpetuated the White Australia ideology, and in fact empowered Immigration Department officers to judge the 'degree of blood' of migrants applying for Australian citizenship – an authority he compares to that reminiscent of the Nazi regime. According to Australian Government Ministers, this process of selection was implemented in order to prevent Australia from appearing like any society other than that of the "homogenous white British".

The authority and discretion of Immigration Officers, empowered by the Federal Legislation, resulted often in the deportation of many migrants from Australia, and the categorical refusal of migrants applying for residency in Australia. According to Nicholls (2007), by 1909 the dictation test was used by immigration officers purely as a means to halt immigrants, and was sinisterly administered to ensure that candidates faced a test that they could undoubtedly not complete. There are numerous examples of

deportation on various grounds, such as for example German-Egyptian sailor Hans Max Sterling who, in 1903, was convicted of stealing and was sentenced accordingly. Soon after, the English, French and German speaking man was subjected to complete the dictation test, in Greek, and when failed was deported (Nicholls 2007). There are also stories about Italy-born naturalised Australians, such as Giovanni Ferrando and Nestore Donini who faced deportation charges back to Italy to complete Military service. Some Australian citizens were imprisoned, even forced to sell their property and return to Italy, with the prospect of being killed at war (Nicholls 2007). In the period from 1950 until 1969, a total of 5,991 persons were deported from Australia, on grounds varying from illegal entry, being in poor health, breaching conditions of entry, and criminal offences (Nicholls 2007). Consequently, the hopes of migrating kindred were pushed to turmoil as 'family migration' became unachievable (Jupp 1966). Additional to the Legislative discrimination, Jupp (2007) outlines the Australian Government's failure to recognise non-British overseas qualifications as an issue prevalent from the 1950s and one that he considers the worst act of discrimination. The rejection of foreign qualifications caused labour problems for many migrants settling in Australia, forcing them into menial and often physical work in order to earn an income. One example is 'Emilio', a qualified engineer and technician, who was told by an Australian Official in Italy, that he could travel to Australia with his wife for a two year contract in his qualified industry. Once in Australia, the couple were taken directly to Bonegilla Detention Camp, and after some weeks of internment, discrimination and attempts to organize work, 'Emilio' was assigned a manual job as a jobbing-moulder by the Immigration Department. He never performed work as a technician as his qualification was not recognised (cited in Loh 1980). There are many stories of the manual labour performed by Italian migrants, such as the Canecutters of Queensland and farming in rural Victoria, and the hard conditions imposed on some workers, for example the long hours and little pay in cold factories that are partially exposed to the elements (Francesca, cited in Loh 1980).

Despite the upheavals for immigrants in Australia, the nation's annual population growth rate was over four per cent in the late 1950s and 1960s, and the country was enjoying an economic boom (Macintyre 2004), thus the need for population injections was decreasing. Consequentially, some migrant assistance schemes (such as the agreement with the Italian authorities) were abandoned, but this did not disconcert migrants, who continued to arrive on their own financial accordance

(Jupp 1966). Many migrants arrived as a result of 'chain' or 'cluster' migration, where one family member would emigrate to Australia, gain the sponsorship required by both Italian and Australian authorities, and then enable further emigration by acting as the sponsor (Baldassar 2001).

According to the Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007), the Liberal Holt Government in 1966 saw the start of official dismantlement of the White Australia Policy. Jupp (2007) dismisses this claim altogether, whereas Lopez (2000) describes this as only a marginal change to the policy, but nevertheless he gives the impression from this period on was a time for growing support and scholarship on proto-multiculturalism – a push to accept and no longer shun cultural diversity. The Australian Council of Social Services had started to hold national conferences on issues such as migrant welfare, and began to strengthen links with the various institutions such as the Immigration Advisory Council, the Australian Jewish Welfare and Reflief Society, and the Comitato Assistenza agli Italiani (Committee of Assistance for Italians or COASIT) (Lopez 2000).

In 1970, when net migration reached over two million (Betts 1999), the world recession had reached Australia and was threatening her economy (Castles & Miller 1993). The Whitlam Government responded by dramatically reducing migrant intake, and also reviewed the Government's policy toward migrants and their welfare in Australia. Sharing thoughts with academics and lobby groups, the Labour Government unconditionally and completely removed the White Australia Policy and pushed to generate an "ideological change" towards immigrants and their welfare in an effort to foster a sense of multicultural Australia (Lopez 2000, p. 156). Immigration Minister Al Grassby's famous speech titled 'The Family of the Nation' initially announced the ideology to embrace a society of diverse ethnicities (Lopez 2000).


## 2.8 CALD Press and Immigration Issues in Australia

The foreign-language press in Australia generated much comment on these issues of immigration in post-war society. According to Gilson and Zubrzycki (1967) some newspapers responded favourably to the Australian Government, migrant problems and act of naturalization into Australian society, but other prints took an antagonistic approach toward the policies and Institutions. German gazette *Der Anker,*

the alternate Italian *La Fiamma,* the Polish *Tygodnik Katolicki* and *Wiadomosci Polskie* are some newspapers that encouraged naturalization to its readership, whilst others also promoted migrant assimilation into society, such as the Greek *Hellenic Herald* and the Italian *Il Corriere.* Conversely, specific newspapers questioned some clauses of the Nationality and Citizenship Acts, claiming naturalized migrants could still be deported if they breached certain laws. The effect of this pressure resulted in a change of legislation in 1958, after which deportation of naturalized migrants could only occur if the citizenship was unlawfully obtained (Gilson and Zubrzycki 1967).

Moreover, the study reflected that the NESB press defended migrant rights, and condemned discrimination against NESB communities in Australia. The German *Neue Weld*, *Der Anker*, and Italian *La Fiamma* had shown defence of migrant's qualifications not being recognised in Australia, employment disparities between Europeans and Australians, and the non-compliance with European trade apprenticeships. In particular, three German prints expressed resentment towards the discrimination against Southern Europeans, specifically the Italian migrants in Australia (Gilson and Zubrzycki 1967). The study also revealed some kind sentiments toward Australia, namely by the Greek and the German print, which expressed gratitude, and encouraged embracement of its traditions, people and life (Gilson and Zubrzycki 1967).

The post-war period had proved to be a cultural turning point for Australia. For the first time in history, the Australian Government planned to attract mass immigration from not only Britain, but also NESB countries. The scheme, which sought to rebuild the country and provide for its economic future, gave Australian society a new face. The mixture of cultures, often emigrating from devastating situations, arrived in Australia and faced more adversity. Racist immigration policy and questions over immigrant rights proved to be continual hardships for the new citizens, and only impeded the coercion to assimilate and integrate into Australian society. The Italian community in Australia was one such group facing the challenges of contemporary society. A pillar of the community, *Il Globo* had an important role by providing the link between the migrant group and their new adoptive country. In the late 1950s and 1960s, *Il Globo* contributed news, assistance and support to the Italian communities in Australia. These contributions have rarely been studied for their role and importance in post-war society, perhaps disappearing from perception in an evolving, culturally pluralist Government and society.

*Hypotheses*

The hypotheses examined in the current study were generated from this chapter. As discussed, the most pertinent issues of immigration in Italian society in post-war Australia were the struggle to unite family migration, due to the provisions of the Immigration Restriction Act (1901) and the Migration Act (1958), and the issue of migrant worker rights, because the Australian Government did not acknowledge non-British foreign qualifications. Therefore, 'Hypothesis 1' poses the idea that '*Il Globo* has taken an active role in addressing the important issues of immigration that impacted on the Italians in Australia - union of migrant families, and migrant worker rights - from 1959 to 1969'. Moreover, as these issues were results of the Australian Government and its migrant legislation, 'Hypothesis 2' poses that '*Il Globo* was critical of the Australian Government's immigration legislation and its impact on migrant society.'

# Chapter 3 - Research Methodology

## 3.1 Research Design

The purpose of this study is to identify and analyse the opinion of *Il Globo* on issues of immigration from 1959 to 1969. The study is based on a longitudinal analysis of qualitative (non-numerical) data and adopts an archival or historical research strategy. Archival research utilises secondary data such as administrative documents or newspaper archives as the principal source of data (Saunders et al., 2007). The data in this study are archives of newspaper editorials relating to the issue of immigration written by *Il Globo*'s Editor in Chief between 1959 and 1969. These editorials will be examined with reference to change in immigration policy in Australia over the same period.

*Research Paradigm*

The study adopts a subjective philosophy when addressing the research and analysis. This view has an understanding that "social phenomena" such as multiculturalism for example, "are created from the perceptions and consequent actions

of social actors" (Remenyi, Williams, Money & Swartz 1998, cited in Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2007, p. 108). In other words, it is imperative to examine the opinions of the actors, to understand the actions in question (Saunders et al. 2007). This study aims to investigate the opinion of *Il Globo*, articulated as an interpretation of the events developing in contemporary society, and a reaction to them. The interpretative paradigm is associated with the subjectivist view. It adopts a philosophical approach to identify one's interpretation of its surroundings. Quite simply, it is a research method used to explain the developments of certain situations (Saunders et al. 2007). In the context of this thesis, the paradigm implies that *Il Globo*'s editorial commentary in the Italian-Australian communities can be best understood by identifying how these related to the issues developing in society at the time.

A mix of exploratory and descriptive research is the most suitable approach in addressing the research question 'What editorial comment has *Il Globo* articulated on issues of post-war immigration in Australia between 1959 and 1969?' According to Robson (2002, p. 59) exploratory research aims to investigate by "ask(ing) questions" to find out "what is happening", whilst descriptive research aims to "portray an accurate profile of persons, events or situations". This approach enables investigation of the opinion articulated in the newspaper, whilst remaining objective in detailing the data and documenting it in a factual manner and chronological order.

According to Creswell (2003), research questions and hypotheses attempt to draw the focus on a study's purpose, whilst acting as signals for the reader. In this research, Hypothesis 1 is: '*Il Globo* took an active role in commenting on the issues of immigration from 1959 to 1969 that impacted on the Italians in Australia' and aims to use the information from the analysis conducted to determine *Il Globo*'s position. Again in Hypothesis 2 '*Il Globo* was critical of the Australian Government's immigration legislation and its impact on migrant society', data analysis will focus on testing this idea and providing greater insight into the topic. The approach in testing these hypotheses is known as a deductive approach. According to Saunders et al. (2007), this procedure requires expressing the hypothesis in operational terms, in this case the variables are the editorial comment. The hypothesis is then supported/negated by testing it against the available data. Notwithstanding the links established in the data, a positive or a negative result is still one from which conclusions can be drawn.

**3.2 Data Collection Procedure**

*Data Collection*

The data for this study were gathered in the archives of *Il Globo,* at the Rete Italia Corporation offices in North Fitzroy, Melbourne, and at the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, between May and August 2008. The archives of *Il Globo* present a well-organized collection of all newspapers printed over the ongoing 49-year history of the newspaper, bound in volumes according to the year of print. The State Library of Victoria presents an equally well-organized collection of the newspapers, primarily available on microfilm format. These microfilm resources allow for easy, quick and reliable electronic image copying, rendering the research process at the State Library more user-friendly and effective than scanning the large volumes of *Il Globo*'s archives. Despite this, the State Library of Victoria, failed to collect editions of *Il Globo* on certain occasions, effectively rendering the archive marginally incomplete. To the best of the author's knowledge, these two archive sources contain the only copies of *Il Globo,* in their entirety or close to their entirety, in the State of Victoria.

From imception the newspapers were printed on paper equivalent to two A3-sized pages when opened. This format was still in use in 1969 where the study concludes. The editions had approximately 25 pages, and as a general rule, the layout of the newspaper was as follows: headlines and editorial comment on the front page, followed by the news from Italy on the successive page(s). Then, the current news from the world, together with articles about affairs and news in Australia, was presented. This included state and community news, lifestyle sections such as for example community events and cooking recipes. Other regular features included 'Momenti Nostri…' (Our Moments), a variety of mailbag and comment section for comment on womens' issues, reader's letters, another brief editorial type section called 'Disco Rosso' sustained by Piero Allori, and a commentary on current affairs including Australian politics. The regular attachment to this type of article is "Nostro servizio particolare", or "our particular service", and is not attributable to an author.

Advertising content in the newspaper was minimal in the initial editions from 1959, but toward the end of the study period in 1969, advertising became much more prominent, and regular sponsors such as Mocopan Coffee, Scali Furniture and Stock Brandy began to emerge, along with advertisements of services for Italians in Australia, and a greater section of classifieds for houses, cars and employment.

Earlier years' editions at times included a section dedicated to articles written by a Rome based journalist, and focused on issues such as the American 'Gangsterismo' of New York. As time progressed and *Il Globo* was developing, the focus of the journalism shifted toward presentation of issues in Australia. One special edition in 1967 included a large lift-out describing the 'The Italians and the cognitions of Australia, from the Roman Empire, the Middle Ages, until the Renaissance', with a history of Italians in Australia from the First Fleets to present day. The TV guide was a lift-out introduced in early 1962, and was later accompanied by the sport lift-out that replaced the previous format of sport in the last pages of the newspapers. The sport section was materially extensive and contained both local and international results and news from the past week, and information on the approaching spectacles.

In the weekly editions of *Il Globo*, editorials were published somewhat inconsistently; some editions did not contain an editorial. In the newspapers, editorial comment was most often found on the front page and in its entirety. If not, it commenced on the front page and concluded on another page later in the edition. During the data sample collection, editorials by journalists apart from Nino Randazzo were found. These included an article titled 'Rights and Liberties' by Livio Costa (30 December 1958), and an article titled 'Liberty to Emigrate' by Ugo D'Andrea (17 October 1967). These articles provided criticism on Australian Immigration Policy and claimed the exploitation of Italians in Australia. However qualitatively related to the study, these editorials were not consistently printed, unlike those by Nino Randazzo, and therefore were not considered in the data collection for this study.

Usually, columns on the left or right sides of the front-page were dedicated to Randazzo's editorials. There were in fact, not titled as editorials, and actually appear as any other article in the newspaper. As a result, the articles for this study were distinguished through search for the author's signature, which in this case was Nino Randazzo, or occasionally the initials 'N.R'. Care was taken to select only the editorial articles, and not other articles of journalism by Randazzo that were printed contemporarily in the issue. Despite this, there were at times issues in determining the author of some articles. There were some editorial-like articles found in the newspaper, in the same format and the same writing style as the editorials written by Randazzo, but without an author's signature. These articles often commented on problems of immigration, naturalisation of migrants, and even criticism of the Australian Government. One example of such an editorial is on the edition of May 10, 1966,

entitled "The Australian Immigration Program in Crisis", and addressed the number of migrants who left Australia to return to their home country (*See appendix 2*). However, these articles were not included in the data collection as they could not be attributed to any journalist; Randazzo or otherwise. There is a possibility that these articles may have been written, but not signed by Randazzo, which could result as a criticism on, and limitation to this study and could affect the ability to document all opinion on the issues of immigration.

## *Data Sample*

The data collection process was based on a search of approximately 420 newspapers. The researcher read and selected editorials and selecting on the basis of their content relating to immigration and the issues of immigration from the newspaper's onset in September 1959 until January 1969. Editorial articles in *Il Globo* provided a spectrum of information, from issues in Italy, its economy and trade relations, to world issues such as the Vietnam War in the 1960s, the tension in Manchuria, and the invasion and federation of Czechoslovakia in 1968. However, the editorials provided a greater focus on issues in or involving Australia. This included editorials explaining Australian politics and providing political commentary about elections, including Prime Ministers Menzies and Holt, and editorials about immigration to Australia and the Immigration department and ministers Calwell, Downer, Opperman, Sneddon and Lynch. Other topics commented on include the life of the Italian community in Australia, and related aspects including the community's contribution to Australia and problems encountered in society such as citizenship and migrant welfare. Articles related to the topic of immigration were included in the data sample of this study. Notably, this topic constituted a major area of discourse, and was found to be a prevailing topic throughout the editorials printed in *Il Globo*.

In total, 95 editorials on issues relating to immigration were gathered. This figure suggests that from October 1959 to December 1968, approximately 23% of the editorials were related to the discourse of immigration. This confirms that immigration was a topic of interest for the Italian communities in Australia at the time, both on the part of the newspaper (which articulated the information), and of the readership, who bought the newspaper.

## 3.3 Data Analysis

According to Creswell (2003), data analysis is a crucial component in a study, bringing coherence to the research data. Creswell adds that ultimately, data analysis builds the basis for the study's conclusions, and the accuracy of these conclusions is dependant on the analysis conducted.

Veal (2005) and Creswell (2003) both argue that there are some common steps in the analysis of qualitative data. The first step begins with the preparation of the data, organizing the transcripts, scans, notes, and other data into a workable and uniform style (Veal 2005). Step two includes thorough reading of the collected data, understanding the tone, depth, plausibility and general feeling of what the different data present (Creswell 2003). This step is followed by the categorisation or coding of emergent themes, a process that Veal (2005) calls 'flagging'. These codes must be descriptive, whilst bundling together similar data on the same category, and must also be concise (kept to a minimum number) in order to show strong relationships between the data (Creswell 2003). Bogdan and Bilken (cited in Creswell 2003) identify the types of codes: setting and context; perspectives; ways of thinking about people and objects; process; activity; strategy; relationship and social structure codes. The next step, four, involves the comparison of these categories of data, a process that Veal (2005) calls 'mechanics'. Saunders et al. (2007) suggest using qualitative data analysis software such as the CAQDAS program NVivo to assist with the laborious task of data flagging, mechanics and analysis.

This study will adopt the four-step process mentioned above. The data categorisation will be conducted with a manual method, flagging data into the appropriately formed groups without the aid of electronic software. These groups consist of: Italian immigration to post-war Australia; the establishment and contribution of Italian communities in post-war Australia; Australian immigration policies; Australian politics and politicians; and the problems of Italian immigration in post-war Australia. These categories organize all 95 editorials, taking into account that some articles do provide material content in more than one category. In this case, the principal theme is reflected in the category, and the article was then copied and the relative content re-grouped into the respective category. The results of the data categorization are presented below:

**Figure 1 - Categories of Data Collection**



- Italian Immigration to Australia
- Italian Communities in Australia
- Australian Politics
- Australian Immigration Policy
- Problems of Immigration in Italian-Australian Communities
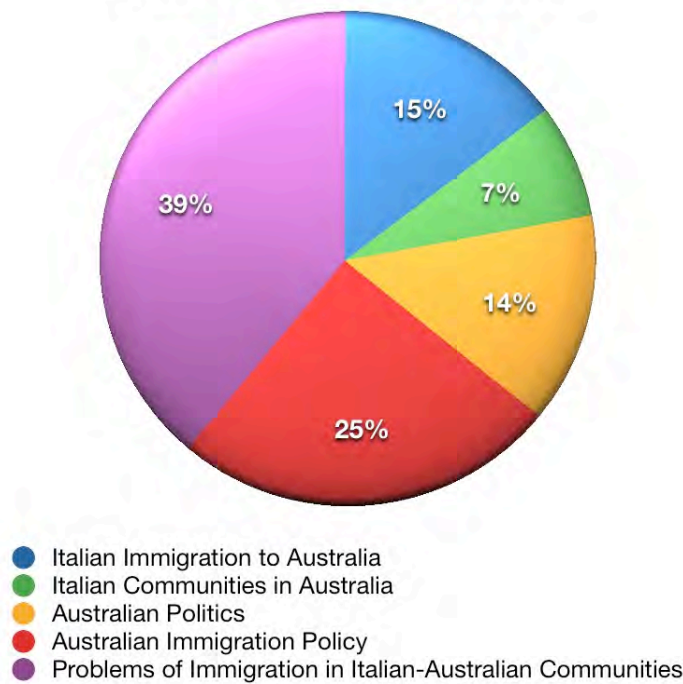
The largest two categories of editorial comment are Australian Immigration Policy and Problems of Immigration in Italian-Australian Communities. Together, they constitute 64% of the total collected data.

To analyse the data and test the hypotheses, a pattern matching approach will be used. This theoretical proposition assumes two sets of variables; the independent variable – immigration policy issues (*outlined in chapter 2*) – and the dependent variable – *Il Globo*'s editorial comment. The dependent variable is then studied against the independent variable to see if there are any 'patterns' in the data, whilst detailing the editorial comment (dependant variable) in regards to the issues of the time (independent variable) (Saunders et al. 2007). The forthcoming results can then be presented. The hypotheses act as expected outcomes in the study, and if these outcomes are founded with the data, the theoretically-based explanation may be plausible.

# Chapter 4 – Results

## 4.1 Italian Immigration to Australia

"*La vera, la grande emigrazione italiana, quella che ha risolto infiniti problemi economici e sociali, che ha dato il maggior lustro e le maggiori rimesse in denaro all'Italia, è stata sempre, e resta a tutt'oggi, l'emigrazione transoceanica*"[3]

In the immediate post-war period, Italy was economically stationary. Randazzo underlined the ironic situation where the Italian Republic, constitutionally 'founded upon labour' (Article 1, Italian Constitution), could no longer provide work to its citizens[4]. Therefore, one million jobless Italians were forced to look beyond their own borders for work. *Il Globo* highlighted the abundant countries for possible emigration, including many in Europe, the Americas, and Australia. Randazzo commented that countries such as France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Germany were the closest to Italy and therefore the most physically convenient for migration, coupled with a public mentality similar to that of Italian workers[5]. These countries were not however, the ideal choices for the Italians, because they would assume, if not inhibited already, the same problems of post-war Italy, namely lack of work and unemployment. This statement was not substantiated with data in the editorial, and is categorically disputable. Jupp (1966) outlines the conditions and many employment opportunities offered in post-war Germany, which was ultimately the largest migrant destination in Europe in the 1960s, and in 1962 alone, together with Switzerland and France, over 300,000 Italians emigrated there. In fact, almost five million Italians immigrated within Europe from 1945 to 1976, making it the most popular continental destination for Italians (Gabaccia 2000). *Il Globo* dismissed intra-European migration, explaining it would only produce unstable migration based upon temporary sojourns, or 'short expiry migrants'[5]. Forming only small cluster communities, this was deemed disadvantageous as Italian Government Authorities would not fully recognise these groups, nor consider their needs when creating institutions for the support and assistance of Italians outside the country. On the contrary, this movement is classified as seasonal migration, and was

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[3] '*La porta aperta dell'Australia*', 24 September 1963, p.1
[4] '*Il Governo Italiano complice delle compagnie*', 29 June 1960, p.1
[5] '*La porta aperta dell'Australia*', 24 September 1963, p.1

both a historical and a common occurrence for Europeans, including Italians, to migrate temporarily within Europe and trans-continental for temporary work (Gabaccia 2000). Furthermore, Article 35 of the Italian Constitution recognises the freedom to emigrate, and protects the right of Italian labour abroad.

*Il Globo* reiterated the necessity of the Italians to address the dire financial and social problems, and specified that 'transoceanic emigration' was the only manner in which to do so[6]. This term represented Italian passage to other continents, and nations such as the United States, South Africa, Australia, and many South American countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela. Randazzo claimed that when considering these alternatives, the ultimate choice was apparently made by a methodical deduction[7]. The U.S.A. had dramatically reduced their migrant intake to direct relatives of American citizens since the turn of the 20th century; Canada provided opportunities for industrial labour but had inconsistent levels of migrant intakes; and South American countries harboured serious political problems and chaos that deterred the Italians, along with a margin of unemployment in many labour sectors[8]. Despite this statement, statistics reflect Italian migration to North America and South America was in combined excess of 1.9 million, accounting for one quarter of the total Italian emigration between 1946 and 1975 (Gabaccia 2000). Furthermore, Randazzo also suggested that South Africa had been a popular destination for migration, however due to the racially skewed politics of the current Government, more Italians became reluctant to follow suit and transfer to the Republic. Statistics corroborate this statement, as only 1% or 73,000 Italian migrants resettled to the African continent from 1945 to 1976 (Gabaccia 2000).

The last remaining 'big open door to Italian emigration' was Australia[9]. Randazzo ideologically depicted the island continent as a liberator that offered economic independence and 'absolute security of work to migrants', giving 'the chance to create a new, well-off and independent life', and the ability to reunite families and rebuild relationships previously ruined in Italy[10]. He attempted to validate Italian migration to Australia, reinstating the need for Italians to migrate in order to sustain itself as a people and a culture. Through emotive narration, his writing style offered

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[6] '*La porta aperta dell'Australia*,' 24 September 1963, p.1
[7] ibid
[8] ibid
[9] ibid
[10] '*Emigrazione di lavoro*', 10 July 1962, p.1; '*Ministero senza controllo*' 13 March 1962, p.8

indirect consolation and compassion to the Italian migrant community in Australia. He reassured their choice to move to the continent, even though it was not the most popular destination for migration. He consistently conveyed that Australia was the only viable and sensible option when caring for the benefit of one's self and one's family, but failed to complete the picture for his readers, and failed to support his opinions with data and statistics.

The pure distance of Australia from Europe had many disadvantages for Italian migrants. The price of the boat tickets were 'exorbitant', with costs and service quality varying from company to company[11]. According to Randazzo, the worst prices set and conditions offered were those of the Italian shipping companies, who exploited Italian migrants with an uncomfortable and slow journey, and the most expensive in the Australian continent, charging prices almost double other navigation companies[12]. In a typically Italian fashion, Randazzo criticized the Italian Government and its Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department for the lack of intervention and investigation of the issue of its citizens becoming financially exploited[13]. In this instance, Randazzo attempted to act as a community mouthpiece, voicing the issues of arguable concern for the Italians in Australia. Blaming the Italian Government is a common act, yet in this case quite prudent, and given the lack of evidence that the Italian Government so far as knew that the problem existed, Randazzo's stand became somewhat weakened. The article continued to criticize the Italian navigation companies' lack of social assistance to Italian emigrants at the time, failing a compatriot obligation to provide basic information about Australia, her geography, laws, political order, history and customs.

In August 1961, *Il Globo* addressed immigration from the perspective of Australia as a nation recovering from the repercussions of World War II. Randazzo stated that Australia's political, military and economic issues, together with an extremely marginal declining birth-rate (down one birth per thousand people from 1951 to 1958), can be solved only by mass immigration. He amplified the claim that the fate of the nation was immigration by European settlement, by communities who have a high birth-rate, and who will work hard and rebuild the nation[14]. It was, in the eyes of Randazzo, the 'only hope for Australia to conquest her harmony, her dignity, and her

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[11] '*Il Governo Italiano complice delle compagnie*', 29 June 1960, p.1
[12] '*Lo scandalo dei viaggi tra Italia e Australia*', 22 June 1960, p.1
[13] '*Il Governo Italiano complice delle compagnie*', 29 June 1960, p.1
[14] '*L'Australia futura*', 15 August 1961, p.1

force as a Great Nation'[15]. To achieve these goals, he suggested the increase of current immigration quotas for a period of ten years; a journalistic comment that had no realistic possibility. However, the former statement was true; the need for population growth was vital for Australia as an economically viable nation (Castles 1992). Randazzo stretched the fact by implying that the Italians, together with the other European migrants, are the catalyst for this growth, that without it, the destiny of Australia cannot be realised. This comment again validated the Italians in Australia as a CALD community, providing an intangible empowerment to the community that they are truly serving a purpose and contributing to their adoptive nation. Furthermore, highlighting the Italian community's aspirations in strengthening Australia's economy is a savvy comment that runs parallel with Australian immigration policy. These editorials provide an indication of *Il Globo*'s stance regarding the movement of migrants and the hardships initially suffered when travelling to Australia. Randazzo's comments empathize with the readership and their mixed feelings for Australia, arguably aiming to provide comfort to the community, voice and leadership on the problems suffered. This in turn forges a journalistic relationship between the sub-editor and the newspaper's readership that could be financially lucrative for the success of the newspaper.

### *Migrant Assistance Passage Scheme*

*"Agli inglesi, la macchina propogandistica australiana può promettere delizie di clima e purezza di atmosfera; ai profughi poteva prospettare libertà democratica e stabilità politica; per i potenziali emigranti italiani italiani c'è un solo appello efficace, c'è un solo richiamo valido: una migliore prospettica di sicurezza economica"*[16]

Italy and Australia had contracted a bilateral migration scheme in 1951, allowing 20,000 single and married applicants to migrate to Australia, per year, for five years. The candidates would receive financial assistance from both the Australian and Italian authorities, and be allocated employment (Castles 1992). In turn, the settlers would sponsor their kin to migrate to Australia and encourage chain migration. In effect, very few migrants were granted assistance passages, due to Australian economic recession

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[15] '*L'Australia futura*', 15 August 1961, p.1
[16] '*Col duro lavoro gli italiani conquistano il loro benessere*', 11 May 1965, pp.1,12

and Italian migrant riots at Bonegilla detention centre, which suspended the agreement (Briefing notes to the Minister… Italian Migration c.1968). It was again revived in 1961, complimented by the 'Bring out a Migrant' scheme, announced by Immigration Minister Downer. This scheme achieved all but speculation and scepticism by the newspaper. Randazzo saw it as a generic version of the 'Bring out a Briton' slogan campaign that Australia used from 1957[17]. The plan sought to involve businesses, companies and associations, who agreed to sponsor settlement. Work and accommodation would be guaranteed to the migrant, who could then establish himself and act as the sponsor for his family, effectively encouraging chain migration. The scheme also accepted displaced persons (or refugees) from European countries that suffered heavily, like Italy. In the same announcement, Downer also introduced restrictions on the number of immigrants granted settlement in Australia for 1961/1962, not affecting the Mediterranean migrant quota of 125,000, and introduced the condition to accept only skilled migrants[18]. Randazzo labelled the announcement racially discriminatory and a 'severe restrictive measure on Immigration'[19]. He scornfully highlighted the paradox between the specialized workers already employed in Europe not wanting to emigrate, and the poor, unemployed and often unskilled people who are desperate to migrate in order to find employment. He was providing support for the Italians, who often fell in the latter category, and leadership against the Australian Government. This problem would have been quite prevalent for *Il Globo*'s audience, many of whom were interested and concerned about their kin attempting to chain migrate to Australia to reunite with their families. When the national economy was slowing in 1962, industries could not take migrant workers as immediately or liberally, and therefore resulted in a human bottle-neck and consequentially migrant riots at Bonegilla camp. Randazzo responded defensively and dismissively to the situation. He sympathetically but firmly repeated the amount of discrimination, excess force and brutality shown towards the migrants, and rejected the Government's opinion that the Italians were the principal instigators of the disturbance[20]. He took aim to Anglo-Australian culture, commenting that immigration had become a fashionable topic of Australian conversation, and then accused Australian politicians for misusing migration as a topical 'scapegoat of economic politics'. He further attacked politicians for

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[17] '*Nuovi inviti*', 1 May 1962, p.1
[18] '*Sulla falsa strada*', 1 August 1961, p.1
[19] ibid
[20] '*Vivavi proteste dei disoccupati italiani abbandnati nel campo di Bonegilla*', 25 July 1961, pp.1,5

allegedly 'blaming all the nation's troubles on migrants', overdramatically equating this action to that of communist Soviet propaganda which blamed capitalists for 'all the evil in the world'[21]. These issues at Bonegilla sparked a further suspension of the assisted migration agreement by the Italian Government, which ultimately expired in 1964 without renewal (Castles 1992). *Il Globo*[22] stated that with the conclusion of the Agreement, Italian migrants have again suffered, as Italian assisted migration comprised only a small portion of the total migrant population who were incumbent on themselves to emigrate. Randazzo compared this figure to English immigration which had doubled and Spanish immigration which had trebled in the same period. He was statistically correct in his concern; Italian assisted migration constituted only 41,309 persons, or a marginal 16 per cent of total migration until the end of the scheme (*Briefing notes to the ... 'Italian Migration',* c.1968). Randazzo called for another Immigration Agreement, one that permitted trebled quotas of Italian migrants to Australia, and once again, describes the possibility as beneficial for Italians and Australia in the strengthening of her economy[23]. Of critical importance, Randazzo failed to mention the reasons behind the collapse of the assisted migration scheme. The Italian Government proposed conditions to the Australian Government that unskilled workers should be assisted to migrate, Italians should be assured of employment upon arrival, and their qualifications should be acknowledged in Australia (Jupp 1966). The Australian Government could not commit to these conditions, and the Italian Authorities declined the renewal of the assisted passage scheme (Jupp 1966). The issue was addressed at the 1965 Australian Citizenship Convention, where Albert Monk, President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions described the pressure put on the Australian Government by the Italian Government. The conditions proposed were such obligations that not even Australia-born citizens enjoyed. Australia could not guarantee employment to skilled and unskilled Italian migrants, as this would be discriminatory to Australian-born citizens (Jupp 1966). *Il Globo*[24] published an article about the 1956 Citizenship Convention, which failed to comment on the situation and the reasoning behind the non-renewal of the assisted migration scheme. The main contention of this editorial was the squandering of money by Australian Trade Unions. Randazzo therefore promoted to its

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[21] '*Sulla falsa strada*', 1 August 1961, p.1
[22] '*Chiaramento emigratorio*', 7 May 1963, p.1; '*La parola agli emigrati',* 25 June 1963, p.1; '*Vicina scadenza per l'emigrazione*', 16 July 1963, p.1
[23] '*Vicina scadenza per l'emigrazione*', 16 July 1963, p.1
[24] '*Attacco per spezzare la morsa comunista nel vitale settore del lavoro australiano*', 17 September 1964, pp.1,9

readership, the perception that the Australian Government was at fault for not renewing the assisted migration scheme, and did not reveal to its readers the demanding conditions behind the collapse of the agreement between Italy and Australia.

In 1967, Immigration Minister Sneddon travelled to Europe to discuss the possibility of reviving the Migration Assistance Scheme with eight nations, and when he returned to Melbourne on 6 July, held a press conference to discuss his conversations and progress. *Il Globo* enthusiastically reported on the conference, and when 'the editor' (the article does not specify who conducted the interview, although the editorial is signed Nino Randazzo) asked Snedden about the recent dialogue with Italian Undersecretary for Emigration, Olivi, he responded sympathetically that talks are advancing for a revived agreement between Australia and Italy[25]. He added that Australian Authorities are striving to provide justice to the new Italian arrivals to the nation, and dispel all misunderstandings about the administration of Australian Immigration Policy. Furthermore, Sneddon announced a provisory agreement for those emigrants applying for passage, granting them $AUD 25 upon acceptance of their application to migrate to Australia. This sum, equivalent to that issued also to English migrants, was only the first step in reaching a satisfying agreement which would be later ratified by Sneddon and Olivi at Canberra on the 13th and 14th September[26]. The further negotiations sought to deal with issues including the criteria in application of Australian emigration, the selection of, assistance of transport to, and establishment of Italians in Australia, which is mostly at the expense of the Australian Government[27]. The agreement sought also to address pertinent issues such as the recognition of Italian qualifications Australia, and was to be confirmed during the forthcoming Australian visit of Italian Prime Minister Saragat, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Fanfani[28]. The agreement was never renewed, and the topic was not mentioned again in the data collected for 1967.

Randazzo claimed that the assisted migration scheme had achieved much success, with many companies and the Lions Clubs adopting great numbers of English individuals and families, and would continue to work well for British-Australian migration[29]. For the Italians, on the other hand, the prospects of the scheme were less

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[25] '*Emigrazione italiana assistita*', 18 July 1967, p.1
[26] ibid
[27] '*Fanfani firmera' il nuovo accordo italo-australiano*', 19 September 1967, p.1
[28] '*Emigrazione italiana assistita*', 18 July 1967, pp.1,16
[29] '*Nuovi inviti*', 1 May 1962, p.1

fortunate. Randazzo constantly criticized the scheme, writing that it was discriminatory towards Italian migrants, and he fostered the idea that it even ignored Italians. He accused missions run by the Methodist Church and the Emigration Committee of the World Council of Churches, (who are institutions committed to assisting migrants) of refusing to support or assist Italians due to their cultural characteristics[30]. Furthermore, he claimed that the pure lack of financially capable Italians to sponsor new arrivals in Australia immediately put the community at a disadvantage, and that the Italian assisted quotas were never comparable to quotas of free migration.

## 4.2 Australian Culture and Politics

*'Se c'è un individuo che l'uomo politico australiano detesta e di ciò ne è la perfetta antitesi, questi è l'«uomo di cultura», l'intellettuale, l'uomo che vede oltre il proprio naso, oltre la strada in cui vive, oltre i confini della sua nazione. Disprezzare ciò che non si conosce, criticare gli stranieri che non si sono mai incontrati, superficialita di giudizi in politica estera, pregiudizi ventare (se non lo è già) un membro effetivo del circolo politico più importante d'Australia, il «pub»'[31].*

*Il Globo* conveyed the impression that Australia was an exceptional country, and one that provided many opportunities for Italian migrants. It also firmly asserted that however great the nation was, it could never compare to Italy in terms of history, culture, or politics. Randazzo described Australia as a great land mass, with a brief history that has shaped a nation of 'free men', of all the 'intimate qualities that count in a human history, but without the exterior tinsel and the heavy, overblown superstructures that weigh down the reality of other Nations'[32]. However encouraging, he expressed that the nation's short history was a cultural disadvantage, developing traditions and history that were inferior to those of the European continent. He claimed that the first 180 years of Australian history failed to generate 'particular cultural splendour or blazing epochs and legends of heroism and conquests, that European and Asian traditions have created'[33]. This has the effect of elevating Italian culture above

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[30] '*Nuovi inviti*', 1 May 1962, p.1
[31] '*La sconcertante guida alla politca australiana*', 23 March 1960, p.1
[32] '*I 180 anni dell'Australia*', 30 January 1968, p.1
[33] ibid

Australian culture, insinuating a fundamental superiority of the Italian migrant communities in Australian society. Adopting English economist Barbara Ward's claim that 'Australia lives in a paradise of madmen', Randazzo again reinstated this opinion by reducing the 'immense continent' to 'nothing but a social and political island, equal to, if not below a small emerging African Republic'[34].

There is some inference that Australia's lack of culture and tradition has a bearing effect on the nation's every-day life and 'absurd' politics. In one hot-headed editorial, Randazzo released a derogatory and extremely personal criticism of Australian politics. He mockingly described the Australian Bicameral Parliamentary Legislature represented by 'the bedroom' (Senate) and the 'living room' (Parliament), populated by many politicians too old and out of touch with society[35]. This could be considered evidence of an indirect attack on Australian politicians in defence of migrant and migrant rights, of which he was strongly and openly in defence at the time. Randazzo implied that the system is archaic and does not show signs of progression, with the reason that younger politicians are confined elders not to show any signs of culture, scholarship, scientific awareness, or dare vote against the older members.

He furthermore patronized the professionalism of Australian Politics, suggesting one of the most important members is the pub, where business is combined with pleasure. It was the place where horse races and football are debated, friendships are formed, electoral plans are discussed, and new votes are earned, all whilst 'gulping down beer' to the point of tears[36]. Again, Randazzo degraded Australian culture by advising that an active role in Australian Politics was a 'spiritual degradation' for Italians, and that they should not participate without sufficient aforethought. This could have in fact been a result of his personal experiences entering Victorian politics only years earlier. In a series of banal criticisms on Australian life, Randazzo warned Italians to 'leave their finest Italian tailored clothes' at home, along with their 'fashionable, aerodynamic and pointy Italian-style footwear' to avoid being labelled a 'sissy' and questioned about their manliness. Instead, Italians should adopt the unattractive Australian fashion, and wear a shirt with a collar as long as four fingers with a large tie like a noose, under a suit an obvious size too large. When choosing shoes, it's important to choose a pair that boasts a huge sole and outsole that show all the stitch-seams of

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[34] '*L'Australia non avverte ancora allarmi ma la sua politica è troppo confusa*', 23 July 1963, pp.1,11
[35] '*La sconcertante guida alla politca australiana*', 23 March 1960, p.1
[36] ibid

twine from the trousers. And if an Italian wants to fit in with the others at the pub, he suggests a spare pair of dentures could help manipulate one's voice to the desired tone of the Australian accent[37]. This outspoken editorial underpinned the contempt Randazzo had for Australian politics and culture. This editorial may too have been sparked Randazzo's personal experiences in Victorian politics, where as an Italian migrant, he confronted many anti-migrant attitudes. Clegget (1971) produced evidence that Randazzo's ALP membership was discontinued due to his dislike towards ALP member for Fitzroy, Denis Lovegrove. A senior ALP member, Lovegrove had consistently vocalized anti-migrant remarks and angered Randazzo, which was the catalyst for his move to the DLP (Clegget 1971). Regardless of his motive for the editorial, it was a determined attempt to subvert Australian tradition, social activities, and even dress style and accent, highlighting the supremacy of Italian culture. This editorial was one of Randazzo's first editorials in *Il Globo*, published when the newspaper was barely five months old. The intensity of the article suggests that perhaps Randazzo did assume the Italian-language press had freedom to editorial comment and was not at all controlled by external associations.


## 4.4 Australian Immigration Policy

*Il Globo* printed editorial commentary extremely critical of Australian legislation, and in particular, immigration policy and the process of migration from Italy to Australia. Randazzo expressed the opinion that the Australian Constitution was an example of 'administrative paper' or bureaucratic legislative material that has form but no function – presumably for migrants[38]. He specifically commented that this legislation was unusually archaic, unlike that of other modern nations, and was complimented with a judicial system of common law, based on primordial British precedents that 'go back to the Middle Ages'[39]. In tune with this line, Randazzo boldly claimed that the nation's first legislation regarding the restrictions of immigration, the Immigration Restriction Act (1901) was heavily based on the discriminatory laws introduced in the Boer Republic of Transvaal, Africa. He insisted that Australia had been politically influenced by South Africa, with particular fervor in regard to immigration and cultural policy, and

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[37] '*La sconcertante guida alla politca australiana*', 23 March 1960, p.1
[38] '*Viene auspicata in Australia una "Carta dei diritti civili"*', 22 October 1968, p.1
[39] ibid

without details or example, even equated the White Australia Policy to the legislative apartheid dating back to the 17th century[40]. Randazzo asserted that the ideology of Australia's 'White Australia Policy' was to maintain a 'homogenous (white) race' through 'development of separation', a principal he believed to be 'without doubt an embarrassment' to the nation and 'disgusting in some of its general implications' on the migrants living in Australia at the time[41]. Furthermore, he provided evidence that the Australian Immigration Policies and their methods of assimilation and integration, resulted in problems and consequentially affected Italian migrants' attitudes towards Australia.

### *Assimilation and Integration*

The requirement of all migrants settling to Australia was to accept full assimilation into Australian society, accomplished through relinquishment of other citizenships, and full loyalty to the new patria. *Il Globo*'s continual and hard-edged stance on this practice is best captured in one editorial as 'a precise conformism' in every way, from 'aspects of social life, to one's national individuality, one's mentality, one's language and cultural traditions'[42].

Clause 3 of the Immigration Restriction Act (1901) was a particular point of discourse for Randazzo in editorial commentary. It empowered Immigration Officers to deny entry to, and deport 'undesirable types', consisting of any applicants with extreme political views, criminal history or other characteristic not desired in Australian society. Randazzo highlighted this policy as a 'striking disfigurement in human dignity' when identifying the many immigrants of Italian, Spanish and Greek origins, who were denied Australian citizenship due to their political views[43], and claimed that the individuals were attacked by a "'political vendetta' covered up by 'reasons of safety' etiquette" from the Immigration Department[44]. He also attacked Immigration Minister for the Menzies Liberal Government, Alexander Downer Sr. for his apparent ruthless and racist immigration stance after sending an illegal Chinese refugee, among others, back to Communist China, eight years after his arrival to Australia. Downer was branded a

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[40] '*La nuova sfida all'Australia bianca*', 30 July 1968, p.1
[41] ibid
[42] '*Integrazione 'stile irlandese' – Il futuro ruolo degli italo-australiani*', 18 October 1966, p.1
[43] '*Viene auspicata in Australia una "Carta dei diritti civili"*', 22 October 1968, p.1
[44] '*Emigranti pericolosi*', 13 November 1962, p.1

'little dictator' whose 'typically racist' actions 'dirty the name of Australia in the free world'[45].

The controversial 'dictation test' provided the means to grant access to migrants requesting settlement, and also deport settled migrants back to their country of birth. It was notoriously discriminatory, and given to migrants in any European language with the aim to expel the candidate from Australia based on the mistakes committed (York 1996). Randazzo condemned it as a relic dug up from the old racist legislation of Transvaal, and that it was used with extreme discretion on any migrants in Australia[46]. If the migrant were able to complete the test in that given language, the test would be re-issued again and again, even in dead languages and European dialects[47]. The statement regarding the power of the test and its discretion of application had been unaccompanied by examples or statistics in the editorial, however is widely corroborated by Jupp (1966) and Nicholls (2007).

The legislation reform regarding immigration occurred in 1958, creating the Migration Act. Randazzo commented that the assimilation method adopted in previous legislation became 'surpassed, unrealistic, and ridiculous', and therefore resulted in the adoption of the term 'integration, a more elegant, more acceptable and less demanding term', by the Department of Immigration[48]. Despite this reform, Randazzo insisted that there was very little distinction between the terms, which both became 'abused, little understood, repeated in banal and empty public speaking on the odd occasion, and rarely elaborated on by those (political leaders) who use it'[49].

Randazzo also attempted to discredit the Migration Act by highlighting some extreme and unmerciful clauses. He described Article 13 (c), which authorized deportation powers against any foreign-born citizens (even those naturalized in Australia) who suffer from mental illness and are institutionalized for their sickness. Article 14 threatened deportation to foreign-born citizens who shows any un-permitted behavior, and furthermore emphasized Article 16 (c) of the Act, which prohibited entry to candidates suffering prescribed sickness (including insanity, epilepsy, alcoholism, tuberculosis, cancer, deafness-speechless, dementia). Randazzo insisted these laws are totally discriminatory, 'vague', and 'imprecise', and empower the Minister of

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[45] '*Piccolo dittatore*', 17 April 1962, p.1

[46] '*Viene auspicata in Australia una "Carta dei diritti civili"*', 22 October 1968, p.1

[47] ibid

[48] '*Integrazione 'stile irlandese' – Il futuro ruolo degli italo-australiani*', 18 October 1966, p.1

[49] ibid

Immigration as the 'absolute referee in the destiny of a migrant, from the moment he puts one foot in the country – actually, from the moment he leaves his country of origin because he can also establish conditions on the entry to the country'[50]. These comments not only attacked the Australian Government, but gave the impression to the readers that it was a ruthless, controlling Government that self-imposed dictator-like authority over migrants. The comments also acted in pure defence of the Italian community, as a proud culture and a CALD entity in Australia.

## *A Cultural Consequence*

Randazzo also alleged that these anti-migrant phenomena had resulted in some serious cultural repercussions for the Italian community in Australia. In an editorial entitled 'Our Children', he highlighted the pertinent effect of assimilation on the young children of Italian origin in Australia. He suggested that the youth had become less and less Italian, a generation so distant from its Italian origin that the 'ideal values' and 'knowledge of the language' risked becoming lost in the coming years[51]. He noted this situation was not occurring in the United States, or Latin America. On the contrary, there is evidence that Italians were naturalized and well assimilated into North American society, despite laws regarding deportation of Italians with extreme political views were enforced in the U.S.A., similarly to in Australia. Michaud (2001) outlines that from the 1950s, the Italians had self-aligned their ideologies with the American ideals, and in fact started to show a great deal of loyalty toward the nation. Notably, this had manifested itself in many areas of life including American politics and the defence forces.

The sentiment was echoed later by another editorial which expressed further concern for this daily 'widening fracture' between the culture of Italy-born Australians, and their children who were once 'immune to the infection of juvenile delinquence' had being 'encouraged to superficiality and the crudest materialism'[52]. The ultimate effect, he warned, could be children who feel like 'strangers in the bosom of their families,

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[50] '*Non diventa "cittadino di pieno diritto" l'emigrato che si naturalizza australiano*', 2 March 1967, p.16
[51] '*I nostri figli*', 5 March 1963, p.1
[52] '*Gioventù emigrata*', 14 May 1963, p.1

more at ease outside than inside, and with their friends, not parents'[53]. This was another banal attack on Australian culture, implying that Australian children are raised to be greedy, badly behaved and mentally artificial, which threaten the integrity of Italian children.

Randazzo also highlighted the problems for adult migrants in Australia. According to research undertaken by a group of medical authorities, there were a number of mental problems amongst substantial groups of the non-British migrant communities. The study concluded that in a period of one year, 300 members of the Italian community had been admitted to the psychiatric clinic at Royal Park (now the Royal Melbourne Hospital)[54]. In addition, the highest prevalence of mental disturbances was found between men who migrated between the ages of 20 and 29, whereas the figure for women was between 30 and 39 years of age. Migrants of more mature ages, on the other hand, showed a fall in mental disturbances. The 'critical period', according to Randazzo, was between twenty and thirty years of age, when they are 'not too old to quit', nor 'young enough to dream'. He defined this period as the time when migrants were worried about owning property and providing for themselves and their loved ones, showed a link with bearing economic and familiar problems, and consequentially, psychological issues. Randazzo linked the results of the study with the use of assimilation by the Department of Immigration, which he thought contributed to, if not generated, the high levels of mental instability in the Italian community.

Randazzo authoritatively declared that the entire Italian-Australian community was aware 'total integration is artificial', that it meant 'forced renunciation', resulting only in 'destroying personal, intellectual and national values', and reacts cynically that the degrading act may actually result in creating bad Australians[55]. He expressed skepticism of the program, by asserting the Italian community was not, contrary to official reports, 'absorbing' or 'leveling off' into society, but rather 'joining' itself to it. He commented slyly that the only 'leveling off' occurs with the rights and duties of the Italians in Australia, and stands up to the legislation and authorities by remarking that Italian culture and tradition shall not be obstructed by these laws. There is even a hint he

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[53] ibid
[54] '*Varie le cause di disturbi mentali fra gli emigrati italiani in Australia*', 15 December 1968, p.1
[55] '*Integrazione 'stile irlandese' – Il futuro ruolo degli italo-australiani*', 18 October 1966, p.1

tries to intimidate the Australian Authorities by arguing integration would 'render a terrible service to Australia', and 'truly impoverish and weaken this Nation'[56].

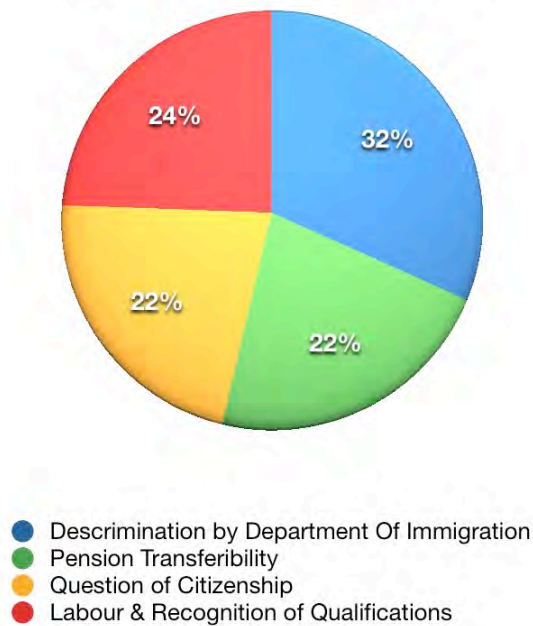## 4.5 The Problems of Immigration

*Il Globo* produced editorial articles on what it called the 'problems of immigration' for the Italian community in Australia. Randazzo presented these issues, highlighted their prevalence in society, described their origins and provided solutions to minimize their impact on the Italian community. Comment was articulated throughout the time period of the study, at times linked to the Citizenship Conventions held biennially from 1958 to 1968. Randazzo claimed the problems of immigration to be ubiquitous, with origins either directly from Australian immigration legislation, or consequentially from the effects on the Italian community.

The 'problems of immigration' as referred to by the newspaper, were a consecutive series of seven editorials from May to June, 1967. Editorial number one addressed the restrictions and discriminations towards Italians migrating to Australia, number two discussed the treatment of Italians in Australia and questioned the value of Australian citizenship. Editorial number three diverged from the topic and proposed a governmental inquest into the alleged failure of the Australian Immigration plan, and editorial four expressed criticism on the administration of the immigration policy. Problem five discussed the attitudes of unions and labor organizations towards the southern Europeans, and editorial six addressed these in an interview with President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), Albert Monk. Editorial seven again re-looked at reforming immigration policy, stating the maltreatment of Italians in Australia and the country's economic problems that have an effect on the community. These editorials on the problems of immigration were only a general indication of the issues most frequently addressed. According to the content analysis conducted, the problems of immigration consisted the following:

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[56] ibid

**Figure 2 - Problems of Immigration**



- ● Descrimination by Department Of Immigration
- ● Pension Transferibility
- ● Question of Citizenship
- ● Labour & Recognition of Qualifications

The pie graph above depicts that the problem most commented on was the issue of discrimination towards Italians by the Department of Immigration. The following issues, the transferability of pensions, the value of citizenship, and the issue of work, were addressed with equal attention in the newspaper, and the problem of poverty and housing was mentioned much less frequently. Despite the incidence of the problems in editorial commentary, the issues of discrimination and citizenship were confronted with particular zeal and criticism toward the Australian Government.

**Discrimination by Department of Immigration**

Australian Department of Immigration offices had the task of receiving Italian candidate applications for migration, and deciding upon the successful individuals' and families' passage to Australia. Randazzo had shown continual disrespect toward the offices, voicing judgmental opinion regarding their administration and function. He alleged they acted with discrimination toward southern European citizens, especially Italians, and claimed further racial attitudes between northern and southern Italians.

Randazzo described the laborious process of applying for Australian settlement: obtainment of documents proving optimal health conditions from the doctor and excellent behaviour from the Mayor, proof of good citizenship and faith from the

church, and a clean criminal record from the Police Station. But even with these requisites, Randazzo claimed that access was at times still negated, due to the insufficiency of these requirements[57]. Additionally, the offices were alleged to be disorganized and weighed down by bureaucracy, which Randazzo cynically deemed to be 'un-democratic' and simply 'un-Australian', and proved to act as further hurdles to Italians gaining acceptance to Australia[58]. He again defended the Italians and highlighted the emotions felt by applicants, including embarrassment, frustration, and at times a feeling of being 'less than human', whilst validating their resistant dignity and cultural pride[59]. He described it as 'an absurd and intolerable situation… a racial, social and moral discrimination against the Italians' in defence of those pushed away from the Department of Immigration[60]. Cleverly, *Il Globo* showed sympathy not only to the Italians in Italy, but also the Italians in Australia; many of whom formed the newspaper's readership. These reactions could have been similar to the feelings felt by the Italians in Australia, many of whom were expecting family and friends to emigrate from Italy and join them in Australia. The ultimate consequences of the discrimination were the inability to reunite families, and the barrier to obtaining work[61]. These were constant issues throughout Randazzo's editorials, persistently criticized with accusations and strong opinions.

The editorials also implied a sense of frustration from Randazzo, of which the problems of immigration may or may not have been reflective of the Italian communities in Australia. Furthermore, *Il Globo* on many occasions noted the perception that whilst British migrants were constantly welcomed to Australia, Italian migrants were increasingly negated access of passage[62]. This may have acted as a catalyst for the aggravation toward the Australian Government, or simply at best, have increased objection about it and the Department of Immigration.

The first article of the 'problems of immigration' series of 1967 focused specifically on the discriminatory tactics used by the Australian Department of Immigration officers in Rome. Randazzo claimed to have information from an

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[57] '*Uno fra le miglaia casi di discriminazione – da sette anni negato senza motivazione l'ingresso in Australia di una famiglia italiana*', 10 May 1966, p.1
[58] '*Ministero senza controllo*' 13 March 1962, p.8
[59] '*Uno fra le miglaia casi di discriminazione – da sette anni negato senza motivazione l'ingresso in Australia di una famiglia italiana*', 10 May 1966, p.1
[60] ibid
[61] '*Ministero senza controllo*' 13 March 1962, p.8, '*Luci ed ombre sull'immigrazione*', 19 January 1965, p.1
[62] '*Urgenti problemi d'immigrazione – indispensabile un'inchiesta*', 14 March 1967, p.1

employee in Rome concerning the real requirements to be satisfied for migration. The employee allegedly revealed the following scandalous instructions from Canberra to approve the candidate:

(1)     let at least six months pass between the date of the lodgment of Form 40 in Australia and the date of notification to the candidate in Italy,

(2)     an additional medical control by an Australian doctor,

(3)     investigation by Australian secret agents in Rome on the penal background of the candidate,

(4)     substantiation of past and present political tendencies of the candidate, his family and friends,

(5)     withholding of the reasons behind negating candidates,

(6)     an indiscriminate refusal of fifty per cent of the applications for emigration, and up to seventy per cent of southern Italians; and

(7)     an accurate and confidential report of the characteristics of each candidate in order to exclude subjects below a certain height, and other subjects whose skin, hair and eyes are too differentiated to Australian society[63].

The article was yet another direct attack on the Australian administrative system and immigration program, trying to prove it was fundamentally racist. Interesting, it received attention from Australian Government Departments in Australia and Italy. Chief migration officer in Rome, Waterman wrote to the Department of Immigration in Canberra, playing down the article as a 'fabrication', and he stated that Randazzo had never even spoken to any staff employed at, or been to the Rome office ('*Letter to the Secretary*', 1967). Despite the editorial's legitimacy, it validates Randazzo's ideas that the Australian bureaucracy was inefficient, and both arbitrary and selectively racist towards Italian candidates backgrounds, geographic location and physical characteristics.

Randazzo elevated his concerns and criticism in 1967 and wrote to the office of the Minister for Immigration, asking for an interview with then Minister Snedden. The office responded, granting concession to conduct the interview if Randazzo mailed the proposed questions to the Minister in advance. This condition was placed apparently because the Australian Government was aware of Randazzo's strong criticisms of

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[63] '*Disposizioni di Canberra che ledono profondamente la dignità del cittadino italiano*', 28 February 1967, pp.1,15

Australian immigration policy. One Government document warned Snedden that Randazzo's manner was 'deceptively ingratiating', and that his "writings are sensational and highly inaccurate" when claiming that "the Australian Government is biased against Italians" (Briefing notes to the Minister… Randazzo c.1968). The document also expressed the Government's opinion that the interview conducted by Randazzo would be "designed to support his thesis that the Australian migration program, from the Italian point of view, is a failure". When interviewed about the candidates refused settlement, Minister Snedden responded firmly that the conditions for application were uniform across all nations of recruitment, and if refused, the reasons are understood by the candidate and hence are kept private, although these included dangerous political beliefs and contagious diseases[64]. When further questioned about the alleged discrimination by Department of Immigration offices towards southern Italians, compared to northern Italians, the response denied any form of discrimination toward Italians, stating that selection was based on integratability and not regional origin of the candidate. Randazzo arrogantly determined this response as a "partial admission of what many have suspected and openly stated for some time", reinterpreting it to validate his opinions and further perpetuate them to his readership[65].

**The Question of Australian Citizenship**

Australian immigration legislation and its consequential discriminations culminated to the point when Randazzo started to question the prevalence of civil rights for migrants, and the ultimate value of Australian citizenship. In one editorial, Randazzo highlighted the number of naturalized and non-naturalized Italian immigrants in Australia in comparison to the immigrants of other nations[66]. The statistics presented (*see Appendix 2)* indicated that the Italians in Australia formed the largest foreign-born community in the nation, with 213,843 Italy-born residents. Of these, 61 per cent were not naturalized Australian citizens. This group of Australian residents formed by far, the largest non-naturalized group in the country, with a figure more than 200 per cent of that of the second largest community, the Greek citizens. Randazzo explained three of

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[64] ibid

[65] '*Intervista in esclusiva con il Ministro dell'Immigrazione – Snedden auspica un incremento dell'emigrazione italiana libera e assistita in Australia'*, 18 April 1967, p.15

[66] '*Complessi e troppo spesso sottovaluati i motivi della mancata naturalizzazione di emigrati in Australia',* 2 July 1963, p.1

the main motives he believed to be behind the reluctance of Italian citizens to become naturalized Australian citizens. It was rather another banal attack on Australian culture. He expressed that many Italians see Australia as a place where "one vegetates, and one vegetates well… but one cannot live here"[67]. This meant distaste for aspects of Australian life, including religious biggotism, high levels of alcoholism, juvenile delinquency and ancient labour laws in Australia that restrict worker rights for employment and old age pensions, which push Italians into their closed circles. The reasons were not presented with relation to statistical data, nor were they reinforced with examples in the editorial. Randazzo seemed to have taken the responsibility himself, to announce the problem of naturalization, and provide some collective motives representational of the Italian communities in Australia, which evidently were articulated in a non-intellectual journalistic manner. His reasons for the high prevalence of un-naturalized Italians in Australia were purely opinionated, and clearly derogatory toward Australian culture and institutions.

Some years later in 1967 and 1968, Randazzo persisted to challenge the value of Australian citizenship. He claimed there was a great difference between the rights and treatment of Australia-born citizens and naturalized citizens, contrary to specifications of equality prescribed by federal legislation. In three editorials[68] Randazzo found a connection between the Migration Act (1958) and the Crimes Act (1914). He claimed that many provisions of the Crimes Act (1914), including Articles 30 (c) and (j), authorized the imprisonment and deportation of non Australia-born citizens if they were found guilty of diffusing subversive information about the State, or participating in illegal strikes. Randazzo used this link to render civil rights legislation superfluous, and make the act of naturalization seem unessential for Italians in Australia. The effort was strengthened by the testimony of Professor Geoffrey Bartholomew, lecturer at the University of Melbourne, who agreed there was "an uncertain fundamental" that interfered with a migrant trying to become a citizen with full rights[69]. The discovered loophole was an extremity of the law, and Randazzo admitted that these powers had not been exercised in the past. He maintained that the issue was the unjust legislation that was 'threatening' and 'offensive' to migrants in Australia, and used it to antagonize the Australian Government through the newspaper. As a consequence of the articles, *Il*

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[67] ibid, p.13

[68] '*Viene auspicata in Australia una "Carta dei diritti civili*"', 22 October 1968, p.8; 'Non diventa "cittadino di pieno diritto" l'emigrato che si naturalizza australiano', 2 March 1967, p.16

[69] '*Viene auspicata in Australia una "Carta dei diritti civili*"', 22 October 1968, p.8

*Globo*'s audience may have felt persuaded or even empowered to not become naturalized Australian citizens.

## The Transferability of Pensions

*'...le discriminazioni che esistono ancora nei confronti degli emigrati in fatto di pensioni e di qualificazione professionale, l'atteggiamento arrogante della burocrazia australiana... sono fattori che hanno profondamente intaccato l'immagine dell'Australia in Europa...'*[70]

In the period of this study, Australian old age pensions were issued to foreign-born Australian naturalized citizens after a minimum of ten years residency[71]. When eligible, a citizen could receive the pension in Australia, but not if they were overseas. It was in fact not until 1986 that Australia and Italy signed an agreement for the reciprocation of social security benefits, signifying the ten year minimum could also comprise years where taxes were paid in Italy ('*Agreement on social security...*' 1993). The transferability of pensions was another issue fiercely debated by Randazzo in his editorials. In defence of the many elderly Italy-born Australian citizens, he emotively claimed the inability to transfer pensions overseas was another discriminatory act by the Australian Authorities[72].

Showing passion on the issue, Randazzo praised the efforts and hard work of Italians in Australia who have made a great contribution to postwar Australia, and kept much trust in Australia to take care of them. But, he commented, these Italians were being deprived the right to spend their twilight years in peace back in their homeland[73]. His narration of the issue is one that uses emotion and attempts to convey a sense of belonging for the Italian community, but at the same time a sense of culpability toward the Australian Government, and an encouragement of remorse on their part.

Ultimately, the issue was not a problem confrontable by the Department of Immigration, but rather the Department of Social Services, and resolvable only through

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[70] *'Convenzione censurata',* 18 January 1966, p.1
[71] '*L'ingiusto rifiuto delle pensioni australiane agli emigrati che desiderano rientrare in Italia*', 23 November 1965, p.1
[72] '*Storchi deve affrontare in Australia urgenti e gravi problemi d'emigrazione*', 29 August 1961, p.1; '*Pensioni e qualifiche*', 28 April 1964, p.1
[73] ibid, p.1; '*Pensioni sociali per gli emigrati che rimpatriano*', 18 June 1968, p.1

a change of federal legislation. In 1964, Randazzo interviewed Minister of Immigration, Hubert Opperman regarding the problem. He took an authoritative role in the matter and proposed a bi-lateral pension agreement between Australia and Italy, to which Opperman showed interest and favour. The Minister stated that the issue was not one dealt with in his ministry, however he obliged to propose the idea to Federal Cabinet. Opperman also maintained that such an agreement already existed between England and Australia, and furthermore made note that if any Australian citizen, including foreign-born, wished to go overseas, the individual's pension would be paid regardless for three months, and the remaining sum would be paid upon the individual's return to Australia[74]. Randazzo raised the issue once more to the following Minister for Immigration, Billy Snedden in 1967. In a response Randazzo bushed off as "uninteresting and quite evasive", Snedden commented that the transferability of Australian pensions had already received much attention from the Government, and that further developments shall have been taking place in the future[75]. Considering his actions, Randazzo was notably also taking an active role in the diffusion of the problem amongst the Government, despite being the wrong Minister to confront. He had either strived to obtain the payment of pensions for Italian-born Australian citizens who wished to visit Italy but had to intention to return to Australia, or he was lobbying for a moral principal to be shown towards Italians that saw their pensions paid regardless of their individual movements. The proposal was not discussed again in the collection data, however Randazzo may in fact have persisted with the issue from 1969 onwards. In any case, the editorials reflect his intention to act upon the behalf of the community for their benefit, applying pressure to the Australian Government about the rights of Italy-born residents and citizens in Australia.


**Recognition of Foreign Qualifications in Australia**


Italian issued academic qualifications such as high school certificates (licenze di maturità), and university degrees were not recognized in Australia. *Il Globo* continually propelled the seriousness of the issue, which it claimed was inconsistent with the act of

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[74] '*Intervista in esclusiva con il Ministro dell'Immigrazione – Opperman favorisce le pensioni anche per gli emigrati che tornano in patria'*, 11 February 1964, p.10
[75] '*Intervista in esclusiva con il Ministro dell'Immigrazione – Snedden auspica un incremento dell'emigrazione italiana libera e assistita in Australia'*, 18 April 1967, p.15

naturalization and even partly nullified the act[76]. The problem resulted that Italian professionals, such as doctors could not practice in Australia without a supplementary university course to update their skills for the Australian environment[77]. This group, however consisted only a marginal portion of the Italian communities in Australia. There is sufficient literature that the majority of Italian post-war migration to Australia was of unskilled workers, who undertook jobs as factory workers, farmers, construction workers, and in manufacturing sectors (eg Panucci et al., 1992). This actuality was conveyed to Randazzo on a number of occasions. Opperman de-emphasized the issue and outlined the "extremely favourable economic situation" of almost 300,000 Italians in Australia during an interview in 1964[78]. In 1968, Mick Jordan, Secretary of the Trades Hall asserted there were many qualified workers with competitive jobs in Australia, and stated the number of complaints against the recognition of qualifications amounted to no more than a dozen each year[79]. Given these facts, one could question Randazzo's intent when the recognition of Italian qualifications ultimately concerned only a marginal percentage of the Italian communities in Australia. This topic generated the second largest amount of comment between 1959 and 1969 which could make one question the attention this issue received from Randazzo, compared to other issues such as citizenship and pensions, which invariably concerned a larger segment of the Italian communities in Australia.

## Chapter 5 - Discussion

### 5.1 Conclusion

*Il Globo* fulfilled Zubrzycki's definition of structure and role of an ethnic print and produced news from the host nation, news from the world, news from the patria, activity of the ethnic group, and, editorials on topics of interest that directly concerned the readership. Editorial commentary focused on the Italian migration to Australia, and the problems of immigration associated with the Italian settlement in Australia. These

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[76] '*Assistenza e riforma*', 7 May 1968, p.1

[77] '*Pensioni e qualifiche*', 28 April 1964, p.1

[78] '*Intervista in esclusiva con il Ministro dell'Immigrazione – Opperman favorisce le pensioni anche per gli emigrati che tornano in patria*', 11 February 1964, p.1

[79]

problems were found not only to be the struggle for Italian worker rights, and the difficulties of realizing family migration, as hypothesized from the literature review. In fact, the problems of immigration included the issue of worker rights, the recognition of foreign qualifications in Australia, and the issue of chain migration, albeit discussed in relation to the Immigration Policy and discrimination in the administration of the Policy by the Department of Immigration. As issues that generated high amount of editorial commentary, they prove a relationship between the data and 'Hypothesis 1' that *Il Globo* did take an active role in addressing these important issues that impacted on the Italian communities in Australia. Moreover, these problems confronted by *Il Globo* challenge Carli's statement that the newspaper portrayed the Italians in Australia as living an utopian life. The data analysis reflects that this perception cannot be substantiated based upon the editorial commentary of Nino Randazzo between 1959 and 1969.

'Hypothesis 2' posed the idea that *Il Globo* expressed opinion critical of the Australian Government legislation on immigration, and its subsequent impact on migrant society. The data analysis reflects that Randazzo was extremely critical of the immigration legislation, including the phenomena assimilation and integration. Randazzo continually alleged that the policy was racist in ideology, and discriminatory in its implementation, highlighting the authority of Department of Immigration Officers who unfairly judged individual applications for Immigration to Australia, and denied access to many Italians. Not only in this area of discourse, criticism was also produced on the Migrant Assistance Passage Agreement between Australia and Italy, where Australia was portrayed as being at fault for the retrogress of the agreement. The eventual reasoning behind the lapse of the accord was not explained to the newspaper's readership, reflecting Randazzo's theory that Australia was indeed culpable for the omission. Additionally, criticism was articulated on Australian culture and politics, where distinct differences were made between the alleged superior Italian culture and the uncouth Australian culture of the adoptive nation.

The journalistic style adopted by Randazzo in the editorials collected and analyzed could be described as not just critical but at times hostile to Australian immigration policy and Governmental institutions such as the Department of Immigration. Indirectly substantiating Tosco's assertion that a newspaper manipulates raw journalistic material into an elaborated and modified product, Randazzo interpreted situations and even immigration legislation to not only please the ownership board of *Il*

*Globo*, but just as important, follow his own agenda. He produced radical allegations, such as the question of Australian citizenship and the value of Australian naturalization for migrant settlers in Australia, and commented heavily on the negative effects of the immigration policy on the Italian communities in Australia. Many statements were in fact not reinforced with data, statistics, or concrete examples, however Randazzo's ability to print these controversial editorials reinforce the argument that ethnic or CALD press in post-war Australia was not subject to the checks and controls of mainstream press.

As the largest CALD community in post-war Australia, the Italian community may have used *Il Globo* as a link between their diaspora and mainstream Australian society. Randazzo certainly attempted to educate it about Australian history and contemporary affairs, whilst updating it on the most difficult hurdles for the Italian-Australian communities at the time. Undoubtedly an influential medium in these communities, *Il Globo*'s sub-editor was starting to emerge as a community leader. Randazzo, aware of the demographics of the newspaper's readership, understood the low socio-economic status and partisan-like characteristic of the Italian communities in Australia, and also their needs and problems. He addressed these needs in defence and support of the Italian communities in Australia; actions that arguably assisted to, or incidentally, perpetuated his status in society. His role at the newspaper could therefore be described also as opportunist, a sentiment reverberated by Clegget (1971). His position at *Il Globo* provided the basis for his personal career not only as editor in chief at the newspaper, but in local Australian politics, and later Italian State politics.

Recommendations for further research could include the study of other CALD newspapers from 1959 to 1969, to determine the content of their editorials and therefore their perspective of Australia bound migration, the Australian immigration legislation, and the problems their individual communities were confronting at the time. Additional study could reveal the attitudes toward the Australian Government, and perhaps also the radicalism of other CALD media at the time, compared to *Il Globo* when challenging issues such as naturalization and Australian citizenship. Supplementary research could also be executed on *Il Globo*, in an extended period that captures the adoption of multiculturalist policies by the Australian Government in the 1970s.

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**Appendices**

*Appendix 1 – Italian Immigration in Australia 1948 - 1972*
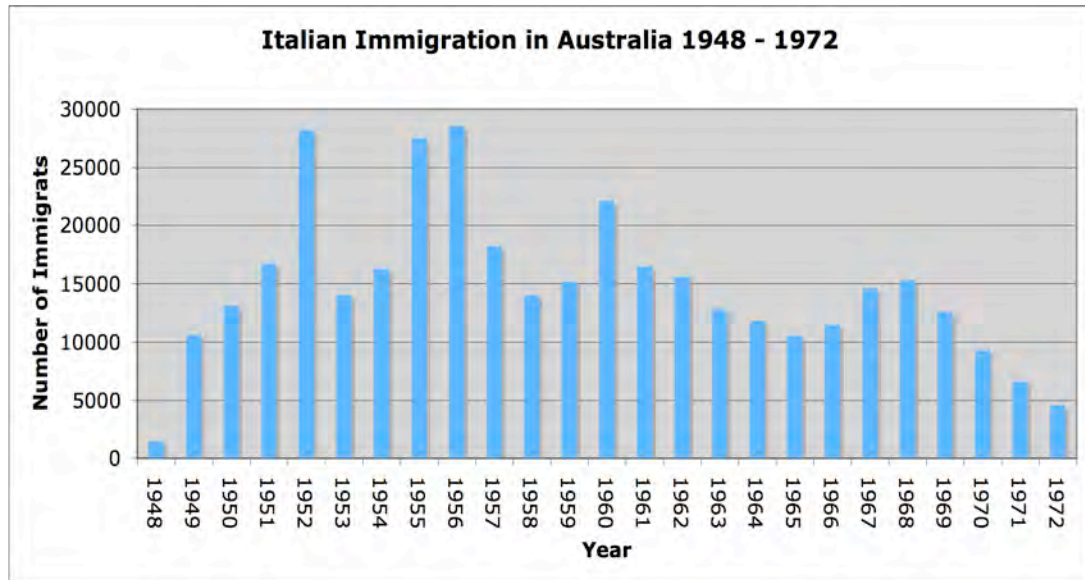


Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics 1948-1973, '*Year Book Australia – Population'*,
cat. no. 1301.0, ABS, Canberra

*Appendix 2 – Editorial Tuesday, March 10, 1966.*

*Appendix 3 – Figures of Naturalised and non-Naturalised Migrants*



# Complessi e troppo spesso sottovalutati i motivi della mancata naturalizzazione di emigrati in Australia

### Un ragionamento comune: «Le condizioni del Paese sono buone, ma non ideali» — L'emigrato italiano che rifiuta di naturalizzarsi è da considerarsi un «morto civile» e un autolesionista agli effetti pratici

**STORCHI SOTTOSEGRETARIO ALL'EMIGRAZIONE**

Ecco le cifre relative ai «naturalizzati» e «non naturalizzati» per i maggiori gruppi di emigrati europei in Australia, secondo gli ultimi dati statistici del Ministero degli Interni di Canberra:

| | Naturalizzati australiani | Non naturalizzati |
|---|---|---|
| Italiani | 84.013 | 129.830 |
| Polacchi | 51.618 | 17.971 |
| Olandesi | 43.202 | 43.957 |
| Tedeschi | 26.385 | 39.948 |
| Greci | 25.912 | 60.880 |
| Jugoslavi | 22.023 | 30.049 |
| Ungheresi | 19.485 | 11.000 |
| Ucraini | 16.962 | 3.375 |
| Lettoni | 15.872 | 3.153 |
| Cecoslovacchi | 10.136 | 1.974 |
| Lituani | 7.538 | 1.628 |
| Russi | 5.527 | 4.969 |
| Estoni | 5.379 | 1.307 |
| Austriaci | 5.078 | 9.799 |
| Libanesi | 2.933 | 3.514 |

Il numero di emigrati con varie nazionalità estere residenti in Australia è di 407.099, mentre gli emigrati naturalizzati cittadini australiani dal 1945 ad oggi assommano a 374.674.

NINO RANDAZZO

*(Continua a pag. 13)*

Source: *Il Globo*, July 2, 1963, p.1