

Olive or White? The Colour of Italians in Australia

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This is the story of how the colour olive, first linked to Italian immigrant workers in the later part of the nineteenth century, has changed from being a derogatory label to an ethnicity marker for those Australian Italians who do not want to be assimilated. Those seeking to assimilate have repackaged their Italianness to present themselves as 'white' or at the very least as Italians from what are seen to be the more prestigious parts of central and northern Italy. Those not wanting to assimilate have used the olive label to challenge the society of which they are a part. This article will look at how Italians came to be labelled as the 'Dago Menace', the 'Olive Peril', the 'Greasy Wog' and the 'Olive Trash', and will consider also the reactions of Italians and Australian Italians to these stereotypes.

It is still confronting today to read the vitriolic comments and see the cartoons which have targeted Italians in Australia for over a century. From 1891, when 355 Italians were given assisted passage to work in the sugar plantations in north Queensland,¹ patterns of abuse and negative imagery used against Italians can be identified. Figure 1 is an example from 1891 where the Italian is presented as an impoverished organ grinder with a monkey on his back. The sun beating down links the Italian and the South Sea Islander in the context of their capacity to provide cheap labour. Both were migrant groups competing for the bottom rung of the employment ladder.

The idea for the organised importation of Italian workers into Queensland was first proposed when the use of 'Kanaka'² workers was banned. Cane farm owners of the time argued that they needed cheap labour in order to ensure the viability of the sugar-cane industry. The relative merits of these very different workers were considered in the Australian newspapers of the day. Quotes from the *Boomerang* in 1891 also illustrate the colonial beginnings of using the northern/southern Italian divide and criminalising the Italian community in Australia. This characterised writings about, and images of, Italians in Australia in the twentieth century:

The kanaka is comparatively harmless; he could not successfully struggle against us; he is freedomed [sic] to extinction. But the fiery Italian is as explosive as his native mountains and would overflow lava-like our regions and institutions ... the contingency of a mafia or camorra being established in our midst; of labour disputes and family quarrels being settled by the knife and of the terror of organised assassination being substituted for the law-enforced quiet and safety of our towns ... We want no blood-liquifying lazzaroni from the Vesuvian capital to let daylight into us — no 'Sicilian cooks' to spoil our 'broth'.³

The 'colour' of Italians was always an issue. In the early 1890s, Italians were seen to be not the same colour as the decision-makers nor indeed were they seen as Europeans:



Figure 1: From the *Bulletin*, 22 August 1891. Caption reads: 'Fears about the initial introduction of indentured Italian labour into Queensland'⁴

The planter-parliamentarian, Hume Black, as a potential employer of the proposed 400 Italian labourers, admitted: 'I have no particular hankering after Italians, if we could only induce some European farmers — men of our own colour — to accept these terms'.⁵

The colour of Australian immigrants was a particular issue at federation. The process of assessing immigrants based on the colour of their skins has a long and clandestine history which was made explicit and institutionalised with the administration of the dictation test, a key tool of the white Australia policy. The dictation test required intending immigrants to write some text read out loud by the immigration officer. The immigration officer could decide to administer the test in any European language to any potential immigrant irrespective of country of origin. The silliness of such a process was noted and presented visually in a 1902 cartoon (Figure 2).

Application of the dictation test was designed to appear relatively innocuous and indifferent to the origin of the immigrant. When, however, the details of the *Immigration Exclusion Act 1901*, used to implement the white Australia policy are examined, the real power of the dictation test to discriminate and exclude is clear. The immigration officer's power to dictate was so absolute and capricious that it could be used to exclude anyone deemed to be of the wrong colour and could even be used against 'political undesirables'.⁶

A federation cartoonist put all the white Australia 'Perils' together in one image (Figure 3). On the 'outside' — literally 'beyond the pale' — there appear to be an



AUSTRALIA'S LIE FOR BRITAIN'S SAKE
"Tisn't the colour I object to: That's nothing, it's the spellin'."

Figure 2: Caption reads: 'Australia's Lie for Britain's Sake.
"Tisn't the colour I object to: That's nothing. It's the spellin'"⁷



Figure 3: 'The Worker', Brisbane, 1901⁸

Italian, a Chinese, and two South Sea Islanders. Figure 3 highlights divisions in Australian society pertaining to antagonism against imported workers sharing the bottom rung of the employment ladder. Employers were against the white Australia policy because it limited access to cheap labour. Unions wanted Australia to be kept 'white' to ensure their members stayed employed. The white

Australia policy and the *Immigration Restriction Act* were based on notions of racial superiority.⁹

The Dago Menace

The implications of the commentary and poems such as this one entitled the ‘Dago Menace’,¹⁰ published in the *Bulletin* in 1912, are that dagos are only partly white, dirty, sweaty and work too hard for too little. Such characteristics are portrayed in this poem as a threat to the Australian way of life:

Oh, the Dago’s partly white,
And sometimes he can fight,
And sometimes he lives on garlic, fish and sago;
His drink is lemon squash,
Now and then he’s known to wash —
And you’ll have to speak respectful of the Dago!

Oh, the Dago’s often cheap,
And he sweats while we’re asleep —
I don’t think he goes to bed, although he *may* go!
‘Neath the counter he will snooze,
‘Mid the fish or fruit refuse —
Still you’ll have to bow politeful to the Dago!

He’s both ignorant and slow
And we often tell him so!
And his anger is the rage of a virago —
For he’ll maim, or take a life,
With his swift and sudden knife
But you’ll have to take your hat off to the Dago!

He’s a liar, it may be,
And a fool, perchance is he,
Who thinks that images of wood and clay go!
But he bristles up his fur,
At the sight of Death astir
And you’ll have to act obsequious to the Dago!

Yes! — it’s not a pleasant thought
For a Race that dreadeth nought —
To think St. Jingo second to St. Jago!
But, unless you make things hum
That’s about what’s going to come,
And — Australia will be waiting on the Dago!¹¹

The reader may try to seek comfort in the thought that such stereotypical links between Italians in Australia — the greasy dago, oily skin and hair, and a diet which included olive oil — were only made in colonial times or early in the twentieth century. They persisted, however. Joseph Pugliese reminds us that Eve Langley’s Australian classic *The Pea Pickers*, written in the 1950s, affords us a more recent example:

The defilement which preoccupied White Australia, and writers like Langley, was seen to result from [the] inferior and backward status of 'other' races. In *The Pea Pickers*, the Calabrian migrants are represented as these little dark Calabrese, guttural and vivacious, who speak a dialect of a simian sort, and who have dark simian faces which exude a constant flow of grease.¹²

The 'Olive Peril'

In this age of multicultural Australia, we sometimes forget that Italians, the 'Olive Peril', were once seen as a great threat to monocultural Australia. In the 1920s the use of 'coloured' labels for Italians persisted as is indicated by the reaction of an Italian journalist, sent to Australia by the prestigious and still current Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*:

Why all this bitter feeling against the Italians? I will explain — in order to keep Australia 'white'. 'Keep Australia white!' is the true catchword of this crusade. In fact we are not 'white', we are 'olive.' 'Olive-skinned influx', the invasion of the 'olive-skins' is how a large Melbourne evening paper refers to the announcement of an inquiry by the Queensland Government into Italian immigration in the northern districts. And at another congress, of Australian women, a well-known speaker, after exhorting Australian housewives not to purchase fruit of the Italian vendors, even at lower prices, laments that after so much done to preserve Australia 'white' against the menace of the Asiatic, 'olive' immigrants continue to establish themselves in the country.¹³

The Italian journalist was clearly shocked and offended by the level and widespread nature of the vitriol:

commissions are set up, congresses are agitated, newspapers are perturbed, it is for this ... that the doors are shut in our faces with foul words, as upon another 'yellow peril' — the olive peril — shut against the ally of yesterday, the friend of today, the third great European Power — Italy.¹⁴

Those who fought the 'Olive Peril' threat used stereotypical labels, images and statements to describe Italians with overtones reminiscent of those used to



Figure 4: The *Truth*, Brisbane¹⁵

construct the 'Yellow Peril'.¹⁶ This image of the 'Olive Peril' (Figure 4) comes from the newspaper *Truth* published in Brisbane. The cartoon was then reproduced in the Sydney based Italo-Australian newspaper accompanied by a shocked and angry commentary. No date is given for the original cartoon publication or the Italo-Australian reproduction although from the commentary it appears from the depression era.

Terms such as the 'Olive Peril' are powerful, indicating who is the outsider and who has naming rights. Labels such as these do three things. They identify individuals as part of a group with particular characteristics. The characteristics of the group are purported to be obviously true and are therefore made true through the power of repetition. Finally, they provide a telegraphic lexicon for popular conversation and thinking about the outsider:

The vital point is, however, that colonial whites never used such labels to describe themselves as they invariably did to depict the 'Myall nigger', the 'black scourge' or the 'yellow agony'. In doing so, they created, for their own minds to endure, potent images, both irrational and confounding, which would serve to haunt them persistently, and influence their destinies far longer and more successfully than a lurking Aborigine, a riotous 'Kanaka' or a leprous Chinese ever would or could.¹⁷

Even formal government reports, such as that of the Royal Commission held in 1924, use the sort of intemperate language of the newspaper cartoons and articles of the time. For example, the abusive language used against the 'Yellow Peril' and the 'Olive Peril' is imploded when southern Italians are referred to as the 'Chinese of Europe'. The term was used in what later was known as 'The Ferry Report' which, like so many official voices before and after, sought to capitalise on the prejudice between Italians of the North and those from the South. The Ferry Report states that:

It was the swarthier Southern Italians who were dubbed 'the Chinese of Europe' and execrated as 'scum and refuse' while the lighter-skinned 'thriving highly paid and long-headed Piedmontese ... the Scotchmen of Italy' were distinctly preferred.¹⁸

However, in terms of selecting workers, Italians from rural areas were preferred by the cane growers, as long as they were in 'prime physical condition'. The uncritical academic language of the late nineteen-fifties cannot mask an historical process which was reminiscent of that used to select slaves:

Figures indicate that cane-cutting in North Queensland is not an occupation suitable to migrants other than of southern European origin. Most of the cane cutters are selected in Italy in small villages and are predominantly of rural background. This system of selection was adopted on the request of cane-growers who insisted that the young men be of prime physical condition.¹⁹

In the late 1930s, Italians were still not seen as white:

As late as 1938 the Townsville delegate to the Australian Natives Association Annual Conference, Arthur Murgatroyd, told the meeting that within three days of landing in Townsville six Italian bricklayers had been employed, while two white men had been put off.²⁰

Giuseppe Pugliese recalls from his immediate and personal past an example which indicates that Italians, whilst still olive, were not seen as 'too' dark to come into Australia as were some Africans! He remembers 'the image of my uncle detained by immigration officials on his arrival into the country because of his dark skin. Their argument is that he is an impostor, a North African posing as an Italian'.²¹

The 'Greasy Wog' Reflects

Italians did not take kindly to being subjected to what Pugliese calls 'the stereotype of the greasy wog congealed'.²² Their various reactions are described in the following poem which is about fights, work, courage and self-sufficiency. It is interesting to note that when this particular Sicilian poet denigrated the *ngrisi* (the Anglo) he did so through an image associated with stinking cod, juxtaposing it with a plate of macaroni:

Dici lu ngrisi (Siciliano)

Dici lu ngrisi ch'iddu è u chiù valenti
E voli a prifirenza nto travagghiu;
E allura pirchè fari u prisputenti
E minazzare a cu no pigna a stagnu?

Dici lu ngrisi ch'iddu è lu chiù fotti
A fari a pugna cu la genti strana;
E, a prova fatta, pirchè scippa botti
E nto spidali subito s'intana?

Dici lu ngrisi ch'è di razza rara
E tutti l'autri sunnu genti rozza;
E allura pirchè fora compra e mpara
E nenti sapi fari ca sa crozza?

Oh, Cummacaru chi non vali un soddu:
Su megghiu i maccarruni da cucuzza;
Feti a tre migghia u piscistoccu a moddu,
Chiudi la bocca, lu to sciatu puzza.

Dice l'inglese (Italiano trans. Gaetano Rando)

Dice l'Inglese ch'egli è il più valente
E vuol la preferenza nel lavoro
E allora perchè fa il prepotente
E minaccia chi non lo riverisce?

Dice l'Inglese ch'egli è il più forte
A fare pugni con la gente strana
E a prova fatta perché è lui che incassa
E nell'ospedale subito s'intana?

Dice l'Inglese ch'egli è di razza rara
E tutti gli altri son di razza rozza

E allora perché va sempre altrove a
(comprare e) imparare
E nulla di sua testa, lui, sa fare?

Di, Cummacaru che non vali un soldo
Sono migliori i maccheroni della zucchini
Puzzi a tre miglia di baccalà a mollo
Chiudi la bocca ché il tuo fiato puzza.

The Anglo says (English trans. Helen Andreoni)

The Anglo says that he is most skilful
and wants preference in the workplace;
So why does he throw his weight around
And threaten those who don't kowtow.

The Anglo says that he is the strongest
When it comes to fighting strangers;
Why then is he the one who cops it
And runs to hide in the hospital.

The Anglo says that he is a rare breed
And everyone else is uncouth;
Why then does he always
go elsewhere to buy or learn
And he can do nothing on his own bat?

I'll tell you Cummacaru
you are worth nothing;
Macaroni are better than zucchini;
I can smell your stink of soaking cod
three miles away
Shut your mouth, your breath stinks.²³

What is more difficult to explain is the play on words with *ngrisi*. In Sicilian the poet could also have used *Ingrisi* for Anglo, which means any Australian of English speaking background. De Luca's choice of the term *ngrisi* is designed, one suspects, to intentionally evoke the English word and insult 'greasy'. So, beneath the surface, his poem argues it is the Anglo who deserves to be so described in contrast to the Italian, the Greasy in Australian slang.²⁴

Another way for Italians in Australia to cope with the level of denigration they were subjected to was to reinvent their Italianness, creating a more acceptable version. Perera, quoting Ignatiev and Roediger in the US, refers to this as a process of becoming white: the 'Irish, Jewish and Italians became white by distinguishing themselves from other groups, through careful self-representations and selected cultural practices'.²⁵ The option to assimilate completely and present oneself as a non-Italian, a 'white' (often changing surname), is only open to those who do not

physically fit the stereotype of the Italian. Others do not have that option and have to be more creative.

Given the prejudices against southern Italians explored earlier in this article, one way to seek acceptability for Italians was to identify with the high status of central and northern Italians, irrespective of where they originally came from in Italy. A current example of this process at work is the great emphasis on the Tuscan repackaging of Italianness. Some Italians at least have been willing to highlight their actual or invented connections with Tuscany and more recently Umbria, presumably in the hope that they would be seen as a more acceptable 'high culture' kind of Italian.²⁶

Other Italian Australians, irritated by this prejudice in favour of some central and northern Italians, have sought to recreate and distinguish themselves as 'southern Italians' using the symbols of the stereotype even when they are in fact from other parts of Italy.²⁷ Building on this is the current trend to highlight the way Italianness can be reflective of contemporary Australian identity, especially through the use of humour.

'Olive Trash', Humour and Naming Rights

For very different reasons many second generation Italians do not feel like accommodating those Australians who still demand a degree of assimilation which to them is unacceptable. This has encouraged the development of 'Olive Trash' humour.²⁸

Humour, or at least so-called humour, has always characterised relations between Anglo Australians and Australia's ethnic minorities. Even the most racist of remarks, including some which have been mentioned in this article, have been presented under the guise of humour. In spite of the humorous wrappings, such colonial and federation humour did and does offend. It continued in the 1950s under a new guise but maintained southern Italians as the target group. It purported to be affectionate but when not written by a member of the target ethnic group, it came across as patronising and demeaning. Take for example the novel by 'Nino Culotta' (a pseudonym playing on the Italian word for 'bum'), *They're a Weird Mob*²⁹ or in the 'sixties *The Italian Joke Book* compiled and edited by

Figure 5: ‘Volti Australiani’³⁰

Tommy 'Boccafucci', a pseudonym which again depends on an English pronunciation to achieve its offensive intent.

'Wog' humour, born in the 'eighties, has emerged as a form of entertainment which has appeal outside the ethnic communities where it first developed. The difference between this humour and those of earlier periods is that the insider perspective is the starting point. This is a vital distinction, for the core of its power is its potential to shift consciousness away from the denigration of others. It calls for honour through irony, reclaiming public dignity and space:

A crucial factor in the success of ethnic humour is whether the comedians are sending up their own culture ... This is why he [Nick Giannopoulos, the director of the film *The Wog Boy*] is not a fan of [Mark] Mitchell's *Con The Fruiterer* (a comical Greek-Australian shopkeeper). 'Mark's a great impersonator, but I'm not a big fan of non-wogs playing wogs. I felt very uncomfortable when Mark was doing those pieces'.³¹

The use of such humour, especially when it is presented commercially to a very wide audience, is a dangerous game which has the capacity to feed as well as challenge stereotypes. Those who are physiologically not able to play the assimilationist game and turn 'white' must find another way if they are to carve out an Australian identity. Some would like to see this game of challenging the stereotypes played much harder:

The Wog Boy is not a bad movie: but it is not a great one either. I would have preferred something a little darker, perhaps an olive trash update of *Muriel's Wedding* ... Actually, the movie I really wanted to see was *The Chink Boy* or *The Boong boy*. But people would be offended, right?

But that is the point. There are no major releases by Asian Australians or Aborigines about pulling chicks and dole cheques. The movie business may think it's PC [politically correct] enough to produce *The Wog Boy*, but I suspect it's too PC to try another ethnic piss-take.³²

Identification with the notion of 'Olive Trash', a term coined as a play on the 70s term 'white trash', is confronting. There are all the echoes with the term 'Olive Peril' which was used as a term of abuse and exclusion. 'Olive Trash' and the mood it describes is self-ascribed and defined, a significant power shift from the labels referred to earlier in this article. Those covered by such a label are aggressively taking back the naming rights and the territory. For the creators of the humour and the label, it expresses a refusal to assimilate whilst clearly identifying with the 'olive' and 'wog' icon. The related images and associations have been creatively imploded whilst the developers and controllers of this humour have also established a sound economic base since the 'wog' films, television programs and stage shows have earned good money.

The use of the term 'wog' may have been made fashionable, even to the point of having a cook book called *Wogfood*³³ or academic articles written on the impact of Wogspeak on Australian English.³⁴ However, some assimilationist strategies can still be identified underneath the very real challenges these labels and icons present.

It is now possible to have some control over who is telling jokes about minorities. Jokes told by insiders are more likely to be deemed acceptable and enable a whole range of 'other' people to laugh in comfort. It is not however

possible to control whether the audience is laughing with the joke tellers or at them. Whatever the dangers, some argue it is better to have such tensions expressed than repressed:

in the rhetoric of Hansonism, the mobilisation of white Australian identity, of a seemingly liberal discourse of egalitarianism and sameness, is dependent on a series of repressions, unsaid and willed forgettings.³⁵

The heroes in the film *The Wog Boy* represent in contrast difference, openness and remembering. This in-your-face Australian humour confronts racism directly and in ways that are intentionally unsettling:

I'm not being racist. I'm actually throwing back in your face a word that was used against me, to make the point that ultimately all we want, us wogs, is to be Australians. So why don't you hurry up and start accepting us, so we can make this a better country to live in?³⁶

The ambivalence of 'wog' girls towards their identity is also the subject of a book and subsequent film called *Looking for Alibrandi*.³⁷ At issue are the benefits and costs of being a 'wog' in the Australian context. This film at least finishes highlighting the benefits of belonging to such a group as well as the strengths of these 'olive-skinned beauties'. The 'Anglo' boyfriend gets incorporated into the group: a very different scenario to that presented in *The Wog Boy*, where the final shift is out of the ethnic group and into the mainstream through the choice of a partner.

A disturbing compromise which underpins the commercial and mainstream success of *The Wog Boy* is the replacement of the character Effie with a white Anglo Saxon stereotype. This wonderful young Greek female character, featured in the 'wog' plays and TV programs that informed the movie, matched the 'wog' boys for wit and energy but was written out of the movie. She has been replaced by a blonde Anglo-Australian, albeit one who knows what an antipasto is and has learnt to speak some standard Italian. Is catching the 'blonde' another way of making Italians more 'white' than 'olive'?

Another disturbing element of *The Wog Boy* is the way the 'Asian Boys' assume the role of the jokers which has in the past characterised the Italian in so much Australian writing and performance. They get a lot of laughs but where does this leave relations between different Australian ethnic groups experiencing racism? The Italians and Greeks in the film are operating as one, as 'wogs', building on the notion of how much is shared (*una faccia, una razza*).³⁸ However, are they using their experience of racism to put themselves in the shoes of those who came later and from very different cultures? Experiencing racism in its many forms can afford insights and empathy but this is not necessarily the case.³⁹ There can be very different and much nastier reactions.

Redirecting racism onto another ethnic group was a strategy that resurfaced during the Hanson debate.⁴⁰ Ianelli, an Australian Italian Hanson supporter, states: 'Mate, if you knew what I put up with when I was growing up. There's always been racists. You don't need Pauline Hanson to make them. And she's not after me'.⁴¹ Are these Italians displacing the racism they have experienced onto another group, as did their forebears in the earlier part of the century? This approach recalls what some Italians did when they were disturbed by the threat of the

application of the white Australia policy, especially in the context of the activities of the British Preference League. They argued that Italians should be considered white and therefore not be targeted by the white Australia policy. Consider as an example the following statement by Felice Rando:

Ostinarsi con la White Australia Policy su larga scala estendendola ai popoli di razza bianca potrebbe essere il suicidio: dilazionare a lunga scadenza il ravvedimento potrebbe essere troppo tardi! [To persist with extending the White Australia Policy to those belonging to the white races could be suicidal; to delay amendments long term could be to leave it too late.]⁴²

The implication of the above quote would appear to be that the white Australia policy and its inherent racism is acceptable just as long as 'non-whites' are targeted. So the ambivalence the Italians felt in the 1930s about who should be the subject of racism persists in the 1990s, as does the desire to be accepted by Australian society as a whole.

This pattern of repeating recreating and shifting racist dividing lines and the range of responses to deal with them has characterised Australian society since the late 1800s. Issues about who is beyond the pale and their shades of colour keep resurfacing. Tensions that have characterised Australian society over this whole period are still present in Prime Minister John Howard's⁴³ Australia as is the range of ways of dealing with them. The key difference is that now some Italian Australians require that they be accepted as 'olive', as 'wogs' because that is how these Australians wish to express their identity. As in earlier times, there is no uniformity in reactions to racism at any one time or over generations, as individuals and communities continue to make their choices. The tendency to condemn those who do not conform to individually preferred choices will inevitably persist as will the desire to make Australia more accepting of cultural and linguistic differences. We cannot presume that all 'olives' will react to the pressures of assimilation and stereotyping in the same way. Given Australia's history, we cannot presume that racism against the 'olives' will stop. For both these reasons we know that in Australia: *Non c'è pace tra gli ulivi* [There is no peace among the olives].⁴⁴

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- 1 Diane Menghetti, *The Red North: The Popular Front in North Queensland*, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville, 1981.
- 2 In Australia today, the term ‘Kanaka’ is sometimes used as a form of self identification by those who are descendents of these South Sea Islanders especially when they wish to distinguish themselves from Australia’s Indigenous peoples. In the Pacific, and elsewhere, the term still has strong derogatory overtones.
- 3 *Boomerang*, 10 January 1891, p 20; 17 January 1891, p 4. As quoted in Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders and Kathryn Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race relations in Colonial Queensland*, Australia and New Zealand Book Company, Sydney, 1975, p 5.
- 4 Kay Saunders, *Workers in Bondage: The Origins and Bases of Unfree Labour in Queensland 1824–1916*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982, p 178.

- 5 *ibid.*, p 6.
- 6 Alexander T Yarwood and Michael J Knowling, *Race Relations in Australia: A History*, Methuen, Sydney, 1982, p 235.
- 7 Bill Hornadge, *The Yellow Peril: A Squint at some Australian attitudes towards Orientals*, Review Publications Pty Ltd, 1976, Dubbo, p 105.
- 8 Hornadge, *op cit.*, p 91. It is possible to read only some of the words in this cartoon: 'Piebald Australia v. White Australia'. 'Labour Support' is written on the plank.
- 9 Yarwood and Knowling, *op cit.*
- 10 *Dago*. Colloq. (derogatory) 1. Spaniard or Portuguese. 2. a person of Latin race, *Macquarie Dictionary*, 2nd Revision, Macquarie Library Pty, Ltd, Ryde, 1987. In Australia the term usually refers to Italians.
- 11 R McCeddon, 'The Dago Menace', *Bulletin*, vol 33, no 1700, 1912, p 38.
- 12 Joseph Pugliese, 'Assimilation, Unspeakable Traces and the Ontologies of Nation', in Suvendrini Perera (ed), *Asian and Pacific Inscription: Identities, Ethnicities, Nationalities*, Meridian, Melbourne, 1985, p 239.
- 13 Fleetwood Chidell, *Australia — White or Yellow?* William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1926, pp 76–77.
- 14 *ibid.*, pp 77–8.
- 15 Gianfranco Cresciani, *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia* (Emigranti o Compari: Vita Italiana in Australia), Knockmore Publishers, Sydney, 1988, p 164.
- 16 Hornadge, *op cit.*
- 17 Evans, et al, *op cit.*, p 368.
- 18 *ibid.*, pp 5–6.
- 19 J Hempel, 'Italians in Queensland: Aspects of assimilation', *Quadrant*, vol 12, 1959, p 47.
- 20 Menghetti, *op cit.*, p 90, fn55.
- 21 Pugliese, *op cit.*, p 244.
- 22 *ibid.*
- 23 G De Luca 'Dici lu ngrisi' Innisfail, 3 February 1932 in Giovanni Andreoni and Gaetano Rando, 'L'insegnamento dell'Italiano in Australia', *Le Relazioni tra l'Italia, l'Australia e La Nuova Zelanda*, Il Veltro, Rome Italy, 1973, vol XVII, p 344.
- 24 Greasy Colloq. (derogatory) A Greek or Italian immigrant, *Macquarie Dictionary*, *op cit.*
- 25 Perera (ed.), *op cit.*, p 185.
- 26 Helen Andreoni, 'Associating with Olive: The changing status and fortunes of the olive and olive oil in Australia', *Rural Society*, vol 11, no 2, pp 99–115.
- 27 Loreta Baldassar, 'Italo-Australian Youth in Perth: Space Speaks and Clothes Communicate', in Richard Bosworth and R Ugolini (eds), *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940–1990*, Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, Rome, 1992, pp 207–23.
- 28 A term coined by George Megalogenis. Personal communication between Helen Andreoni and George Megalogenis, 3 October 2000.
- 29 John O'Grady, *They're a Weird Mob: A Novel*, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1957.
- 30 Giovanni Andreoni (ed), *L'Australia Multiculturale: il caso italiano*, Il Veltro Editrice, Rome Italy, 1988.
- 31 Lynden Barber, 'Comedy community declares — the race is on', *Weekend Australian*, 26–27 February 2000, p 6.
- 32 George Megalogenis, 'Wog Boy on safe ethnic ground', *Weekend Australian*, 26–27 February 2000, p 6.
- 33 J Newton, *Wogfood*, Random House, Sydney, 1996.
- 34 Jane Warren, 'Wogspeak: Transformations of Australian English', *Journal of Australian Studies*, September, 1999, p 86.
- 35 Perera, *op cit.*, p 187.
- 36 Barber, *op cit.*, p 6.
- 37 Melina Marchetta, *Looking for Alibrandi*, Puffin, Ringwood Victoria, 1992.
- 38 'One face, one race' is an Italian expression which refers to how much Italians and Greeks are alike (trans. Helen Andreoni).
- 39 Helen Andreoni, 'Reconciliation between cultural and linguistic minorities', *Migration Action: Reconciliation and Multicultural Australia*, vol XX, no 2, 1998, pp 19–24.

- 40 Pauline Hanson was an important political figure in Australian federal elections in the mid 1990s who argued that indigenous and non English speaking background immigrants were getting unfair advantage from government subsidies.
- 41 As quoted by Suvendrini Perera in 'Whiteness and its Discontents: Notes on politics, gender, sex and food in the year of Hanson', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol 20, no 2, 1999, p 186.
- 42 Felice Rando, 'Corriere degli Italiani in Australia', 18 May 1931, quoted in 'Santità del lavoro', in Giovanni Andreoni and Gaetano Rando, *Le Relazioni Tra l'Italia, l'Australia e la Nuova Zelanda*, Il Veltro Editrice, Rome, 1973.
- 43 John Howard is the current Australian Prime Minister, whose enthusiasm for multiculturalism is expressed largely in words rather than in action and the allocation of resources.