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TO GO OR TO STAY

A Study of Decision-Making by Italian Workers
and Their Families in Turangi

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ABSTRACT

With the termination of their contracts on the Tongariro Power Development in 1982-83, Italian workers in Turangi were faced with the problem of deciding whether to return to Italy, stay in New Zealand or go elsewhere. All had permanent residence status and were entitled to stay. This study is concerned with the problems surrounding decision making and what influenced some to decide to return to Italy, some to become permanent settlers in New Zealand, while yet others found any decision making difficult.

Orthodox theories of migration were inadequate for the examination of the problem. Italians had not made conscious decisions to migrate permanently to New Zealand. Yet some had become permanent settlers and others had that intention in 1982. The problem was examined as one of commitment. How had some Italians become committed to New Zealand, others remained committed to Italy while others had conflicting commitments? Two areas of commitment were of special importance in decision making, the material and the sentimental.

Two thirds of the Italian men in the study had a commitment to New Zealand wives. This alone was not sufficient for them to become committed to permanent residence here. If they had property in New Zealand, or/and if they spoke English well, the likelihood of a commitment to stay in New Zealand increased.

Those who had strong commitments in Italy, to family and in investments in real estate, returned there. A return was more likely if they were married to an Italian and did not speak English well. However for many, commitments were not so clearly defined. Commitments frequently conflicted, contributing to indecision about the future. Indecision was not easily resolved. In some cases supposedly final decisions changed as new circumstances resulted in compromises or modifications of plans.

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INTRODUCTION

"What will happen to us poor Christians?" [1] lamented some of the Italians on arriving at the site of the Tongariro Power Development (TPD) in 1967. Their destination, the bush clad slopes of Tongariro, was inhospitable and isolated and they were thousands of miles from home. In the years since then hundreds of Italian workers, many with their families, have come and gone from the central North Island. While most returned to Italy, some stayed either with the TPD or moved on to other places in New Zealand. But at the beginning of 1982 there were still about 50 Italians in the area, employed by either Codelfa Cogefar or Codelfa Construction. For some of these the problems of leaving were as great as the trauma of arriving may have been. It is these employees and their families who are the subject of this study.

At the beginning of 1982 Codelfa Cogefar's contract on the TPD was almost completed and only a small Italian [2] workforce remained. It was expected that by the end of the year most Italian workers would have been paid off. Thus Italians working and living in Turangi in 1982 were faced with a decision - "What do we do when the job ends?" Certain choices had to be made, most of which revolved

around the question, to go or to stay? Some had already made their decision long before 1982. Many had not, or had decided to delay final decision making. Yet with the termination of contracts no one had the option of remaining in the current situation. The contract was a significant aspect of the Italians' relationship to the job, the company and being in New Zealand. In the past the contract had been important in shaping decisions. For some this meant the only effective decision was whether or not to sign a contract.

The main focus of this research is on the decision making process faced by Italians and their families. What factors did they take into account in deciding what to do after their contracts finished? Constraints that were influential to decision making were examined, focusing particularly on two broad areas, material and sentimental. Under the material component such factors as employment, property and financial survival were examined. Sentimental considerations were concerned with marriage, family and friends. Attention was also given to the particular problems faced by Italian/New Zealand families. Two thirds of the Italian workers in Turangi in 1982 were married to New Zealanders. For them to return to Italy or to remain in New Zealand would mean the inevitability of one marriage partner having to live outside his or her home country. From the information collected in a survey and further in depth interviews, explanations were sought as to why some had committed themselves to return to Italy, some had made a commitment to stay in New Zealand, while others remained ambivalent.

Italian migration

In New Zealand the arrival of Italians in the 1960s attracted widespread interest. Italians have a proud record in international engineering of successful, large scale construction projects and a long history of migration. A brief review of migration from Italy will help to place the Italian migrant to New Zealand in a social and historical perspective. Such a review can be no more than descriptive given the magnitude of the subject.

For many centuries Italians have been noted travellers. The precursor of the late nineteenth century transnational migration was the seasonal migration from north Italy across the Alps to France, Germany and Switzerland. For a hundred years or more this has been an accepted means of subsidising family incomes. Such temporary migrations have become a cultural tradition in Piedmont and Veneto. By 1885 transnational migration had surpassed other kinds of migration.

Glazer and Moynihan (1964:182) claim that while large scale Italian migration did not begin until the 1870s it became modern history's greatest movement from a single country. The numbers are certainly impressive, an estimated 26 million migrants between 1861 and 1970 and more than ten million permanent migrations since 1900 (Monticelli, 1970). "In Italy as a whole over 11 million people, a quarter of the population, emigrated at least once in the 30 year period between 1881-1911" (Amfitheatrof, 1973:138).

There are no simple explanations for why so many Italians left their homeland. Economic explanations, while widespread, are inadequate and superficial. It is true that there was abject poverty in many parts of Italy, especially in the south. Neither is it disputed that in most cases economic opportunities in receiving countries were superior. And it is a fact that most urban migrants came from the poorer section of the population of the non-industrial regions. It is also true that the political unification of Italy 1859-70 was responsible for as many new problems as old problems solved. Economic and cultural disunity continued and centralisation exacerbated impoverishment in some areas.

Yet Italian migration rates show no marked correlation with the degree of poverty (MacDonald, 1956). Poverty was not necessarily a sufficient cause to drive people from their homes, for while poverty would drive people to emigration from one place, people living in equal poverty in another would not leave. Hence the necessity of appreciating the heterogeneity of Italian society and the complex social, economic and historical factors, particularly as they were manifested in the nineteenth century.

Many of the pre-1900 migrants were from northern Italy heading for Latin American destinations where, for example, in Argentina, Italians laid railways, built substantial parts of Buenos Aires, farmed and formed almost half the migrant population between 1857 and 1926 (Glazer and Moynihan, 1974:182). This first wave of Italian migration was followed by the great exodus of Italians from the south

to the United States in the early years of this century. On the whole they were poorer, less educated and less skilled than the migrants from the north. Also there was a smaller proportion of women and children and a high incidence of return migration. Many Italians did not intend to make the United States their permanent home but looked on it as a place to make money before returning to Italy to invest in land or attain a more comfortable life. These 'birds of passage' were often resented by Americans (Lopreato, 1970:15). However for some, temporary migration occurred several times and often preceded permanent migration. Often a return to Italy was to fetch or find a bride. Writing of southern Italy, MacDonald (1956:442) says that although repatriation statistics are unreliable most returned at least once to their birth places. By the 1920s Italian migration to the United States had been restricted by the Quota Acts. While migration continued, numbers were much reduced.

After World War II there was in Italy a dramatic shift from agriculture to industry. Unemployment rose to two million by 1946, later exacerbated by a reorganisation of land holding. Some Italians responded to their problems by migrating. Huber (1977:31) suggests that for those with few job skills, "emigration offered many attractions and was an answer to post-war poverty and their inability to compete with skilled workers". Australia, already a destination for some Italians during this century, became a popular destination and had the attraction of Australian Government assisted passages and plenty of work. Furthermore a return to Italy was possible after two

years without refunding the passage money. However the influence of assisted passages on migration should not be over emphasised. Price (1963:279) points out that only one third of southern Europe's post-war migrants to Australia, arrived there with the assistance of the Australian Government.

While Australia, especially in post-war years, has attracted Italian migrants there have been relatively few Italian migrants to New Zealand. Apart from the 300 Italians brought to the Jackson Bay Special Settlement by the Vogel administration in the 1870s and 130 refugee migrants after World War II there has been no organized encouragement of Italian settlers. The South Island goldfields attracted Italians from various parts of Italy. Some of these settlers started chains (some of which lasted several generations). These were the foundations of Italian settlements in other parts of New Zealand [3]. Other Italians returned to Italy (Burnley, 1971:145). Italian migration to New Zealand has been characterised by chain movements. In such a migration people who have migrated encourage relatives and friends from their home area to follow, helping them with remittances and sponsorship. This kind of migration has been inevitable for Italians in New Zealand because immigration policies have admitted only close relatives of persons already in the country. This policy has also served to contain the size of the Italian immigrant population. Before 1921 the preponderance of male migrants and a high degree of return migration were features of Italian migration.

In recent years skilled Italian workers have worked on the Tongariro Power Development. They were brought from Italy by the contracting company as hard rock tunnellers offering skills that were in very short supply in New Zealand [4]. While hundreds of Italians have been involved in the scheme most have returned home. Those remaining in 1982 were the subjects of this study.

This thesis is an examination of the decision making process of Italians and their families. Chapter 1 is concerned with theoretical approaches to migration particularly as relevant to this study. Chapter 2 describes the historical and socio-economic setting of the field study, concentrating on three areas of importance, the company, the community and the family. The growth of commitment to New Zealand, or the maintenance of commitment to Italy, is examined in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 is an investigation of decision making based on information from case studies. The conclusions of the study are discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 1THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO MIGRATION

This research focuses on the nature of the decision making process in migration. There is in much of the literature an assumption that permanent or semi-permanent migration results from a conscious decision to migrate. But this is to state the problem too simply. It overlooks the fact that while many people may ultimately become permanent settlers they may never have made a conscious decision to settle permanently and may never, even after many years' residence in another place, consider themselves to be migrants in the commonsense understanding of permanent settler.

Jackson (1969:3) suggests that:

"....there has been little serious attempt to grapple with some of the underlying assumptions and myths regarding the human condition and the decision-making process which students of population movement have often quite unconsciously constructed".

Jackson (1969.5) likens the decision to migrate to the decision to marry. Marriage and migration are usually voluntary but, while it is

possible to isolate a variety of predisposing factors in a given environment leading to a net result, there remains a wide range of questions regarding the actual factors of selection in the decision making process operating in particular cases.

Taylor (1969:99) describes three alternative approaches to the understanding of motives for migration: the acceptance of the migrant's stated motives; the inference of motives from a study of objective structural determinants and a combination of the migrant's subjective account with an account based on objective inference. Each of the approaches presents problems. A dependence on the migrant's own account introduces the problem of stated and real motives and particularly the rationalisation of decisions. To rely only on objective structural determinants may lead to a rather sterile emphasis on purposive-rational behaviour; the reduction of the migrant to a standardised product of the researcher's concept of socio-economic structure, often to mere economic maximiser. Taylor regards the combination approach as problematic because of the difficulty of reconciling an almost infinite collection of motives with a framework of objective structural determinants. Despite this problem I consider the combination approach most useful for the study in Turangi. By paying regard to what I saw as objective structural determinants and to the subjective feelings of the Italians, I hoped to understand individual motivations and the interrelation of individual perceptions and actual experience.

It is necessary to see the relationship of this study to work on migration generally. A brief review of the literature will place decision making in the context of migration studies and provide a framework for the examination of theoretical issues. Some general problems of migration theory will be discussed as well as the more specific inadequacies of orthodox migration theory. Theoretical concepts particularly relevant to this study will also be introduced.

In the nineteenth century, consequent upon the massive restructuring of Western society associated with the emergence and expansion of capitalism, vast shifts of population began to take place. Migration is then a major expression of basic social change, especially in modern times (Jansen, 1970:3; Shaw, 1975:1; Lewis, 1982:1). Jackson (1969:8) argues that:

"The migrant not only provides the human capital of social change, he is its agent and as such he plays a significant part in shaping ideas about the societies in which he lives".

Academic attempts to theorise about these movements began with the formulation of the "Laws of Migration" by Ravenstein in 1885 and 1889. Ravenstein's laws, while concerned with distance, stages, stream and counter stream, urban and rural difference, sex and technology, emphasised the economic motive. The laws have remained the starting point for many migration studies since, the subject having attracted increasing attention across the spectrum of the social sciences. The many discipline-based approaches to the study of migration, spatial, demographic, economic, behavioural and

statistical are reflected in the diversity of migration literature.

MIGRATION THEORIES

Migration has proved theoretically problematic for the social sciences and not least for sociology: Jansen (1969:60) locates the problems for theory in the diversity of migration studies: "...migration is a demographic problem....an economic ..maybe a political problem...it involves social psychology....it is also a sociological problem..." Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1968:4) perceive migration theory as defective because of a lack of integration between disciplines. The proliferation of time, culture and discipline-bound studies has inhibited the development of an overall theory of migration. These limitations will continue without some dynamic integration between demographic, economic, social, psychological and other relevant factors that are all essential to understanding the migration process and act.

There has often been a reliance on sophisticated statistical description which may become confused with theory. Shaw (1975:1) suggests that while the literature on migration expands, there is little systematic accumulation of knowledge and such as exists is generalized and unintegrated. Jackson (1969:1) is also concerned about the lack of theoretical development, while Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1970:6) point to insufficient conceptualising of the phenomena and hence little hypothesis testing.

Shaw (1975) in his overview of migration literature isolates five main problems impeding a synthesis of significant variables and the subsequent formulation of explanatory and productive theories. These are: incompatible concepts resulting from the diversity of inquiry; general theory hindered by discipline-bound research; lack of sustained research; failure to concentrate on theory construction and problems of obtaining data on various attributes of the population. But despite all this, inquiry does proceed, usually within discipline boundaries.

Arriving at basic definitions of migration from the plethora of literature available is difficult as different approaches generate different definitions. The broadest definitions of migration consider almost any move by an individual or group to be migration, e.g. "A migration is a change in the place of residence" (White and Woods, 1980:3). With such a definition a change of address in the same administrative area, e.g. Turangi, becomes a migration. Hagerstrand (1957:28) defined a move from one administrative area to another as a migration but movement within administrative divisions may be more significant than that across boundaries. Petersen (1968:286) added relative permanence to significant distance. Zelinsky (1971:226) defines migration as:

"...any permanent or semi-permanent change of residence; more meaningfully perhaps it is a spatial transfer from one social unit or neighbourhood to another, which strains or ruptures previous social bonds."

Migration obviously implies a spatial move and it may also involve a relative shift in social locus. Zelinsky (1971:225) in a wide ranging discussion on the growth of individual mobility in all spheres suggests that, "the greatest of the new mobilities is that of the mind". This is an extremely important consideration for the sociologist because it admits the importance of subjective considerations. Trlin (1975:75) suggests that it is possible for a community to be located in two places simultaneously with one part in the place of origin and the other in the place of migration. Such situations are characteristic of chain migration. Burnley (1971:140) estimated that in 1968 over 90% of Italians in New Zealand came here by some variant of the chain migration process. Burnley excluded the TPD contract workers from his figures probably because he considered them only temporary residents.

Most migration studies define a migrant as the actor in the migration act. Kosinski and Prothero (1975:1) consider the migrant to be one who moves from one administrative unit to another. They suggest that there are two generally applied qualifications: that only moves between "middle or higher rank units are considered" and that, "a migrant is considered to be a person who moves with the intention of establishing a new residence in a new country or region". They argue that the process of migration takes place when a person decides the advantages of moving offset the difficulties of the move and the disadvantages of staying (Kosinski and Prothero, 1975:4). This is echoed by White and Woods (1980:79) who suggest that migrants believe their needs and desires will be more

satisfactorily met in the new place than in the place they left.

From this discussion certain broad statements can be made. Researchers see migration as involving a spatial and often also a social shift; the move is usually viewed as permanent, or at least semi-permanent, and a migrant is perceived as one who makes such a move. People migrate because they cannot get what they want where they are.

Migration studies usually revolve around the following questions: Who migrates? Why do they migrate? What are the patterns of flow, direction and movement of migration? What are the consequences of migration? (Mangalam, 1968:5; White and Woods, 1981:1). While all these areas are important the second and fourth are most significant in this study, that is, why people migrate and the consequences of migration.

Migration studies may also be categorised into macrolevel and microlevel studies. Macrolevel studies typically have as the unit of analysis administrative districts or population aggregates while the microlevel study takes as the unit of analysis the individual, family or household. Questions concerned with subjective factors are best dealt with at the microlevel (Shaw, 1975:106; De Jong and Gardner, 1981:5). However, both levels are necessary in order to gain a full understanding of migration: macrolevel to describe broad patterns of migration and microlevel to explain migration behaviour.

My concern in Turangi was to explain the issues involved in decision making in an attempt to understand migration behaviour. Given the scale and nature of the inquiry a microlevel study was the most appropriate. The study concentrated on individuals and families and took as the unit of analysis (with three exceptions) the nuclear family. In order to relate the theoretical discussion more closely to the Turangi study the following areas will be examined: orthodox approaches to migration; issues of concern to this study which tend to be neglected by orthodox theory and the relevance of the ideas discussed to the Turangi study.

In the study of migration, as has been stated, an overall theoretical approach to migration is lacking: areas of inquiry follow discipline lines. There are often overlapping features and areas of interest. Areas of concern are economic, subjective, demographic and spatial. The economic and subjective are the most relevant to this study.

Studies from the economic perspective have made a great contribution to the understanding of migration. It might even be said that economic determinants have the greatest causal influence on migration. Certainly this is an accepted assumption for many economists. Shaw (1975:57) considers that economists have expanded our knowledge on the importance of economic motives in migration decisions, on the response of migrants to economic considerations, and the characteristics of migrants which are concerned with the evaluation of economic factors.

De Jong and Fawcett (1981:23) point out that the economic maximisation thesis can only be assumed and not measured. Hugo (1981:187) warns against an uncritical approach to the economic evidence produced from migration studies in the third world which concentrates on economic advantage as the fundamental reason for moving (e.g. Pryor, 1975:18-23; Caldwell, 1969) and suggests that economic variables offer a poor basis from which to predict population mobility when considered in isolation from social and cultural influences. Shaw (1975:101) argues that in urban industrial economies the role of pecuniary considerations declines in importance. Cebula (1980:139) acknowledges the need for the inclusion of the quality of life variable in addition to employment and income considerations. De Jong and Fawcett (1981:44) criticise traditional migration studies for telling more about places than people. This limits the applications of the findings.

Thus though macrolevel studies that produce generalized statements about how and why migration occurs are important, they are not entirely satisfactory. Subjective questions of motivation and evaluation generally receive little attention. Shaw (1975:106) gives two reasons for the paucity of literature on behavioural aspects of migration: that the necessary surveys are time consuming and costly and that the necessary tools to explain subjective behaviour do not exist in sociology and psychology and as a result models are crude and seldom tested. Nevertheless it is at the microlevel that such issues are likely to be best understood.

Researchers who place a high value on subjective considerations, while not necessarily denying a central place to the economic motive, find it unrealistic to reduce the migrant to a rational and economic maximiser. Some subjective considerations that researchers have identified are Wolpert's (1965) place utility, which is concerned with the conceptions people have of their place of residence compared with other places of residence; residential complaints (e.g. Rossi, 1955; Taylor, 1969); environmental stresses (e.g. Wolpert, 1966); quality of life and orientation to family (e.g. Jitodi, 1963). This study pays special attention to quality of life, family and perceptions of Italy and New Zealand, in addition to economic considerations. These are discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

Orthodox approaches are not necessarily as discrete as the literature sometimes implies. For example, Todaro (1977:239) recognizes the subjective element in what he considers to be primarily economic decisions.

The preceding discussion of approaches to migration represents a general orthodoxy in migration studies. Although each of the approaches discussed is important and necessary to an integrated understanding, each has shortcomings. An understanding of the complexity of migration, with its many shades of meaning leads to the obvious conclusion that there is no one overriding reason why people migrate.

This study is concerned with economic and subjective approaches, because I consider these best suited to the sociological situation examined. However it should be remembered that:

"migration is a behavioural result of a complex set of decisions that are rational and irrational, conscious and unconscious, deliberate and impulsive" (Reissman, 1967:211-12).

What I have termed general orthodoxies in migration theory present certain problems which highlight basic incompatibilities between the realities of the experience of Italians in Turangi and migration orthodoxy. A major problem is the assumption of rationality. If this assumption is made it is not difficult to understand the centrality of economic maximisation which Cebula (1980:3) for example, assumes is accepted and adhered to by most researchers and is the basis of what he terms "orthodox migration theory". While not denying that many migration decisions are made on a rational basis, the migrant may not be reduced to economic maximiser. Haberkorn (1981:254) comments:

"...the fact that migration decisions involve people rather than products should lead us to one important realisation: not all decisions are primarily rational and follow carefully calculated means-ends combinations, but rather are quite frequently heavily influenced by emotion".

Also stemming from the assumption of rationality is the tendency to view migration as a permanent change of location - or at least semi-permanent. The idea that migration is a once and only phenomenon has been described by Jackson (1969:4) as the "snapshot"

character of the migration act. He asserts that this idea has grown from the emphasis on net change rather than gross movement. While many nineteenth century migrants took a one way trip some, even then, travelled back and forth. Price (1963:101) comments on the comings and goings of, for example, Italian migrants to Australia and says that temporary visits home swelled the numbers of departures and arrivals and gave a false impression of migration processes. The problems described by Jackson and Price arise because of the restrictions of orthodox migration research. Haberkorn (1981:258) observes:

"One of the biggest problems with traditional migration research has been its abstract procedures, such as its exclusive focus on 'objective' determinants of migration - that is, on all those variables that make theoretical sense to researchers, while neglecting the identification of variables from the perspective of what they mean to the migrants or stayers themselves."

Migration orthodoxy suggests that migrants have decided to stay permanently, or at least for a lengthy period, at their destinations before they depart. A migration of the mind might precede any other migration. Galtung (1971:194), writing of Western Sicily, considers that such is the attitudinal change people undergo before migration that they are already socially lost to their home communities before migration. Other people do migrate because of social conditions, or for economic reasons, or on the basis of a careful cost-benefit analysis.

The assumption is that the decision to migrate is based on certain rational choices. But it will be argued that while some people make certain moves they do not necessarily make decisions to migrate permanently. The fact that they may become permanent settlers in another place may not result from a calculated decision to migrate in orthodox terms.

This is a rejection of one of the key elements of migration orthodoxy, that migrants are in fact migrants before they depart. The contract status of the Italians in Turangi suggested that they were not for ever in the place of destination and therefore not migrants in orthodox terms. But it cannot be assumed either that all contract workers will return. People who never intended to migrate, in orthodox terms, may subsequently become permanent settlers as has happened to some Italians who came to New Zealand as contract workers.

With these points in mind it is necessary to examine other aspects of migration in order to appreciate the specific focus of this research. The areas to be examined are, circulation, sojourners and commitment.

Circulation

Not all movements are intended as permanent or even long term. Zelinsky (1971:225) makes a clear distinction between the orthodox prescription of migration and what he terms circulation, which

"denotes a great variety of movements, usually short term, repetitive or cyclical in nature, but all having in common the lack of any declared or long lasting change in residence". The intention to return to the original place of residence distinguishes circulation, or return migration, from migration. Thus defined, much movement previously considered migration would be more accurately termed circulation. Increasing numbers of migrants may spend periods outside their country of birth, perhaps returning and setting off again (Jackson, 1969:4). Richmond (1967:252) refers to such people as "transilients".

To further clarify circulation, Bedford (1973:3) refers to routine daily movements - shopping, going to work - as "oscillation", reserving the term circular migration for absences of a month or more. He suggests no upper limit on the duration between moves, for example, work contracts may span several years as they have done for Italians in Turangi. However the intention to return is again stressed. Thus traditional, seasonal migrations from north Italy; modern guest worker migrations and even many of the transnational migrations of Italians can be considered circular migrations (Huber, 1977; Thompson, 1980). The migrant who intends to return is not prepared to sever, or perceives no advantage in severing, ties with the home area. While prepared to be mobile such a person does not make a decision to migrate. However this lack of original decision making does not preclude the possibility of long lasting or permanent relocation.

Sojourners

While circulation places emphasis on the movements of people, the term sojourner emphasises residence rather than movement. Sojourners are those who reside in another country but who expect to return to their homeland - immigrants who do not intend to settle permanently. However, sojourners frequently become permanent settlers against their original intentions. Writing of Chinese in the Mississippi, Lowen (1971:26) says they:

"...were not true immigrants, intending to become permanent settlers in a new homeland, but were sojourners, temporary residents in a strange country, planning to return to their homeland when their task was accomplished".

As they intend to return home, sojourners are psychologically unwilling to organize themselves as permanent residents (Siu, 1952:34). They may pay little attention to their social and physical environment as they are so busy working hard and spending little in order to hasten their return home. Some adjustments have to be made however and progressive adaptation to the immediate environment may make sojourners ambivalent about the future. Siu (1952:41) suggests that sojourners typically undergo certain successive stages of adjustment, getting on with the job which has taken them from home; socially isolated with fellow countrymen and planning to return home - thus following the pattern of accommodation, isolation and unassimilation. In so doing the sojourner adopts a mode of life that is characteristic neither of the original home nor of the place of sojourn. The sojourner is Simmel's stranger:

"the person who comes to-day and stays to-morrow. He is so to speak the potential wanderer: although he has not moved on, he has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going" (Wolff, 1950:402).

Most Italians in Turangi did not consider themselves migrants. They described themselves in such a way that they could be called sojourners. They associated a permanence with the term migrant similar to that often used in orthodox migration theory. In this study I use the term migrant to refer to the process of moving, without reference to the duration of stay at the destination.

Commitment

In a study of American migrants to Australia DeAmicis (1976) was faced with the problem that Americans usually do not make decisions to migrate to Australia. In seeking a sociological explanation of the reorientation of Americans to Australia DeAmicis centred on the concept of commitment. He defines commitments as:

"agreements that somehow bind the individual to a person, group or activity. They are orientations to both the present and the future and provide guidelines for consistent behaviour" (DeAmicis, 1976:138).

DeAmicis argues that most Americans go to Australia for limited and specific intentions and generally intend to return to the United States. Italians went to Turangi in a similar way. Such people, he maintains, are committed to America but as daily life in Australia

becomes more salient their commitments are redefined as ties with Australia become stronger at the expense of weakening ties with America.

DeAmicis based his concept of commitment on that of Becker (1960:38):

"Commitments are not necessarily made consciously and deliberately. Some commitments do result from conscious decisions, but others arise crecscively: the person becomes aware that he is committed only at some point of change and seems to have made the commitment without realising it".

In seeking to explain commitment Becker suggests that commitment is achieved by making "side bets". Other interests, originally extraneous to the action one is engaged in, become involved directly in that action.

"'Commitment by default' arises through a series of acts, no one of which is crucial but which taken together, constitute for the actor a series of side bets of such magnitude that he finds himself unwilling to lose them" (Becker, 1960:38).

At the time they are made these side bets are not necessarily related to each other.

DeAmicis (1976:137) considers commitment to be both activity (making commitments) and a status (having become committed). He defines commitments as agreements, assumptions, understandings, preparations, investments, exchanges and contracts which bind, tie or

obligate people to actions relative to other people, groups, activities or institutions. The consequences of such commitment have present and future outcomes and can affect every aspect of life. Commitments can be found at all levels of interaction and, according to DeAmicis, be formal or informal, vague or explicit, deliberate or de facto and unintentional, predetermined or ad hoc. They can be variably enforceable and enforced in ways which may range from a legally binding contract, as was the original commitment of Italians in Turangi, to a casual understanding.

DeAmicis defines several kinds of commitment. Among them are: contracts as in employment; investments, for example, in time, money or energy; exchanges, for example, of intimacies or promises; responsibilities or obligations, for example, in marriage, family, church or club; planning, for example, for career or future security; or reference groups, for example, perceived pressure from significant others (DeAmicis, 1976:138).

Americans in Australia, he suggested, had certain orientations to Australia when they arrived. He described these as "open-ended commitments", that is, expectations to settle permanently or, at least, indefinitely; "closed-ended commitments", expectations of return to the United States after a certain period; and "semi-open-ended commitments", those who did not have fixed plans. Most of the Italians who went to Turangi had closed-ended commitments, though some consciously or unconsciously had semi-open-ended commitments. Over the years commitments change.

Original commitments become restructured:

"As unanticipated contingencies occur routinely and are negotiated routinely daily life in Australia becomes more and more salient, i.e., experientially valid, than memories or anticipations of life in America. Ties to America weaken and are replaced by corresponding ties to Australia" (DeAmicis, 1976:138).

The examination of circular migration, sojourners and the concept of commitment helps to overcome some of the difficulties for the study of Turangi which arise from the theoretical shortcomings of the orthodox approaches already discussed. It became clear, even from preliminary enquiries among Italians in Turangi, that it would be extremely difficult to consider this research within any kind of orthodox framework of migration. For example, in orthodox and official terms the people were already migrants though few of them had that self-perception because they had not made decisions to migrate permanently to New Zealand. This study is concerned with people who saw themselves as sojourners. All were in the process of reappraising that status.

It was proposed that central to the study would be the decision making process, to go or to stay. Paradoxically for some there was a desire to make decisions, even a need, yet also a fear of, and shrinking away from, decision making. The concept of circular migration provides some useful insights for studying the Italian migrants in Turangi. That people may stay a long time in another place, that people may eventually become permanent settlers, sometimes almost by

default, are very different propositions from assuming that a residential move by a person from one country to another will be permanent. A decision to move cannot necessarily be equated with a decision to migrate in orthodox terms unless migration is defined in the very widest sense as meaning any move. The assumption that people officially defined as migrants are also therefore permanent settlers fails to consider the objectives and attitudes of the emigrants.

The approach taken by DeAmicis is appropriate to examining the problems of to go or to stay faced by Italians in Turangi. Besides permanent migration, Italians have a long history of seasonal or short term migration, which may or may not develop into permanent migration (Foerster, 1919; Price, 1963; Glazer and Moynihan, 1964; Huber, 1977; Thompson, 1980). In examining the decision making process it was hoped that a clearer understanding would be gained of why some people remain committed to living in Italy, others become committed to living in New Zealand to the extent that they wish to remain, while yet others are committed to neither Italy nor New Zealand.

While I regard those theoretical ideas as important I did not consider them as a rigid framework but rather as a flexible outline or guide. Bell and Newby (1977:63-64) warn the researcher:

"Regardless of what sociologists claim, when they do empirical work, many of them have a shrewd suspicion of what they are going to find. Indeed they may have a well worked out theoretical scheme before they start their

research. Once in the field, theory acts like a pair of blinkers - it defines the field of vision. Theory defines what is relevant and what is not, in a very real sense it determines what is seen".

Thus it was important that the centrality of the research problem not be usurped by prejudgements as to its cause. The perception and experience of the Italians and their families formed the basis of analysis and defined what was relevant from the theories. The theory building aspects of this research were as important as theory testing, and the strengths of deduction and induction were utilized.

CHAPTER 2

COMPANY, COMMUNITY AND FAMILY

When considering the context of daily life for Italians in Turangi three particular influences are salient: the company, the community, and the family. A background knowledge of each of these areas is essential to an understanding of the factors involved in decisions about moving for Italians in Turangi.

Company, community and family are all aspects of the human input into the Tongariro Power Development. While the technical factors of the TPD attract interest, little attention has been focused on the human factor. The TPD was an undertaking of the Ministry of Works (MOW). It was begun in 1964 and almost completed by 1982. Many workers on the Tongariro project had moved on from other projects on the Waikato. Some had had a lifetime of service on those power schemes. In 1982 the experienced chief project engineer told me that some third generation workers were in his employ. Many families travelled up the river together working on the same projects. Adults who had grown up on the projects described themselves as "river rats". (John Gardenier, undated:28-33, a MOW engineer, provides a

brief outline of the human involvement in the project.)

The TPD differed in several respects from the other schemes, the chief difference being that it involved the diversion of many streams around Tongariro in order to provide a greater single flow of water (see Appendix 5 for information on the TPD). Diversions involved the construction of tunnels but tunnel construction was not a speciality of New Zealand engineering, and although MOW had overall direction on the TPD, international tenders were invited for the major tunnel construction. Codelfa Cogefar, an Italian company, undertook Contract One, at the same time bidding for Contract Three, the award of which (to Codelfa Cogefar) was delayed. Subsequently the company also undertook Contract Four. Downers, a New Zealand company, undertook Contract Two.

THE COMPANY

The coming of the Italians

In December 1965 a joint venture tender was made by Codelfa Cogefar (Costruzioni Del Favero and Costruzioni Generali Farsura) for construction work on the TPD. At the time there was a shortage of hard rock tunnellers and labour generally in New Zealand. It was estimated that the demand for labour overall at Tongariro would be for 2,200 workers, of whom 600 would be employed on two tunnels at the height of the work.

Codelfa Cogefar was a joint venture formed especially for the contract in New Zealand. The reputation of this company had been built on construction and tunnelling work in northern Italy. The elite of the work force was the hard rock tunnellers. In New Zealand they soon became known for their record breaking tunnelling achievements. The driving force behind the New Zealand enterprise was Alessandro Del Favero. He and his brothers had for many years operated a successful engineering business centred on Vittorio Veneto, in Treviso. When Del Favero arrived in New Zealand in 1967 he brought with him many men from northern Italy with long experience of hard rock tunnelling. Some had worked for him for years. Even in 1982 there were one or two older Italians in Turangi who had spent all their working lives, upwards of 30 years, with Codelfa. Men from Treviso and especially Vittorio Veneto formed a large proportion of the 1982 workforce.

The suggestion that contracts should be let to foreign companies had been opposed by the Federation of Labour and protracted negotiations delayed the commencement of the Italian contract. FOL protest at foreign workers was two pronged. One argument was that the Italians would be cheap indentured labour liable to exploitation (and able to undercut local labour), and the other was that to employ foreigners represented a direct threat to the livelihood of New Zealanders by taking jobs that should have gone to them [1]. FOL agreed to accept Italian workers on certain conditions which were reported in The Auckland Star of 23 March 1966: the company must first advertise in New Zealand before bringing in limited numbers of

Italians if necessary, but preference at all times was to be given to New Zealand workers. New Zealand conditions and standards of accommodation were to be complied with. The rates of pay were to be negotiated between the contractor and the unions and injury compensations to be in line with New Zealand compensation law. The Evening Post (25 March 1966) reported that "the Italians" had accepted the conditions.

It was not only in FOL that there was anxiety about the importing of Italian workers. Time (24 June 1966) had reported concern in Italy that 400 skilled tunnelling staff about to leave for New Zealand would probably never return to Italy. This was presumably seen as a disadvantage to the Italian labour force. (In fact only 185 Italians were employed on the first contract.)

However, problems between the government, FOL and Codelfa Cogefar persisted and The New Zealand Herald (24 April 1966) reported the withdrawal of FOL from the agreement because of what they considered government interference. The deadlock persisted for five months. The Wairarapa Times Age (26 April 1966) described it as a "contest for power". Neither the government nor FOL was prepared to change their stand, and by August the contract was still not let. By the end of September agreement had been reached to resume pay talks and on 2 November 1966 The New Zealand Herald reported that parties had agreed to basic conditions. The contract was signed early in 1967, though as late as July FOL was still uneasy about the use of foreign labour and the potential loss of jobs to New Zealanders.

This was countered by government statements that jobs would be created by the use of foreign labour.

By July 1967 the main Italian camp, Wanganui, was almost complete. The Daily News (27 July 1967) reported that a dozen people, including a family of four, were in residence. The Auckland Star (25 August 1967) reported that 38 Italian workers began work that week at the Wanganui site of the Tongariro project, setting up the portal for the outflow of the ten mile tunnel scheme (Western Diversion).

The Italian workers knew little or nothing of the opposition to their presence. Perhaps there is some similarity between them and the British riggers employed at Marsden Point in 1983. The riggers had no idea they were the centre of controversy over foreign labour (Gooding, 1983). At the time Italians had little perception of themselves in the context of New Zealand as a whole, but saw themselves as people with short term contracts who would do the job and then leave. The company expected to stay in New Zealand for a maximum of four years.

In 1982 there was no talk by unions of cheap labour or threats to the jobs of New Zealanders from the 50 or so Italians who remained. All had New Zealand residence status, and had worked alongside New Zealand workers for years. That is not to say that there was always complete trust and acceptance between Italian and New Zealander. Some aspects of these relationships will be discussed

at a later point in this chapter.

While not exactly a company town [2] Turangi could be said to be a single industry town and a construction town. Common to such towns is the dominance of one employer. Since work on the TPD began Turangi has been dominated by MOW. Codelfa Cogefar was responsible for specific contracts on the TPD under overall MOW supervision. While the company worked closely with MOW and was subject to daily MOW inspection, the relationship of Codelfa Cogefar workers was directly to the company.

Codelfa Cogefar was an Italian company working in New Zealand for the first time. In the early years the employees were almost all Italians. As such they were even more reliant on the company than New Zealanders were on MOW, as their very presence in New Zealand was directly dependent on the company. Under immigration regulations they were permitted only to work for Codelfa Cogefar. Initial entry to New Zealand was on a six month temporary entry permit later extended to 18 months and thereafter renewable at two yearly intervals. Later the company negotiated an agreement with the Immigration Department that, after two years, and on satisfactory completion of a contract, employees would be eligible to apply for permanent residence. The first contracts were single status: there was no provision for families. Some men were later transferred to Codelfa Construction which was set up as a separate company by Codelfa Cogefar to undertake other construction contracts in New Zealand.

The company supplied housing, medical attention, some recreational facilities, and Italian food and wine for the workers. While Turangi may not have been a company town, the Italian workers were bound to the company as if in a company town, where the control of employment, housing and services by a single employer affords an exceptional opportunity for the control of labour. In addition, such was the physical and linguistic isolation of the camp in the early days that the company was in effect almost a total institution [3]. Then the extra long working hours placed further restrictions on the men. When they finished work they ate at the company canteen before returning to company accommodation.

In a situation where the employee depends on the employer for security, housing and to some extent food and social life, the company exerts considerable influence on the employee. Of even greater significance was reliance on the company for repatriation, an important expectation of the contract worker. The company becomes much more significant to the family of the employee, because the family has abdicated from certain aspects of autonomy and allowed the company to take over some responsibilities. One woman expressed her annoyance about the fact that she was told about travel arrangements to Italy by the travel agent. The family at that time had not been informed of a leaving date. The same family were involved in an argument with the company, known as the "the office", over furniture in the home which belonged to the family, but which was claimed as belonging to the company.

A frequent response to this kind of dependence is ambivalence. Chapple (1973:131) found this expressed at Kaingaroa, and Whitelaw (1961:74) at Kawerau. Freedom from certain responsibilities and the resulting security is enjoyed, yet from time to time there is annoyance and frustration at restrictions. Much as people liked to think of themselves as independent there was little doubt that many had become institutionalised. The love-hate relationship that many felt for the company was often expressed as ambivalence, "I could go to-morrow if I want to," said one man in Turangi, but he didn't, even though there was no redundancy money at stake. The same man had also told the manager, "I'm working for you, I don't belong to you". In a later report on Kawerau, James (1979:28) discusses similar aspects of ambivalence and in addition noted that some people felt they were "captives" of the company.

Many feelings of ambivalence were felt by Codelfa Cogefar employees and their families. There were added problems, not found in other studies of single industry towns in New Zealand, such as repatriation, associated with the fact of a foreign company workforce. Often resentments were felt more by women than men, especially New Zealand women, who did not accept company policy as sanguinely as their husbands. In 1982 some of the women had been taking direct action, often on repatriation matters, by "going to the office". Reactions among other women to this kind of action were mixed. One woman said that wives had to go to the office to fight some of their battles because the men would often back down - "they seem to have some sense of loyalty to the company - goodness knows

why". But another woman said that going to the office like that caused trouble. Although the trouble was not specified she implied that such actions could make the situation more, rather than less, difficult.

In the early years in New Zealand Codelfa Cogefar was run very much as a family business. Management was paternalistic in style and the influence of the company extended beyond the work situation into other areas of the employees' lives. This is not unusual even in bureaucratically organised companies, and is described by Chapple (1973), Whitelaw (1961), and James (1979) with reference to single industry towns where housing and services are company dominated. However, at Codelfa Cogefar the difference was the dominating personality of the owner/chief executive of the company, Alessandro Del Favero. He regarded the workers as "his" men. Indeed many of the workers felt themselves to be his men, having joined the company when young in Vittorio Veneto. A strong tie was established between Del Favero and many of his workers, especially those who worked at the tunnel face. The strong paternal element in management engendered a tie that was almost that of the patron/client, based on personal loyalty, obligation and the unequal exchange of goods and services [4].

There are many contributory factors to Del Favero's success in operating in what might be considered this rather archaic manner. There was the charisma of the man himself [5]. This charisma extended beyond the work situation into the community. Although

retired now, he still spends some months of every year in Turangi, and is considered by many as the "uncrowned king of Turangi", as one person put it. His generosity to the Catholic Church and the golf club is particularly evident.

Any management is more able to exert considerable social control over a workforce when it is an enclave in a foreign country. New Zealand did seem very alien and a little hostile to many Italians when they arrived. Where better to turn than to the management of the company for security? The company provided everything, and the men and their families became "my people" to Del Favero. He was interested in the affairs of all of them and as I was told by one long time employee:

"Yes, a dictator, autocratic certainly, and to a degree there was this element [social control] in it. Not so much imposing a control, not an oppressive control, but father knows best."

The New Zealand wife of an employee said, "Del Favero treated us like people, not like the workers' wives." On another occasion the same woman said, "He was on the side of the workers." She added that he knew all the men and his "wife was not poofy either", implying that she did not distance herself from the workers and their wives.

The same kind of relationship existed between other senior personnel and the men. A construction superintendent in the early years was described, on site, as "Mr God". An employee of the

company recalled, "No one touched any of his boys. They were 'my boys'. He would lie on a stack of Bibles to protect anyone of them from outside attack and then, if necessary, he would kick them to death - but he did it. These are mine. There was nothing he would [not] do - if they were going to get married they would go and tell him first. They could hate him, they could want to kill him and never at any time was there any deviation from a total love and absolute respect for him."

The Italians would not have known or considered any relationship other than the paternalism of the earlier years. They were strangers in a strange country and the attitude of the general population was anything but friendly. FOL hostility has been mentioned and is recorded in the press of the time. Opposition to Italians was further expressed by the media with suggestions that Italians might bring foot and mouth disease into the country (Daily Post 15 October 1966) [6]. When forays were made by the Italian workers into the world beyond, liaisons were frequently mediated by the company through, for example, the use of company-provided medical services and company translators.

The Italians were perceived as "the Italians" by the people of Turangi. Nationality became the first point of identity, again probably reinforcing a sense of loyalty to the company, also Italian. Despite the initial suspicions the Italians soon became noted for their hard work, generally putting in longer hours than New Zealand workers on the TPD. Their record breaking achievements became a

source of local pride. Turangi residents talk with affection of the "hole through" parties, when the two ends of a tunnel were linked with the final breakthrough, and of Santa Barbara (patron saint of tunnellers) parties on December 4th, when Del Favero would be at the centre of festivities.

A lack of, or minimal, union involvement in the early years allowed, to some extent, for the continuation of some of the company's paternal practices. This allowed for gestures of generosity such as personal loans, loans for houses, and in one case the presentation of several thousand dollars to a man who would otherwise have returned to Italy with no money, thanks to his wife's profligacy and penchant for riding by taxi from Waiouru to Turangi. But by the same token instant dismissal was also possible. Immediate repatriation to Italy was the solution to the problem of recalcitrant workers, whether the misdemeanour was committed on or off site. Such displeasure could also extend to wives employed as domestic servants. At any one time one or two wives would be employed by management as domestic servants. I was told that on one occasion a woman was summarily dismissed and sent back to Italy. Her husband was not in New Zealand at the time, but working on a Codelfa Construction contract in Australia [7]. Without union support, and in a strange country, there was no alternative to the one way ticket. It must also be added that a foreign company, particularly with the kind of profile of Codelfa Cogefar, would be likely to make strenuous efforts to avoid troublesome situations.

That such a paternalistic relationship was accepted suggests that Italian workers perceived it in positive terms, or at least those who remained did. Such a relationship allows for personal advancement and favour in a way that is not admitted by the impartiality of a more ideal type bureaucracy. It is also probable that there were no other choices available in the early years. Mention should also be made of cultural expectations. Patron/client relationships have been institutionalised in the past, particularly in southern Italy, though such ties have weakened considerably since World War Two. Zuckerman (1977:65-66) suggests that while scholarly consensus argues that the north is an industrialised society, significantly different from the rural south, none the less there are strong similarities throughout Italy with regard to general norms and behaviour concerning social cohesion, competition and authority. He argues that differences in Italy do not neatly follow patterns of industrialisation.

It might be that the transportation of a whole workforce to a foreign country reinforced traditional social elements in the face of differences of language, culture and social organisation. However, as "traditional" elements are not uncommon in industrial societies, this point should not be over emphasised.

A long time employee spoke of the family spirit in the company in the early years, when it was still a family concern and almost all the workers were Italian and most from the Veneto region. That feeling weakened with the entry of Italians from other areas and with

the employment of more and more New Zealanders.

Internal and external changes over the years have had a profound effect on the company. As far as company management is concerned, the greatest change came with the retirement of Del Favero in 1979. In 1972 his Codelfa company bought out all the Cogefar interests in New Zealand and in 1979 a Milan investment company, Generalfin, bought out the 50% shareholding of the Del Favero brothers. With the retirement of Del Favero went the final vestiges of the old paternalism and family feeling, already diminishing as Italians moved out into Turangi and as some married New Zealand women. In addition, Contract Four was limited to New Zealand residents, though only about 50% of the workforce were New Zealand citizens, the remainder being Italians with permanent resident status.

Since the takeover by Generalfin, the company has been run by the present general manager on more bureaucratic lines. The change of management style has been painful for many. While in the past there had often been resentment of paternalism there was for many an equal resentment of what was considered the cold, and some said dishonest, approach of the new manager. In the process of bureaucratisation the bond that had been built on paternalism between manager and worker was destroyed. Without a modifying human element the positive aspects of bureaucracy, such as impartiality, were subsumed by the impersonal, or distorted. Where so much had previously rested on personality perhaps any change would have been problematic. Not all employees were unhappy with the change. One

employee's wife (Robyn) referring to Del Favero, said "though I don't think things were any better for the workers with him". She said she thought people were "more equal" under the present management. Another wife, speaking of the manager, said, "[he] may be rotten, but he's rotten to everybody, Del Favero used to have favourites."

The research deliberately excluded investigation of management/employee relations, as this was not a central concern of the thesis, although the consequences of the relationships were often central to the lives of the employees. This fact was made very clear in informal conversations and by observation and is examined when relevant. In particular two aspects of company influence require more detailed examination: housing and camp life.

Initially, almost all staff and workers were housed in the camps, which were situated near the worksites. Codelfa's policy was to keep employees close to the job. This differed from MOW policy, which was to house workers in Turangi and to transport them to the worksite. I was told that the policy of housing people at the site was followed because it was thought that as the Italians did not speak English they should be kept together so they would have people to talk to. It was denied that it was a conscious means of social control, though the effect was to isolate the Italians, to extend company influence into the home and to reinforce the fact that the company provided all.

In all the company has operated six camps on the TPD: three on Contract One (Wanganui, Tawhitikuri and Whakapapa), two on Contract Three (Moawhango and Tongariro), and one on Contract Four (Rangipo). At one time five camps were operating simultaneously. By 1982 memories were hazy of actual numbers involved, but it was thought that Wanganui was the largest with perhaps over 80 men employed, some with wives and families. Forty to fifty school age children travelled by bus to Turangi schools each day from the three camps on the Western Diversion. There was never any serious suggestion that the company should provide education and the school became the chief agent for the socialisation of Italian children into New Zealand culture.

During an interview a long serving senior staff executive said, that in retrospect he considered the establishment of the camps a mistake, because they were in effect Italian villages, where lives were lived in a totally Italian context. There was no integration with the local New Zealand community. However, he added that it was necessary for some people to live at the site, for example, those whose jobs required that they be on call 24 hours.

Camp accommodation consisted of single and married quarters and the company provided a cookhouse where meals were available for men as they came off shift. Free wine was also provided. The cookhouse became a focal point and an important social centre on each site. This meant that families did not even provide a setting for a major social activity, that of eating. The cookhouse had been central to

the lives of many men. There they could be assured of good Italian food, wine, conversation in Italian and companionship. The cookhouse had been a source of contention for some wives. They had strong feelings about the place, sometimes regarding it almost as they would another woman as a rival for attention. Some complained that their husbands had stayed too long at the cookhouse, had "forgotten to come home". I was told that some men had come home drunk at three to four o'clock in the morning having come off shift at midnight, gone to the cookhouse, had a meal and then been drinking, perhaps playing cards before returning to Turangi. The cookhouse closed early in 1982.

In the early days there were regular showings of films, obtained through the Italian embassy. These were superseded by video cassettes. Other activities included Sunday football, bowls and clay pigeon shooting. English classes received reasonable patronage. Italian newspapers and magazines were supplied. But on the whole it was a difficult life and working hours were long:

"Oh camp life was not good. Boring, horrible, not very nice camps, not doing nothing for the people too, not much for the children, nothing, nothing for the children. People stay here [there] because it is convenient, not necessary travelling in the morning...no privacy or anything" (Italian man, Enzo, 1982).

Many of those who had lived in the camp said they found it depressing: "far away down in a hole with mountains all round, dangerous, with tunnels and rivers and nowhere for children to play" (Italian woman describing Moawhango camp, 1982). For the men the camp was a place to work and sleep.

Womens' activities at the camp were confined mainly to the home, though they did go to the cookhouse sometimes. At Rangipo camp company activities that were family orientated took place in the Taverna, a cosy place built by the men and resembling places they might have known in Italy. Some women commented on the boredom and frustration of camp life: "I've lived ten years in the camps and I've done nothing for myself". Others complained of isolation and that there was nothing for children to do in the camp (Rangipo). Some women commented on the loneliness of the camp and others on the gossip:

"It wasn't really private in the camp. Say you have a conversation and you don't mean to gossip - well someone else turns it into gossip...if you bring a new dress and then someone sees it and they try to get one better than that, the same as the furniture and that, too much competition."

One woman told me she did not like camp life, "Too much in each other's pockets". She said there were too many arguments and everyone knew each other's business. Despite gossip and loneliness the camps were also places where some women forged strong friendships. Often the close friend in Turangi had been a former camp neighbour.

The job status of the men tended to affect friendships. Women commented more frequently on social distinctions than men did. One woman thought there was a gulf between office and manual workers and explained it as, "I think its the way they've come from Italy". Another woman (Robyn) said, "It used to irritate me, it doesn't

irritate Francesco as much as it does me, because to me I feel as well educated and on the same level as they are, but they obviously feel differently". Although there was mixing, women did not forget the job status of their husbands. Sometimes there was confusion, a woman who gave a small tea party said, "I wanted to ask Maria, but I remembered they're staff, but my husband and Maria's husband play golf together". But she was not sure whether the golf relationship extended beyond the golf course. A New Zealand wife of a tunneller laughed when she told how a new arrival from Italy, wife of a staff member, had been chided for mixing too much with the wrong people, i.e. tunnellers' wives.

Towards the end of the first contract, 1971-72, people had begun to move into town and the industrial store had been moved from the Wanganui site to Turangi. The children were the main catalyst for moving to town because it was easier for them to get to school and attend the full range of extra curricular activities. The choice of moving to town was partly personal and partly a company decision. The company bought and installed prefabricated houses which were rent free. One or two employees bought houses in Turangi. By 1982 many of the company houses had been sold, some prematurely, so that there was some irritation among people who were having to make short term moves, after several years in the same house.

After the movement of employees to town there were always some who for various reasons (e.g., through choice or because of the nature of their work) remained in the camps. Some people preferred

living in the camp because they could save more money. Electricity was free, the men were more inclined to make use of the cookhouse, and the temptations to spend money in Turangi were lessened. In early 1982 the vestiges of only one TPD camp remained, at Rangipo, south of Turangi. Then only fourteen families lived there, plus three or four single men. The place looked neglected and got worse as the year went on. Houses were removed, leaving concrete piles, broken glass, and the tired remnants of gardens. There was also a camp at the Wheo construction site. This camp had no family accommodation, though married men lived there during the week.

THE COMMUNITY [8]

The transformation of Turangi

The TPD differed in several respects from previous Waikato hydro-schemes. Turangi, the site selected for settlement, while isolated from some services and larger centres, is situated on State Highway 1, midway between Wellington and Auckland. There was already considerable settlement in the Central North Island area. Before the Second World War many people in the area were involved in timber working. One long time resident estimated that there were twenty mills in the area in the late 1930's. After the decline of the mills local Maoris, the Tuwharetoa, began to develop the land under the provisions of the Native Land Act, which made available for the first time official funds for the development of land owned or occupied by

Maoris (Metge, 1952:109). Land development alleviated some of the effects of the Depression.

Although census reports indicate no decline in the Maori population, there has been a great increase in the European population, with the resulting decline in the Maori percentage. For example, in 1926 for every 100 Pakehas in Taupo County there were between 100 and 150 Maoris. By 1951 there were between 40 to 60 (Metge, 1952:116-7).

In an area of limited employment possibilities the opportunities of the TPD were welcomed. People were also attracted from much further afield, such as men who had worked at Manapouri and on previous Waikato schemes.

Turangi was the first hydro town in New Zealand to be designed and built as a permanent extension to an existing small settlement. Previously, Turangi had been mainly a trout fishing settlement close to the famous trout pools of the Tongariro River. The trout fishing attracted anglers from all over the world. In 1961 the area known as Turangi township had a population of 489, which included 224 Maoris, while the Turangi vicinity had a population of 23, including 15 Maoris. With the establishment of Turangi as the main centre of population for the TPD, the nearby settlement of Tokaanu, once the main service centre for the southern end of Lake Taupo, was eclipsed.

Not suprisingly, some of the residents of Turangi feared the influx of outsiders brought in with the TPD development and the effects that such a population would have on the settlement. Most concern was about how the human habitat would be modified. There was also concern that the TPD would modify or even destroy the fishing habitats. One long time resident said that "old" residents resented the fact that MOW people and employees thought they had brought all the amenities to Turangi.

To facilitate the harmonious integration of the existing settlement and the new hydro town a liaison committee was established involving MOW and Taupo County Council. The liaison committee was proposed in June 1964. Special legislation was required to implement the proposal, the Turangi Township Act, passed 4 December 1964. The act provided for the administration of the township of Turangi during the construction of the TPD. The Taupo County Council and MOW were authorised to enter into arrangements necessary for the development or administration of the township.

Four stages of liaison between the county and MOW were anticipated: planning, construction, takeover of township services by the county and withdrawal by MOW when the construction work was completed (Gardenier, 1975:5). The takeover, commenced in 1968, was only partial, and included maintenance of essential services: water, sewerage, storm water, reserves and street maintenance, including rubbish collection. The running of social facilities like community halls and sports grounds remained the responsibility of the Crown.

Social facilities in Turangi were administered by the Tongariro Welfare Association on behalf of the Crown. The Welfare Association has been a feature of North Island hydro towns (Hasman, undated; Gardenier, undated) and similar organisations exist in other single industry towns (James, 1979). This association was an umbrella organisation for local groups, each of which paid a fee for the use of facilities. The users also administered the facilities. Although the Welfare Association was essentially a product of the one industry town, it did not attempt a takeover of the existing local community. Many non-hydro personnel were involved with the committee.

The phenomenal growth of Turangi is clearly allied to the construction boom which brought hundreds of people to the area. In 1966 the population of Turangi stood at 1,554. By 1971 it had increased by 378% to 5,840, its highest to date. By 1976 it had fallen slightly (6%) to 5,496 and in 1981 remained approximately at this figure (5,517). The dramatic growth between 1966-71 took place in the years when construction work began and reached its peak.

After the 1971 Census it was predicted by the Town and Country Planning Division of MOW that the population would drop to 2,000 in 1976 and remain at 2,000 through until 1991 (Fraser, 1973:21). However, construction on the Rangipo project ensured that the population did not fall as predicted. It is now expected that the population will fall with the completion of the Rangipo projects and the withdrawal of the construction workforce.

The age structure of Turangi is unrepresentative of New Zealand as a whole as is shown by the 1981 Census figures. In broad general terms, New Zealand has an ageing population, but not so Turangi, where younger age groups are over represented, while those over 65 are hardly represented at all. Even the casual observer can notice more children around the streets of Turangi than in most centres. However, while unrepresentative of New Zealand as a whole, the population structure of Turangi is similar to that of other one industry towns in New Zealand (Campbell, 1957; Chapple, 1976; James, 1979; Hasman, undated).

Turangi has a high proportion of Maori residents. These include local Maoris of the Tuwharetoa tribe and Maoris of other tribes who are part of the construction workforce. The 1981 Census shows that just over 50% of the population of Turangi was of Maori descent while approximately 10% of the country as a whole is Maori. The cosmopolitan nature of the population is illustrated by the figures for birthplaces of Turangi residents. Although the overwhelming number were New Zealand born, 531 were born outside New Zealand, including 96 born in Continental Europe. Unfortunately no further breakdown of this figure is available. Of the remaining foreign born residents, 288 were born in the United Kingdom or Ireland, 63 in Australia, 30 in Pacific Islands, and the remainder elsewhere.

The dominance of the construction industry is evidenced by the labour figures in the 1981 Census. Of a total of 1,689 male workers, 1,113 (66%) were listed under the construction section. That most

workers lived in accommodation provided by their employer is also illustrated by the census returns. In 1981 out of a total of 1,323 dwellings in Turangi, 741 were rented from the employer, while a further 51 dwellings were provided rent free with the job. In 627 of these cases rent was under \$10 per week, a nominal payment.

For a town that was barely begun 17 years ago Turangi looks well established. MOW took great care in planning the environment. Access to the nucleated shopping centre is facilitated by walkways which cut down on distance and make for safe movement for adults and children. Each section was originally planted with three trees, and although some of these have been razed to make "nice tidy sections," others have been planted.

MOW provided a gymnasium and contributed towards a swimming pool. These were administered by the Welfare Committee. The gymnasium was sold to Taupo County Council. Turangi has a maternity hospital, but no other hospital facilities. Victims of tunnel accidents, for example, would receive emergency treatment in the tunnel or on the site where there was a resident nurse and first aid assistance, but if hospitalisation was required would be sent to Taumarunui.

The shopping centre is modest but provides all the essentials. Some people shop in Taupo if they are looking for a greater range of items, perhaps clothing for example, but long working hours for many of the men have left little time for family trips beyond Turangi.

Some people complained of a 'take it or leave it' attitude among some of the shopkeepers. With a captive market and little competition, this is not surprising. Similar complaints were expressed at Kawerau (James, 1979). It was pointed out by a Turangi resident that there had been some early difficulties before Italians understood that bargaining was not a way of life in New Zealand. However, the enterprise of one supermarket should be mentioned. The manager employed a young Italian woman (bilingual) in the delicatessen and made special efforts to satisfy the requirements of Italian customers. Even in 1982 with few Italians in Turangi, the supermarket had a much more international range of items than would be found in other small towns. Close by the shopping centre is a large hotel, one of the churches, a swimming pool, police station, library, garages and the TAB.

Three primary schools feed the local Tongariro High School. There is a kindergarten, a play centre, and plenty of opportunities for sports. Arts and crafts are well catered for but there is little chance for children to learn musical instruments.

There are restaurants in Turangi and Tokaanu, but the nearest cinema is in Taupo. Some adults complain there is little to do in Turangi except to go to the pub. A survey conducted in Turangi in 1972 (Mitcalf, 1973) revealed a similar dissatisfaction, showing that despite more than 60 clubs in the town and district many adults (24%) of a sample did not belong to any club. In 1982 only one Italian belonged to a number of clubs and only a few belonged to one.

Mitcalf concluded that many of the problems of Turangi could be summed up as boredom. While this could perhaps be a rather superficial conclusion, many Italians in 1982 complained that there was nothing to do in Turangi. Italians compared the social life of the streets and cafes in Italian towns and found Turangi sadly wanting. Many of them found the quiet Sunday hard to come to terms with, especially as it was their one day off in the week: "You look round on Sundays, there's nothing, nowhere to go, any case if you are going anywhere you've got to create your own entertainment" (Italian man, 1982). The same man also said of Italy: "From 5pm on Saturday (after work) until Monday morning you have entertainment - you just put your feet outside the door. Here [in New Zealand] the pub". But, he added, in a rather backhanded way, that the life of entertainment got rather boring and had it been the same in New Zealand he would never have saved a penny.

Although not on the main trunk railway line Turangi is well served by long distance buses. I did not interview any person without private transport, though in the early days the social lives of many Italians were circumscribed by lack of transport and the fact that they lived in rather remote camps and worked long hours.

Old and new Turangi

Despite the careful planning of an integrated town, tensions remain between "old" and "new" Turangi. The terms old and new were

used as time and spatial reference by people in their conversations. One elderly man, resident in Turangi for 45 years, complained that some "locals" felt they had been cut out of 15 years of community life. By "locals" he meant those residents of Turangi who had lived there before the TPD. Some local people felt they had been dominated by people who had come from other schemes and who voted each other on to committees. There was some resentment that shopping facilities were in the nucleated centre in New Turangi and only two or three shops remain in River Road, "they want everything in the town centre. No one is allowed to open anything except in the town centre".

It was suggested by one local that there was always an undercurrent of tension between locals and new comers. Fears were expressed that the welfare facilities provided by the Crown would be too expensive for the local population to support. However, the person who expressed most resentment admitted that the MOW project engineer had done a great deal for the community. Such ambivalence is not surprising. For this person and for others too, the inflow of people with the power scheme had made an impact on their lives. Some had perhaps seen it as a threat to their perceived homogeneous community. For others it presented new opportunities.

Physically, old and new Turangi are separated by State Highway 1. Old Turangi lies along the old state highway close to the river. Many of the houses were originally fishing cottages which have been extended. Some houses have been bought by, or are rented for, people associated with the scheme, usually staff employees. Some people in

new Turangi refer to the River Road area as "the snob area of Turangi," or "over there".

Reaction to Italians in Turangi

Mention has already been made of the paternalistic attitude of the company management in the early days, together with the notion that apart from anything else, this attitude served to protect the employees from the hostility of New Zealanders. One person, commenting on newspaper reports of disease threats, Mafia connections and FOL opposition, added, "...there was this sort of thing and it's a fact that New Zealanders generally share these attitudes. Individually, they will welcome you into their homes. Collectively, they don't want a bar of you - go back where you came from". There were many stereotypes, most of them negative, abounding about Italians prior to their arrival. In addition, it was rumoured that 12,000 people (Italians) would be coming for four years. In Turangi itself, there was a certain amount of unease when the Italians arrived. One informant told me that people had been frightened of the effect of Italians on Turangi, fearing that they would have to lock up their daughters and that bottom pinching was to be expected. There was a certain withdrawal by local people in the face of the Italians. Almost all who remember the early years of the Italians in Turangi comment on the wine in the school lunch boxes. However, the realisation that wine in school lunch boxes was not a cultural norm in New Zealand, and the introduction of cordial, led to the early

abandonment of the practice.

There were points of friction in the early years. Not suprisingly men did look for entertainment outside the camp. The main focus for entertainment was the pub. A woman who had been 19 at the time told me that in 1968 there were lots of Italians at the pub. "Italians gave us the creeps. There were lots of single men. They came in from the camp and pinched our bottoms in the pub. They are older and more responsible now. The rough ones were sent back."

In 1982 few people cared to talk about those times, and the fact that there had been arguments and fights between Italian and New Zealand men, often about women. Despite the complaint about bottom pinching, there were also young women who found that Italians treated them in a more respectful way than New Zealand men. The spot was pointed out to me where one woman with her mother had ambushed another in an argument over an Italian man. The man himself had been beaten up. The couple now live in Turangi in respectable matrimony with three children.

That such attitudes have changed over the years is perhaps evidence that prejudice can be at least weakened by knowledge. But distrust was only broken down gradually - Italian and New Zealander did mix at work, especially in later years. Although the camps were isolated there was never any attempt to provide education for Italian children, other than in New Zealand schools so children were the first to venture into New Zealand society. Italian language classes

in the early years aroused interest in the community and provided a point of contact and communication. The company management supported these activities, anxious to change negative attitudes towards Italians. Yet Italians never really became part of the community. Any input tended to be a group activity, the Italian act, rather than as integrated members of the community. After the housing policy changed, and some Italians moved to Turangi, they had more opportunity to take part in activities in Turangi.

Marriage to a New Zealander did not necessarily become an entree into New Zealand society. Unless the New Zealand wife had immediate family and old friends in the area, they tended to mix with other such wives, forming mixed marriage networks, thus closing the circle rather than opening it.

Italians lived mostly on the periphery of Turangi life. Many of them had little leisure time as they worked extremely long hours. Bonacich (1973:585) points out that the "future time orientation" of sojourners is manifested in long hours of work and emphasis on saving - working to save, not to spend. For many there was little orientation to New Zealand and hence to local activities. Even years later when working hours were shorter, few Italians belonged to clubs or interest groups in Turangi. The one attempt to operate an Italian club, the Fa-far (1968-69) met with local antagonism. Membership was limited to Italian families and New Zealand women, though effectively it was composed of single Italian men and New Zealand women.

By 1982 the image of bottom pinching Italians had long faded, just as the image of Turangi as a raw construction town had also diminished. Most of the Italians were men in their 30's; a few a little younger, a few a little older. Most were family men and their presence in Turangi was so unobtrusive as to hardly cause comment. The influence of the company in the form of the former manager was evident in the fine Catholic church, which had benefitted considerably from Italian generosity, as too had the local golf club. The excellence of the Italian restaurant in Turangi (owned by an ex-Codelfa employee) was known as far away as Wellington and Auckland and was a source of local pride.

In 1982 there was little reaction to Italians buying businesses in the town - a dairy, takeaway bar, coffee lounge, fish and chip shop. However, later in the year when an Italian installed a Space Invader machine in his shop, an Italian woman told me she felt very resentful about it and would be prepared to sign a petition against it. She said that Italians were only interested in making money. Possibly for her the action of that Italian undermined the respectability of Italians in Turangi. Presumably making money was also the prime concern of New Zealand shopkeepers, but the woman and other people in Turangi had perceptions of what were acceptable and unacceptable ways for shopkeepers to present themselves. Such an example also emphasises the invidious position of the migrant - acceptability only in certain circumstances. If migrants overtly adopt all the behaviour of the host community they are likely to be open to criticism. The host community will set higher standards for

the incomers and any failing is likely to be attributed to cultural differences. This is perhaps an indication of the uneasy ground frequently occupied by migrants.

Turangi 1982

At the beginning of 1982 Turangi was in decline as a construction town. Contract Four was due for completion by the end of the year, and questions abounded about what the future would hold for Turangi after the departure of "Uncle MOW" (Ministry of Works). Added to the uncertainty about the place was the even greater uncertainty about the people, both Codelfa and MOW employees. The announcement that the government intended to disband the MOW workforce that had engaged on large scale hydro projects for many years spelled the end of a way of life for many workers and their families. "People know they will be going but hope it won't be tomorrow" (Turangi woman, 1982).

Houses were already vacant at the beginning of the year and by the end more had become vacant or had been transported to other places. Despite the lay off of workers as the construction work was run down, there was little visible evidence, apart from some empty houses, of large numbers of people leaving Turangi. Some people had bought the houses they had formerly rented from MOW. Other houses had been sold to people from outside Turangi, some as holiday homes. It was also suggested that if a person was going to be unemployed he

may as well be unemployed in Turangi as anywhere else. Some sought employment in the area. For those who did leave there were some opportunities in private construction, and Australia appeared to be a favourite destination for those trying their luck.

Towards the end of 1982, as more workers became redundant, it was announced that one of the three primary schools, Pihanga, would close at the end of the year because of its falling roll. This suggests that although in appearance Turangi does not look like a place where the population is declining, it may in fact be doing that as active members of the workforce move out with their families.

Despite the various projections over the years the future of Turangi is still uncertain. Tourism is seen as the major source of income for Turangi but in the post construction era little tourist development has actually taken place. While forestry is seen as important there will be no processing plants in the area, as this would pollute Lake Taupo. There was vague talk of army maintenance work in the MOW workshops and there were plans to utilise Maori land for agriculture. A group called 'Turangi 10,000 Association' looked towards a stable population of 10,000 and to this end promoted the town.

THE FAMILY

The other important element in the daily lives of most Italians in Turangi was the family. Some would have said it was the most important. "The family is everything", commented one Italian man (Paolo). But the family does not exist in isolation from the company and the community, despite the commonly held belief that the family is a haven and a private world. Family life for the Italians and their families was structured by the company.

While each family is different, certain broad generalizations can be made about family life among Italians in Turangi which highlight the importance of the family and its centrality where decision making is concerned. It is not the purpose here to focus on individual families or to analyse or discuss family life in detail. Attention will be centred upon those areas which are particularly significant for decision making.

The family of marriage and the extended family

In 1982 most of the Italians working for Codelfa were married men. For these people family was the family of marriage, consisting of husband, wife and children. In this study references to family will refer to this form unless otherwise stated. While the family of marriage was constantly significant the importance of the family of

birth or the extended family should not be underrated. For the men the extended family was in Italy. Often men who had spent years in New Zealand would say what they missed most in New Zealand was their family in Italy. "Well now, apart from my family who are all there [In Italy] I don't miss anything." Ageing parents were a concern for some, because they needed special care or because there was a fear they would soon die. For Italian women the extended family was also in Italy. Seven of the ten Italians or Yugoslavs married to women from their home country came from the same province as their wives, with the result that family ties were to the same area.

For New Zealand women married to Italians the extended family was in New Zealand. Only one New Zealand woman married to an Italian was born in Turangi (though I did meet another Turangi woman whose Italian husband did not wish to be interviewed). Many of the other New Zealand women came from central North Island towns, Taumarunui, Raetihi, Taupo, Tokoroa, Mangakino. Several of these had been living with their parents in Turangi before their marriages. Three women had been born at Mangakino and had come with their parents when they moved to Turangi with MOW. Five of the men interviewed had met and married their New Zealand wives while working in Auckland. For some men and women the pull of the family of birth could be very important in long term considerations. A New Zealand woman (Judith) said, "Mum's not looking forward to me going to Italy". Even in Turangi Judith missed her mother. But for others contact with kin was of little consequence. Another woman who was hoping her husband would get a job in Australia said, "I don't get on particularly well with

my family in Auckland". An Italian woman who planned to stay in New Zealand said she would not miss her sister who would be leaving, "As we are not very close to tell the truth".

It should also be remembered that while Italians thought of the family as their family of marriage when they were in Turangi they may have had a different perception of family in Italy. They may also have expected the family to fulfill different functions from those expected by New Zealanders and their families, such as providing friendship and assistance. When, as one Italian man said, "The family is everything", it may have quite a different meaning from that given it by a New Zealander.

In her study of Italians in Australia Thompson (1980:190) isolated two important characteristics of Italian families. Firstly, Italian families accommodate elderly relatives. Secondly, the clear differentiation is made between male and female roles. She adds that there are "modern" Italian families in large cities who place elderly relatives in institutions and that there are substantial differences between family customs in north and south Italy. Even if these two characteristics are modified by residence in New Zealand they may still account for differences between Italian and New Zealand perceptions of the family.

Of the 36 Italian and Yugoslav employees interviewed in 1982, all but three were married. The only Italian woman employee, the camp nurse, was married to an Italian tunneller. Twenty three

Italian men were married to New Zealand women and nine Italian or Yugoslav men were married to women from their home country. The men married to New Zealand women, with one exception, had arrived in New Zealand as single men in their teens or twenties. Two came specifically to marry their New Zealand fiancées. The others were also of the age where they were probably consciously or unconsciously seeking a marriage partner. One Italian man suggested that some of them had married to get out of camp life loneliness and to escape from the impersonal work environment. The loneliness and boredom of camp life has already been mentioned in this chapter.

The men married to Italian or Yugoslav women were on average slightly older than the men married to New Zealanders. Five of those interviewed were already married when they came to New Zealand. The other four had come to New Zealand as single men and returned to Italy or Yugoslavia to marry the fiancées they had left behind. Subsequently they returned to New Zealand together.

For most of the families where husband and wife were both Italian there was an orientation towards Italy. Italian was spoken in the home, food preparation was in the Italian manner, though with some concessions to local New Zealand products. One Italian woman commented on the freshness of produce in New Zealand. "The meat is very tender. In Italy you go to the butcher and you pay for veal but it may be one old cow." "I will miss fish and chips", moaned an Italian teenager, thinking of her impending return to Italy.

It was only in the homes where both parents were Italian that there were truly bilingual children. Children who had grown up in New Zealand speaking Italian at home and English at school were more familiar with New Zealand than Italy. One ten year old, Keri, returned to Italy in 1983, her name a permanent reminder of her New Zealand birth.

Frequently Italian children formed a bridge for their parents between Italian and New Zealand society. Often this involved acting as interpreters for their parents, for example with school teachers. Teenage Italian children were often apprehensive about returning to Italy, which they knew less of than New Zealand. There were sometimes conflicting commitments in these homes. Young Italians who have grown up in New Zealand can inhabit a world that their parents find much more difficult to enter. Linguistically and culturally Italian teenagers can be at home in New Zealand as their parents never can, to the extent that a young Italian man could say in 1982, "I don't know where I belong," meaning he could fit easily into Italian or New Zealand society. The separation of parents and children can be quite alarming as it was for some parents in Turangi. I was reminded of an English woman married to a Dane and living in Denmark. She agonised over the fact that she saw her own children "growing up foreigners". A commitment to remaining in New Zealand was obvious in one young woman who remained in New Zealand when her parents returned to Italy in 1983.

Italian wives generally had a much better command of English than their husbands. They were more likely to interact socially with New Zealand women than their husbands were with New Zealand men as they had such opportunities during the day. Even though 50% of the workers on Contract Four were New Zealanders it was still possible for Italians to interact mainly with Italians in the work situation. My first meeting with two Italian women was at a badminton session they attended with New Zealand women, also wives of Codelfa employees. Italian women also claimed to have learned English from watching television, from shopping and from their children. One woman had learned in rather exceptional circumstances as she had spent long periods in New Zealand hospitals.

In most cases the Italian men with least command of English were those married to Italian women. With no need to speak English at home and with long working hours where it was possible for interaction to be almost exclusively with other Italians, motivation to learn English was not necessarily very high. There were exceptions. Two Yugoslav couples I interviewed spoke excellent English having learned English and Italian since arriving in New Zealand. Both women had studied to School Certificate level by correspondence. That kind of application was unusual but more understandable among those who were already a minority in the incoming group. In addition the Yugoslavs I met in Turangi were all hoping to go to Australia rather than return to Yugoslavia and considered a good knowledge of English instrumental to acceptance in Australia.

For most Italian men marriage to a New Zealander involved at least some shift in orientation from Italy to New Zealand. For some the shift was greater than for others. For nearly all it involved the daily use of English in the home. Only two or three of the New Zealand women claimed to have any fluency in Italian, though most said they had managed on visits to Italy. They explained that they had been able to do shopping and have simple conversations with their in-laws. The children of Italian/New Zealand families spoke English all the time, though they found it easy enough to learn Italian when they spent a holiday in Italy. In 1982 of the 23 Italian/New Zealand families interviewed only five had not been to Italy since marriage. Several New Zealand women had been to Italy twice and two, three times.

An Italian woman told me that she thought it difficult "to marry someone of another race". She thought the best chances of success in the future were for those marriages where New Zealand women had "Italianised" themselves or Italian men had "become Kiwis". This point is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. To some extent the Italian man who became a Kiwi cut himself off from other Italian men. By virtue of that act his family became more significant than his past and his fellow workers.

Some of the New Zealand women thought that marriage had changed their husbands. Normally the change was perceived by the women as

for the better almost as if, "I've knocked him into shape". By this they usually meant that he was no longer what they considered to be the Italian male stereotype, demanding subservience from women, unwilling to help in the home, expecting his wife always to be there. While a lot of New Zealand women held such stereotypes of Italian men, they all, except one, thought their own husbands were different.

One New Zealand woman felt that her loneliness and isolation were attributable to her marriage to an Italian. Her husband did not like her to "wander", as she put it. Perhaps he fitted the stereotype of male dominance within the family. She only seemed to know her neighbour and as she did not drive she was physically isolated in the camp with two pre-school children.

Perhaps Italian men were not vastly different from New Zealand men but New Zealand women expected to find differences that they could point to as Italian. One woman described an Italian man who, on seeing another Italian man get up to do the dishes told him to sit down because it was not his work. She then explained that her husband was not like that. A New Zealand woman said she didn't think of her husband as a stereotyped Italian - he was helpful with the children and he did not go out drinking on his own. She could have just as easily been speaking of a New Zealand man. Pub culture and male mateship in sport and leisure is typical of New Zealand society too (Phillips, 1980). It was difficult to locate substantial differences between Italian men and New Zealand men. Even the argument that many Italian men were conservative, from remote

mountain villages, had little persuasion in Turangi in 1982 though it could perhaps have had relevance to some of the Italian men who worked on the TPD in the early years. It is possible that those Italians who were perceived as very conservative and different from New Zealanders were those who had returned to Italy. The memories of such differences tend to linger in Turangi, emphasis on difference rather than similarity perhaps unconsciously appealing more.

It must also be remembered that those Italians remaining in Turangi in 1982 could not be considered as representative of Italians as a whole or of all the Italians who had worked on the TPD. As has already been suggested, many of the attitudes of Italian men probably were modified by their stay in New Zealand and marriage to New Zealand women. Thompson (1980:195) discusses the "Australianisation" of Italian families. Such a family was one where the roles of the sexes were less clearly differentiated; where husbands did not go off with male companions leaving the wife to look after the children; where the family went out together and where wives participated in areas previously the preserve of husbands, such as decision making. An Italian man ten years in New Zealand and seven years married to a New Zealand woman commented on differences between Italy and New Zealand. He said that for those who marry a Kiwi it is a different life. "My wife come half my way, I come half her way. Italians say, 'Ooh look! [referring to when they go out together].' When we want to go out no problem. Italians say 'Ooh look, going out!' You know all this jealousy because Italian women, the wife, supposed to stay home. But it's not fair. If the man goes out does the wife have to

stay at home?"

The effect of the work situation on the family

All the families suffered to some extent from the dislocation caused by shift work. However by 1982 there were only two shifts operating at Rangipo. The night shift had been discontinued as the work ran down. Those working at the Wheo site for Codelfa Construction were absent from their families during the week, returning at the weekend usually for a day and a half, sometimes more. Without the constraints of work and school the wives of some of those men, who had only pre-school children, had rather unstructured lives.

Tunnellers always worked eight hour shifts, but for outside workers the hours were always longer, 10 to 12 hours plus overtime. Some men had in the past worked 60 and more hours per week. In addition there had been periods when men were working seven days a week. By 1982 the long hours had been reduced but even so men working in the Codelfa stores at Turangi often saw little of their younger children, leaving for work before they were up and returning when they were in bed. Some of the women with young children explained that they kept their children up late so that they would have the opportunity to be with their fathers.

Although shift work can be said to cause certain dislocations in family life, most of the families I talked to in 1982 had over the years organised their lives around the shift system. Fitting in with shifts, though not actually enjoyed, was accepted as a way of life. Many of the women had known no other married life except that oriented to the shift. One woman said how much work had affected them when they were first married, "...worked seven days a week for the first six years". With a working day of 11 hours there was not much free time. "I just compare it with my family because my sisters have always their husbands home on the weekend. When we lived in Auckland my family noticed it, 'Enrico's always working, why don't you just come around', but we couldn't because he was always at work. It was like work came first." In addition, apart from shifts, there were the irregularities that go with being on call for such people as the master mechanics, and the demands of overtime work.

Long hours were a way of life for most of the Codelfa employees. For some there was a desire to see an end to such a way of life. This had some bearing on the kinds of decisions they were contemplating, "I'll never go down a tunnel again". Most wanted to take life a little easier after they left Turangi.

Hours were still long in 1982 but the strenuous work of the tunnel face was long finished. Sunday was a day off and was usually reserved for family activities, such as picnics, visiting friends and sometimes sports. The isolation of Turangi and the distance from other centres tended to limit day trips. Three of the men

interviewed belonged to the Gun Club which met on Sundays. The wives also participated and there was a place for children to play at the club.

As family life was often restricted by the long working hours women had more time to spend in the company of other women. Many of the wives of Italians were friendly with each other, some of the friendships being particularly strong. Those in friendship networks would look after each other's children and be generally supportive. Conversation often revolved around company activities, company policy, other employees and their families and what had happened to former employees. If a husband left Codelfa the women would give a wives only party for the departing wife. At weekends the networks would expand and couples would perhaps join each other for dinner at a restaurant or in each other's homes.

Not everyone belonged to such networks. Some women were quite careful about not mixing with other "company" people. One woman said she preferred to make contacts with people other than the wives of Italians. Some men too felt they had seen enough of their work mates during working hours and did not want to extend the relationship socially. One New Zealand woman talked of her friendship with another woman but explained that the husbands were not that friendly even though they came from the same village in Italy. Few of the men had close friendships with other men though most claimed good relationships with their work mates.

Women with parents and other family members in Turangi were less dependent on friendship networks. Mothers were nearby to help with children and visiting and being visited by parents was often a weekend activity. But there were few of these families. One new mother was very anxious about her baby and often referred to Mum in Auckland whose presence she would have appreciated.

There were few Italian women in Turangi in 1982. Most of those who were left had seen many friends come and go over the years. "Mrs A always used to come at 10 o'clock and have a cup of tea", said one Italian woman rather sadly as Mrs A had recently left and the two had been friends for 12 years or more. "Cuppatea" tended to symbolise New Zealand for some Italians, "always cuppatea, cuppatea here". Another woman said it was very lonely at the camp as only three Italian women remained. She spoke little English and thus her isolation was intensified.

All the families interviewed considered the family of prime importance where decision making was concerned. While there was no doubt that family life was frequently organised around the interests of the company that was the natural order to many. But some resented the time spent away from their families, especially if they were away during the week. One man said he would never again accept that separation whatever the job. He described his weekly homecoming, "When I come home I love it, the best moment of my life".

One Italian/New Zealand couple with three children said they did not mind where they went to after the project ended, the most important consideration was the family. "As long as we are together we can manage as long as we've got work. As long as the children are coming home to a warm home - as long as we are together."

...

Though each area, company, community and family has been discussed separately they cannot be considered as discrete areas. Each is a vital component of a whole within which the Italians lived their lives in Turangi. The company dominated the life of all the employees to a greater or lesser extent. The company was the original commitment in New Zealand. Some still felt almost as strong a commitment to the company as to themselves and their family. While Italians had remained dependent on the company they had also established links with the local community and become committed in a variety of ways. Italian children had become committed to New Zealand culturally and linguistically, a commitment which was manifested in divided loyalties. Italian couples too had commitments to New Zealand, often to a way of life that they found pleasant. For a few those commitments were reason enough to stay. The most important commitment for some was a New Zealand wife. Indeed a family was a commitment that most Italian men had taken on since arriving in New Zealand. The ramifications of the marriage commitment often extended to children and to the wife's parents. Having got such commitments decision making became more complex. The

development of commitments will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMITMENT

This chapter is concerned with the examination of how Italians in Turangi developed new commitments in New Zealand, how old commitments in Italy were redefined or weakened and how both influenced their decision making.

Most Italians arrived in Turangi with commitments to their job contracts in New Zealand but with few other commitments in this country. They left behind commitments in Italy to family and friends, perhaps to property and jobs. Some brought commitment with them in the form of family. Over the years commitments have built up in New Zealand, some consciously and others not. For many the chief commitment in New Zealand is to a New Zealand wife. With the termination of contracts, people were forced to come to terms with their commitments, to make decisions about the future.

Some of the Italians living in Turangi in 1982 had made a clear decision to return to Italy, stay in New Zealand or go elsewhere.

However in the early part of the year many were undecided about the future. The problem of conflicting commitments was manifested as people struggled to reach decisions.

The material presented here is drawn from the information collected in the initial survey conducted in 1982 (see appendices 1 and 3). The survey questions were related to commitment and thus to decision making. They constituted a general enquiry into: knowledge of English; family background; education and skills; length of time in New Zealand; previous experience outside Italy; property ownership and future intentions. Each area of inquiry gave some insight into the types of commitment that had developed and how these might influence decision making.

Knowledge of English

Few of the Italians or Yugoslavs spoke English when they arrived in New Zealand. The relative isolation of Italians in the early years, extremely long working hours (ten or eleven hours a day, seven days a week for some) and almost 100% Italian participation in Contract One (see Chapter 2), were all probably disincentives to learning English. Although I have no evidence on this point, it is likely that many of those who returned to Italy after a short time or after one contract, had learned little English.

Table 1: Marital status and knowledge of English

		Married		Single	Totals
		To Italian or Yugoslav	To New Zealander		
Level of English	A little	3	2	0	5
	Reasonable	5	10	0	15
	Fluent	2	11	3	16
Totals		10	23	3	36

Source: Survey, 1982

The knowledge of spoken English of the respondents was categorised into, a little, reasonably good, and fluent. This assessment was based on a combination of the respondents' self perception and of my perception of that knowledge. In some instances modesty allowed a person to underrate ability. The conversational ability of those who spoke a little English was limited to simple expressions and ideas. Often there was considerably more understanding of English than was indicated by spoken ability. Those who spoke English reasonably well could converse well in English but within a limited range of vocabulary. Sometimes this led to problems of expression on more abstract topics. The fluent English speakers had no difficulty conversing in English. Facilitating interaction beyond Italians or Yugoslavs the learning of English allows for wider choices to be made with regard to qualifications, jobs and social and other activities. From such choices commitments to New Zealand may develop.

Of the 36 Italian and Yugoslav men interviewed, five spoke only a little English (see Table 1). For them there had been little commitment to learn English. This lack of linguistic commitment could be expected of sojourners. However this does not necessarily indicate a lack of commitment to New Zealand. Two of the men were considerably older than the average, one in his late sixties and the other in his late fifties. Both were married to Italian women who spoke English reasonably well. The wife of one was the camp nurse and her work brought her into much closer contact with New Zealanders and hence English, than her husband, who was a tunneller. The couple

are childless and in 1982 they had lived in New Zealand for fifteen years, all the time in camps. They had returned to Italy only once in that time. They already owned a house in Italy when they came to New Zealand. They have also built a house in Turangi and were "99% certain" they would retire in Turangi after a holiday in Italy.

The other older man by contrast was one of the few employees who had always lived in Turangi. By 1982 he had been 50 years in the employ of the Del Favero family and had been like a personal retainer to him. The man and his wife expected to go to Italy but had no long term plans.

The other three men who spoke little English were all in their late thirties. At the time of the survey all planned to return to Italy, though one did not commit himself to long term plans. One was married to an Italian woman and the family lived at the camp. At one stage they had lived in Turangi for a year. His job as master mechanic made him liable to be called to work at any time. The other two men were both married to New Zealand women, though as one of the women was Italian-speaking, Italian was the language of the home and there was little need to interact with other New Zealanders. The other man was married to a woman who spoke little Italian.

Fifteen of the Codelfa employees interviewed spoke English reasonably well. This included the only Italian woman employed by Codelfa, the camp nurse. She had spent all the years in New Zealand living in camps and when not actually on duty, she was on call. Her

job, particularly in later years, involved interaction with English-speaking employees and medical personnel. Her husband was a tunneller working long hours and almost their whole lives revolved around company activities.

Another member of this category was a Yugoslav who, together with his wife, and like other Yugoslavs, had learned both Italian and English since arriving in New Zealand. For Yugoslavs the learning of English was a definite measure of their commitment to the present and future. They hoped that their good knowledge would help them to gain entry to Australia.

Three others who spoke English reasonably well were married to Italians. Two were older than the average, one in his mid-forties, 11 years in New Zealand, the other over 50 and 13 years in New Zealand. Both intended to return to Italy where they had property. One had a new home, never occupied, waiting for the family. For both these men the object of their toil in New Zealand had been their commitments in Italy.

The third Italian in this category was unrepresentative of Italians as a whole. He and his family had made a clear decision to stay in New Zealand for access to medical facilities and social services required by the wife. In 1982 he was diffident about future job prospects because of what he considered to be his lack of English and formal New Zealand qualifications. Commitment to a family member in need of specialised medical attention prevented a return to Italy.

Ten others who were married to New Zealanders spoke English reasonably well. One man expected to return to Italy but did not mind "picking up" another contract on the way. Two said they hoped to go to Australia. Five were undecided and three said they would go to Italy but with no long term plans. One said he would have a holiday in Italy, look around, explore job prospects and probably return to New Zealand. This was seen as a means of deferring decision making. The problem of conflicting commitments was expressed in such comments as, "We'd like to keep one foot there and one foot here" and "We'd like to stay both sides".

While knowledge of English was not necessarily a measure of commitment to New Zealand, of those 16 men who spoke English fluently, 11 were married to New Zealand women and 4 of those families intended at the time of the survey to stay in New Zealand. Five were undecided and two others were likely to return after a holiday in Italy. All 11 fluent English-speakers married to New Zealanders had made not only a linguistic commitment but had become committed to New Zealand through marriage (see Table 1). Nine of these men married to New Zealand women had come to New Zealand young and single, one only 18, the others between 22 and 26. In 1982 they had lived in New Zealand between seven and fifteen years. Why had these young men consciously or unconsciously made the commitment to learn English? The incentive to learn English was probably fairly strong because it would make interaction outside the camp much easier. (Reference was made to the boredom of camp life in Chapter 2.) Having married a New Zealander the main focus of commitment was

in New Zealand. As DeAmicis (1976:142) noted in his study:

"New commitments made through marriage and children often pressure migrants into revision of original intentions to return to America."

Like the Americans in Australia that DeAmicis wrote of, Italians in Turangi revised their intentions. Once having married a New Zealander there were often as good reasons for staying in New Zealand as returning to Italy.

Learning English is taking a side bet in Becker's terms. Side bets may be small but added to other factors, such as availability of work and housing, they may be important in the realignment of commitment. A Yugoslav couple, both fluent English-speakers (learned in New Zealand), returned to Yugoslavia "for good" in 1981. After six months they decided to return to New Zealand. Perhaps they had placed another side bet when they left a lot of luggage in New Zealand on their return to Yugoslavia in 1981.

Another Italian also married to an Italian had seen the job in New Zealand as an opportunity to learn English in order to further his career. He was a staff member and an engineer who expected to return to Italy but to take future contracts overseas where he estimated his knowledge of English would be invaluable. His wife had also learned English since arriving in New Zealand.

Table 2: Knowledge of English and future intentions

		Future intentions					Totals	
		Italy firm	Italy keep options open	New Zealand firm	New Zealand probably, holiday in Italy first	Undecided		Other
Knowledge of English	A little	2	2	0	1	0	0	5
	Reasonable	3	3	1	1	5	2	15
	Fluent	1	0	4	3	8	0	16
Totals		6	5	5	5	13	2	36

Source: Survey, 1982

The remaining three fluent English-speakers were all single men and children of employees or former employees of Codelfa. They were much more familiar with New Zealand than Italy. One had come when two or three years old and had only once returned to Italy when he was ten. One thought he would stay in New Zealand, the other two were undecided.

As they all said they were quite at home in New Zealand, "I'm used to the slow life in Turangi," (though he liked a more lively weekend in Mount Maunganui) they may think particularly carefully about returning to Italy. They would all be eligible for military service in Italy, up to the age of 28, a prospect they did not find very inviting. I was to learn from talking to other men that more than one had avoided military service by coming to New Zealand and by staying. Such a requirement of citizenship may have been a strong motivation for some to leave Italy and to remain in New Zealand.

While facility in English is not necessarily a pre-requisite for commitment to staying in New Zealand, those who intended to stay were more likely to be fluent in English. Those people had often extended their commitments in New Zealand with marriage and children. There was in most cases a relationship between fluency in English and staying in New Zealand (see Table 2). A lack of English could create daily problems for those thinking of remaining in New Zealand. Some recognised there could be difficulties getting jobs without English. This was apart from the problems of trying to convert Italian qualifications into recognised New Zealand certificates. By learning

the language, Italians were opening up the possibility of commitment to staying in New Zealand. Even for fluent speakers the frustrations of written English could be formidable.

Table 2 indicates a clear relationship between linguistic ability and future intentions. Most of those who spoke only a little English perceived their futures as oriented towards Italy. Of the fluent English speakers only one had definite plans to return to Italy. He was a staff member who had specifically learned English to further his career. Those who are not quite so secure in English incline more towards Italy than the fluent speakers. While fluency in English may allow a man more options and possibilities for commitment it did not necessarily make decision making any easier. But lack of English did not necessarily preclude a commitment to staying in New Zealand.

Family background

Inquiry into family background concentrated mainly on the present and on the family of marriage, as this was a major influence on commitment. But I also wanted a more complete picture of the Italian employees. Questions about place of birth revealed that nearly 50% (17) of those interviewed were born in the northern province of Treviso and of the Trevisani, five were born in Vittorio Veneto, the town where the Del Favero brothers had started their business. Most of the others came from neighbouring provinces. Only

three came from Central Italy. Two came from Yugoslavia.

In the early years of the project most of the men had also come from Treviso. But there had been times, when the workforce was much larger, when there had been many more employees from other parts of Italy. One person, explaining why there had been so much trouble in a particular camp, put the blame on "trouble making southerners" but explained that things were alright after they had gone. This may have been a question of scapegoating. For many north Italians the south starts not too far from home. The prejudices of north Italy towards the south are carried overseas.

For some, aged parents in Italy were a consideration in future plans (see also Chapter 2). One of the older employees was concerned to return to Italy to see his 91 year old mother. Another said whatever he did he would have to go and see his widowed mother in Italy first. After she died in late 1982 he told me that he was free to decide as he wished.

Concern was sometimes expressed that grandparents in Italy had not seen grandchildren. Some were worried that their children could not communicate with the grandparents. One man had paid for his parents to have a holiday in New Zealand. As they had two sons working for Codelfa and both married to New Zealanders it was a special holiday.

However, those in the study indicated that the main responsibility was to the family of marriage. Thirty three out of the 36 interviewed were married. Eight were married to Italians, 23 to New Zealanders and 2 to Yugoslavs. The most recent marriage to a New Zealander had been in 1980, others had been married to New Zealanders for up to 11 years.

Newspaper reports, including the Listener article of 1981 (by Kidman), stressed that Italians had married Maori women and implied that most New Zealand marriages had been with Maori women. The survey revealed that of the 23 marriages to New Zealanders ten were to Maoris and 13 to Pakehas. That represents a higher ratio of Maoris than in the national population but since the ratio of Maoris in Turangi is much higher than the national average such figures are not surprising.

Some people I talked with thought that Maoris got on better with Italians than Pakehas and cited what they saw as cultural similarities. From my own observations I did not find any observable differences in the relationships between Italian and Maori and Italian and Pakeha. One man asserted, "Maoris get on better in Italy because the family structure is similar," but another thought that, "Maoris do not get on as well in Italy because they miss their families."

In most cases ethnic differences had no major effects on decision making and neither did religion. Distance was more of a problem than

Table 3: Marital status and future intentions

		Future intentions					Total	
		Italy firm	Italy keep future open	New Zealand firm	New Zealand probably holiday in Italy first	Undecided		Other
Married to	Italian or Yugoslav	4	1	1	2	2	0	10
	New Zealander	2	4	4	2	9	2	23
Single		0	0	0	1	2	0	3
Totals		6	5	5	5	13	2	36

Source: Survey, 1982

culture or religion. Questions were asked about the importance of religion in their lives. There were some who attended church regularly and found religion important but most said the church was of little significance to them. Huber (1977:188) found that the constraints exercised by the church in Italy were loosened in Sydney. This may be similar in New Zealand. However on returning to Italy some may find religion more important to them. One Italian/New Zealand couple observed that while the church would be probably more important in their lives in Italy, it was not too important in New Zealand. Within families I interviewed no problems were created by religious differences.

For most of the Italians married to New Zealanders marriage represented some form of commitment to this country. It meant at least that they were not entirely free to return to Italy, and at the most that they would decide to stay in New Zealand. Table 3 demonstrates the relationship between marital status and future intentions. Four men married to New Zealanders had firmly committed themselves to staying in New Zealand. Those married to Italians were likely to be thinking of returning to Italy. Writing of American men in Australia DeAmicis observed, "...men find the acquisition of a spouse carries with it entry into networks of in-laws, friendships and even employment. Their circumstances have changed" (DeAmicis, 1976:142).

In 1982, while some decisions had been made, many were undecided about the future or had no long term plans. Not only was there a New

Zealand wife to consider there were also the consequences of their marriages - children, which led to an even more drastic reappraisal of options and orientations. The future well-being of the children was important to parents. They often tried to make almost impossible comparisons between Italy and New Zealand as if to weigh them and come up with the best value. Comparisons were made especially with regard to education. Some parents thought Italian education, generally seen as more formal, was better than New Zealand education. "In Italy in five years at school you learn as much as in eight in New Zealand. What I see here is a 15 year old girl at school who knows nothing." Others disliked what they saw as the rigidity of Italian education. The problem was deciding what was best.

Education and skills

There appears to be little relationship between formal education and trade skills and commitment to staying in New Zealand. Most of the former Codelfa employees who have remained in New Zealand have set up their own businesses, frequently in some area of catering, for example, restaurants and takeaway bars. The company never placed much emphasis on formal education and qualifications, preferring proven ability and experience on the job. An Italian employee did not expect to produce trade certificates as proof of capability but his record book of work experience.

Twenty six of the people interviewed had qualifications of some kind. Ten said they had no qualifications. Nine people had only five years' education, the minimum in Italy, though some of these had had an additional three years' technical education. One or two emphasised the fact that family circumstances had obliged them to leave school to work. One man said his family was unable to afford any training for him.

By working for Codelfa a man could expect to get a variety of work experiences, driving a loader outside one day, cementing in the tunnel on another day - or even cooking. Although each man had a specific job and specialisation he was expected to be able to turn his hand to many aspects of the work. Questions of job demarcation were unheard of and as all workers belonged to the New Zealand Workers' Union there were no demarcation disputes. One man said, "I am a tradesman - I can do anything" and quoted 11 year's experience on five Codelfa sites in New Zealand.

Two of the single men had had New Zealand apprenticeships, one with MOW and the other with Codelfa. The latter man had been the only apprentice ever taken on by Codelfa in New Zealand and had won the Apprentice of the Year Award. While the training of these men suited them admirably for work in New Zealand they too could possibly face problems of recognition of their skills in Italy.

Some men had qualified for New Zealand tickets but written tests were generally considered an obstacle. In 1981-82 the management had

had requests from men seeking recognition in New Zealand for their Italian qualifications. By seeking this recognition they were allowing themselves the possibility of commitment to New Zealand. Becker would call these side bets, it could also be seen as covering all the options.

A lack of formal qualifications did not mean a lack of commitment to New Zealand or a necessary orientation to Italy. Only two of the unqualified men expected to return to Italy. Three expected to stay in New Zealand and one of these expected to retire so qualifications were no problem. The others were atypical cases, both spoke excellent English, one of them having been in New Zealand for 30 years and recruited in New Zealand by Codelfa. The other also had previous work experience in New Zealand and was recruited here. The others who had decided to stay in New Zealand were all well qualified.

Reasons for coming to New Zealand

As well as focusing on the decision making process in 1982 the question of motivation for coming to New Zealand in the first instance was examined. If reference is made to the simple statement about motivation made in Chapter 1, that people move because they cannot get what they want where they are, then it is a truism to say that everyone had a good reason for coming to New Zealand. However two points should be especially remembered, original decisions may

have long since been rationalised in some way, perhaps to justify subsequent actions; and the reasons why people come are not necessarily the reasons why they stay, and perhaps become committed to staying in New Zealand.

The reasons that people gave for coming to New Zealand fell into three broad areas, economic; adventure (change, curiosity) and sent by the company. A small number cited a variety of other reasons. For some there was no single motive. The contract nature of their employment at least implied return to Italy.

Nine of the people interviewed said they came for the money. One man said that when he came as an 18 year old in 1969 his salary was five times as much as in Italy. He was careful to point out that it was not such a good job now and that he had been offered more in Italy (than he was earning in New Zealand) in 1980. But he also added that when he first arrived in New Zealand he had worked 14 hours a day and that he and his father worked on TPD to pay off family debts, Between them they saved nearly \$10,000 in 20 months. Another said that he came in 1968 for three times his salary in Italy.

When asked why she and her husband had come to New Zealand one woman replied, "For money to build a beautiful house in Italy. All Italians came for that". The same woman told me that whatever people told me, they had all come for the money. Obviously many did come for the money to build a beautiful house in Italy and had gone back

to do just that. I was shown photos of houses that people were going back to. But money was not a sufficient reason for staying in New Zealand and for becoming committed to New Zealand. Only one of the people who said they had originally come for the money had come after 1971. There seemed to be general agreement that the money was not especially attractive in 1982.

By a reorientation of commitment a 'target' worker may become a settler. There may not necessarily be a revision of orientation to work. But continuing stability of work may be necessary in order to support commitments taken on in New Zealand.

There was also perhaps a reluctance on the part of some to admit that they came for money. These men usually emphasised that they did not come for money, suggesting that money did not concern them, or that they could have earned as much in Italy or elsewhere, or that they were not so easily 'bought'. One man who gave adventure/change as his main reason for coming was on a later occasion explaining how convenient it was to live in the camp. Even if the weather was bad it was still easy to get to work. "You don't lose any day off. You know all of us came here for money. If you don't know where to go, you can work on Sunday too...just walk down and that's it, go to work."

Twelve of those surveyed said that they came to New Zealand for adventure, change or curiosity. Men tended to use the three words interchangeably. Those who gave adventure as a motivation for coming

to New Zealand had usually been young at the time of their arrival. They had no ties or responsibilities of any importance in Italy, therefore only weak commitments to remain in Italy. There was nothing to lose in Italy, there might be something to gain in New Zealand but it did not matter too much anyway.

One or two people had no idea where New Zealand was, one such man said he had just finished in the army and wanted to see the world and although he had a two year contract he only expected to stay a couple of months. That was 12 years ago, now he has a New Zealand wife and two children.

If migration is viewed as a decision based on a carefully worked out cost/benefit analysis it is probably hard to believe that people move on the strength of a friend saying, "Let's go to New Zealand", as one man told me. While there is probably more to the decision than that, it is possible for young men to make decisions like that: "I was working in New Caledonia and I thought I'd come for a look. My friend said come and work on the bridge (Tamaki). I had a one year contract."

This kind of reason does not fit well with orthodox migration theory but it is the kind of open-ended commitment DeAmicis recognized among some Americans in Australia. While economic motivation may not have been the prime concern for these people they knew they would not be worse off than staying at home. Most of those who gave change as the reason for coming were young and single at the

Table 4: Reasons for coming to
New Zealand and marital status

		Married		Single	Totals
		To Italian or Yugoslav	To New Zealander		
Reasons for coming to New Zealand	Economic (money)	2	7	0	9
	Adventure change curiosity	2	10	0	12
	Sent by company	3	3	0	6
	Other	3	3	3	9
Totals		10	23	3	36

Source: Survey, 1982

time of their arrival. With no responsibilities they would not necessarily consider remuneration very seriously. Morrison and Wheeler (1976:12) suggest that for some people novelty itself "may be as alluring as economic opportunities".

Eleven of the 12 who gave adventure or change as the reason for coming to New Zealand were single when they came and ranged in age at the time of arrival from 22 years to 31. Ten of these men have since married New Zealand women (see Table 4). One returned to Italy to marry after two years and returned with his wife. The only other person giving change as a reason was 43 when he came and already married with no children. His wife subsequently joined him and was employed as the camp nurse.

Those who gave adventure or change as their reason for coming to New Zealand probably had the weakest commitment to Italy and were the most open to forming new commitments elsewhere. While not necessarily intending to become committed to New Zealand they had few long term goals in mind and were free to move on again or stay. Those who stayed did take on a series of commitments, marriage being the most important.

Six men gave as their main reason for coming the fact that they were sent by the company. Presumably they would have had the option of refusing to come, but for some, given the nature of the relationship between workers and management described in Chapter 1, a refusal would probably have been unlikely. The category included a

man who had worked for 50 years in the company and another who was the first worker on the site in 1967. One man asked to come to New Zealand by the company had looked on the move as a good opportunity to learn English. He considered that facility in English would improve future overseas job prospects.

Some men who gave other reasons for coming, change for example, said that they had been working for Codelfa in Italy and that the company asked them to come. Possibly on their own initiative those men might not have sought a change of job but the opportunity for cha.

There were a variety of other reasons for coming to New Zealand. The three single men interviewed had had no choice, they had come as children with their parents. Two were still living in the parental home and the parents of the third had returned to Italy. The comment by one of these young men was, "I haven't a clue where I belong". This was not a cry of despair but a comment on his bi-cultural upbringing. Such a comment only becomes a cry of despair when the person is forced to make a choice.

Two men had come to New Zealand because they married New Zealand women. Both had been recruited by the company in New Zealand. There the similarities ended. One spoke excellent English and saw his future as being in New Zealand. The other had not really intended to stay in New Zealand at all but by taking the job he had made some

Table 5: Reasons for coming to
New Zealand and future intentions - mid 1982

		Future intentions						Totals
		Italy firm	Italy keeping future options open	New Zealand firm	New Zealand probably, holiday in Italy first	Undecided	Other	
Reasons for coming to New Zealand	Economic (money)	1	1	3	1	2	1	9
	Adventure change curiosity	2	1	0	2	6	1	12
	Sent by company	2	3	0	0	1	0	6
	Other	1	0	2	2	4	0	9
Totals		6	5	5	5	13	2	36

Source: Survey, 1982

small commitment to New Zealand and pleased his wife. He was fortunate that his wife was Italian speaking. His intention was to return to Italy at the end of his contract. By marriage to New Zealand women these men already had more potential commitment to New Zealand than others.

Two Yugoslavs had come to New Zealand because relatives had asked them to join them. One came straight to the company to join his brother-in-law. The other came as a teenager and worked on a King Country farm before getting a job with Codelfa two years later through a friend from his home town.

One older man had reached New Zealand via Australia. He had emigrated to Australia as a young man and worked there as a coal miner. He had joined a company that had sent him to Auckland where he had stayed and subsequently married a New Zealander. Some of the other reasons for coming to New Zealand could also have been considered economic.

There was little relationship between the original reasons that people gave for coming to New Zealand and their future intentions (see Table 5). Three of the nine who originally came to New Zealand for money had decided to stay. Yet there was general agreement that there had been a decline in rates of pay relative to Italy and to overall New Zealand wages. It may be significant that the category with the highest number who were undecided about the future (six) was the one where adventure/change was given as the original reason for

coming. It was suggested that these people had a weak commitment to Italy. Did they also have a weak commitment to New Zealand? Were they still more flexible than others and still ambivalent?

Length of time in New Zealand

If any generalisation can be made about length of stay in New Zealand it must be that the longer you stay the more likely you are to stay even longer. Shaw (1975:121) calls this an "inertia effect" and Wolpert (1965:162) talks of "place utility". While both are useful descriptive phrases I prefer the concept of commitment because it offers an explanation. As daily life in New Zealand becomes more salient more commitments of one kind or another are made. However not all who remain for a long period make commitments to New Zealand. They retain a stronger commitment to Italy, perhaps even resisting commitment to New Zealand.

Few of the men expected to stay as long in New Zealand as they had stayed. One man (Luigi), on calculating how long he had been here said, "Eleven years [there was a thoughtful pause],...Eleven years is a long time, but it only seems like yesterday." Twelve of the men interviewed said that they expected to stay two years in New Zealand, the period of the contract, though some said they did not expect to stay more than a few months despite the contract. Others said they had a two year contract but did not really think about it.

One man said he had a one year contract on the bridge in Auckland and thought he would stay a few months. He probably had more commitments in New Zealand than anyone else I interviewed. He had married a New Zealander and they had two children. Together they owned a house in Turangi; a thoroughbred horse; bred pedigree puppies; kept rabbits and had an aviary in the garden. Despite this, at the beginning of 1982 he felt a strong commitment to his widowed mother in Italy and was undecided about the future.

Six said they thought they would stay less than the contract time, perhaps a few months. These six were all men who just gave change as their reason for coming to New Zealand. This perhaps suggests that in the quest for change they could have easily moved on again had they felt inclined, as indeed had scores of other Italians who worked on the TPD. They had in fact stayed in New Zealand for between 5 and 12 years and all had married New Zealand women. One man told me that he was about to leave after three months but decided to "try it for a bit longer". He told me later that he arrived in New Zealand in November and, on New Year's Eve, met the woman he subsequently married.

A further six men said they had no idea how long they would stay when they first came. Three of these men gave change as their reason for coming; one, money; one, sent by the company and one, other reasons. Four of these were young men who later married New Zealand women, one was already married and the other went back to Yugoslavia to marry his fiancée and returned with her to New Zealand. Like the

men who thought they would only stay a few months these men had come with open-ended commitments, and had gradually built up more commitments in New Zealand.

Eight men thought they would stay between two and four years. Two of these gave money as their reason for coming and two of the four have built themselves houses in Italy with money remitted from New Zealand, as has another who gave change as a reason for coming. It is likely that at least some of the people in this category had specific objectives in mind when they came to New Zealand, objectives that originally had been contained in a time frame. The original objectives for some had been achieved, the houses in Italy were waiting to be brought to life by their owners. Why had these people not returned to Italy when others in their situation had done? Perhaps they were committed to the job. Perhaps they had become committed to a way of life. Perhaps it was easier to stay there than to make the decision to go, despite the property. Siu observes (1952:35), "In due time the sojourner becomes vague and uncertain about the termination of his sojourn because of the fact that he has already made some adjustments to his new environment..."

Only one person said he intended to stay put indefinitely when he came. He had already made some commitment to New Zealand by marrying a New Zealander. In contrast, the son of an Italian couple said his parents, "didn't intend to stay as long as they have done" - a sentiment that would have been echoed by many.

Whatever the original expectations all but two had stayed longer. At the time of the survey nearly half (17) of the employees interviewed had been 13 or more years in New Zealand. Another 17 had been between 5 and 12 years in New Zealand, one had had two different periods totalling seven years and one had been two years with the company.

During the year it became clear that one of the main problems of decision making concerned the conflict of commitments. People were committed to Italy and they were committed to New Zealand. While they remained with the company choices were not necessary. They could almost ignore the conflict. Probably some of them never even recognized it. Company employees were assured of return trips to Italy. One or two had not returned since arriving in New Zealand but most had been on one or more occasion. Two men had been on five occasions. Most of the New Zealand wives had been to Italy at least once, two had been three times. With such continual movement commitment to one place was not necessarily static or rigid.

Experience outside Italy

More than half (19) of the men interviewed had previously worked outside Italy and 17 had never done so. For 15 of those who had worked abroad the way out of Italy had been the traditional migration route north. Nine had worked in Switzerland, seven in Germany, five in France and one in Belgium. Some men had worked in more than one

Table 6: Work experience outside Italy prior to coming to New Zealand and marital status

		Prior work experience		Totals
		Outside Italy	Not outside Italy	
Marital Status	Married to Italian or Yugoslav	3	7	10
	Married to New Zealander	16	7	23
	Single	0	3	3
Totals		19	17	36

Source: Survey, 1982

Table 7: Work experience outside Italy prior to coming to New Zealand and reasons for coming to New Zealand

		Reasons for coming to New Zealand				Totals
		Economic (money)	Adventure change	Sent by Company	Other	
Prior work experience	Outside Italy	4	9	4	2	19
	Not outside Italy	5	3	2	7	17
Totals		9	12	6	9	36

Source: Survey, 1982

of these countries. The skills of Italian tunnellers are valued in Alpine Europe and some of them had been engaged in tunnelling. Not all had been engaged in the kind of work they were employed on in New Zealand. One man had followed another notable Italian occupation, icecream making, in Germany.

Some of these men had also worked in countries outside Europe, one in a total of ten countries including six in Africa and in Argentina. The four men who had worked abroad but not in Europe had worked as far afield as Turkey, Pakistan and Australia. Some could have been classified as circulating migrants, transients in Richmond's (1967) terms. All 19 had lived longer in New Zealand than in any other of the places they had worked. They had made commitments to New Zealand that they had not made to any of the other places they had lived in. In time they had been committed from 5 to over 15 years. For most the biggest commitment was made through marriage and a subsequent family. Sixteen of the 19 were married to New Zealanders, two to Italians and one to a Yugoslav (see Table 6). Nine (all married to New Zealanders) had given change as the reason for coming to New Zealand. These people with weak commitments in Italy were more likely to take on commitments in New Zealand.

Of the seventeen employees who had not previously worked outside Italy or Yugoslavia only three gave change as their reason, or main reason, for coming to New Zealand (see Table 7). If these three and the three who were children when they first came to New Zealand and therefore had no choice in the matter are excluded that leaves 11 for

Table 8: Work experience outside Italy prior to coming to New Zealand and future intentions

		Future Intentions						Totals
		Italy firm	Italy but keep options open	New Zealand firm	New Zealand probably holiday in Italy first	Undecided	Other	
Prior work experience	Worked outside Italy before coming to New Zealand	3	4	2	1	8	1	19
	Never worked outside Italy before coming to New Zealand	3	1	3	4	5	1	17
Totals		6	5	5	5	13	2	36

Source: Survey, 1982

whom change or adventure was not sufficient reason for leaving Italy or Yugoslavia for the first time. Five of them gave money as the reason, two came because they married New Zealanders, two because they were sent by the company and two for other reasons.

The findings from the survey suggest that those Italians and Yugoslavs who had already been mobile before they came to New Zealand were more likely to make commitments to New Zealand, for example, by marriage. Perhaps the fact that they were previously mobile meant they had weaker commitments to Italy. Age was probably an important factor too. Only five men who had never previously travelled outside Italy married New Zealand women (if the two who actually came because they married New Zealanders and the three who had no choice are excluded).

Although those who had previously worked outside Italy were committed to New Zealand women by marriage, they were no more or less committed to staying in New Zealand than those who had not worked outside Italy before (see Table 8). If anything a significant point about those who had worked outside Italy before was their indecision. This does not necessarily signify lack of commitment but it may indicate conflicting commitments.

Property ownership

Property ownership, usually in the form of real estate, represents an investment in a place but may not necessarily represent an immediate commitment to live in that place. It may be an economic and status investment but not an emotional one. For some Italians the desire to own real estate in Italy brought them to New Zealand. It is very likely that a considerable number of Italians who came and went over the years have fulfilled ambitions to become property owners in Italy.

Property was seen as security for the future. One property owning couple told me that people called them lucky because they had a nice house. The wife was most indignant, saying they had worked hard and saved money and invested in the house and that it was not luck. Perhaps this couple were victims of the fact that visible success attracts attention and comment. The same couple said they felt they had a more secure base in their own house while they waited for redundancy money. Others, in rented property, were having houses sold over their heads and were forced to move.

Real estate was viewed as an important investment. Only eight of those interviewed did not own this form of property and that included the single men. The quality of the property or the perceived quality of the property was also important. Several people told me that among their first impressions of New Zealand was that of insubstantial, wooden houses as compared with the substantial houses

Table 9: Real Estate ownership and future intentions

		Future intentions						Totals
		Italy firm	Italy but keep options open	New Zealand firm	New Zealand probably holiday in Italy first	Undecided	Other	
Real estate ownership	In Italy only	5	3	1	0	5	1	15
	In New Zealand only	0	0	4	0	1	1	6
	In Italy and New Zealand	0	0	0	4	3	0	7
	None	1	2	0	1	4	0	8
Totals		6	5	5	5	13	2	36

Source: Survey, 1982

of Italy. The comparison was usually between a transportable home in New Zealand and a stone house in Italy with walls several feet thick. While housing in Italy was seen as a doubly solid investment, 13 of the people interviewed had overcome their reservations and invested in property in New Zealand. These homes were not all in Turangi and some were purely for investment.

All except three of those who planned to return to Italy permanently, or at least for an extended holiday, owned property in Italy (see Table 9). Clearly most of those who intended to go knew they had a home to go to. For some it was the home they had built with remittances from New Zealand or elsewhere. Others owned property before they came to New Zealand. In addition five people who had made no decision about the future and one who hoped to go to Australia also owned property only in Italy. The property in Italy was not a sufficient cause in mid-1982 for those five people to make a clear decision to return to Italy.

Seven people owned property in Italy and in New Zealand. Four of these had decided they would probably stay and three were undecided. These people were covering all options, but at the same time making what were seen as good investments. However none of those who owned property in both New Zealand and Italy had decided to return to Italy. Four others who had decided to stay in New Zealand owned property only in New Zealand. Eight, including the three single men, owned no property at all. At the time of the survey three non-property owners expected to go to Italy, one to stay in New

Table 10: Real estate ownership and marital status

		Married to		Single	Totals
		Italian or Yugoslav	New Zealander		
Real estate ownership	In Italy only	6	9	0	15
	In New Zealand only	0	6	0	6
	Italy and New Zealand	2	5	0	7
	None	2	3	3	8
Totals		10	23	3	36

Source: Survey, 1982

Zealand and four were undecided.

Property ownership represents a commitment but alone it is not usually a sufficient cause to go or stay. But add marriage to an Italian to ownership of property in Italy and the decision to go to Italy is likely. Out of six couples who had firmly decided to go to Italy four were Italian and owners of property in Italy. Clearly they had both economic and sentimental reasons for returning (see Table 10). The wife of another was an Italian-speaker and was perceived by her husband to be as much an Italian as a New Zealander. One Italian couple planned to return to Italy but did not rule out the question of return to New Zealand after perhaps an extended holiday. Four other Italian/New Zealand couples were in a similar situation, expecting to return to Italy but adopting a 'wait-and-see' approach to the return rather than a whole hearted commitment. It is significant that three of these couples owned property only in Italy. They wanted to see what sort of job opportunities and business prospects there were as well as seeing "how we feel about Italy". There were often conflicting opinions about current job opportunities, wages and standard of living in Italy and how these compared with New Zealand. Such information was usually interpreted in the light of future intentions. Most people had stories of friends who had returned to Italy but failed to settle for a variety of reasons such as no job, job did not pay enough, wife could not, or would not, settle. Such people had often moved on to other overseas posts or returned to a further contract in Turangi. One of the men who expected to 'wait-and-see' considered his property a constraint

and said if he did not have the property to go back to he would prefer to live in New Zealand. Once a decision is made property may lose some of its importance. An Italian couple (not surveyed) who had been undecided about the future, returned to Italy in 1983. Subsequently they decided to remain and sold their property in Turangi without returning to New Zealand.

Future intentions

The findings of the survey are best summarised with reference to the future intentions of Codelfa employees. At the time of the survey there were only 11 employees (less than one third) who were quite certain of what they would do at the end of their contracts. Six expected to return to Italy and five to stay in New Zealand. Two thought they would like to go to Australia (others also mentioned Australia but were undecided). The largest number of people (13) were undecided. Ten others had a good idea about what they would do but were not prepared to make any final commitment, making a total of 23 who had not made a final choice. Five of these intended to go to Italy but did not rule out a possible return to New Zealand or a review of the situation at a later date. Four more thought they would probably stay in New Zealand but expected to have an extended holiday in Italy. One thought he would probably stay in New Zealand. He was single, in his early 20s and eligible for military service in Italy if he stayed there for more than a year. Huber (1977:192-96), in a study of Trevisani in Sydney, found that the trip home to

Treviso, and return to Australia was a rite de passage. She suggests that after that the orientation to permanent settlement in Australia became more positive.

For many of the Italians and Yugoslavs remaining in Turangi decision making was difficult, "I'm not thinking about next year, I'm only thinking about the day when I wake up" (Italian man). Another Italian man said he did not want to think about what would happen at the end of the contract. Some people had already made the decision at an earlier date to stay on longer in Turangi, delaying the final choice between Italy and New Zealand or going somewhere else. Those who had not made a decision found it harder because they were unsure of when they would be leaving. Some felt they needed a definite date before they could make any plans. Throughout 1982 one thing most men did not have was a definite finishing date. The uncertainty added to their problems. Each waited to be told by the company when he would become redundant. Certainly no one was choosing to leave, nor had been for months as there were thousands of dollars of redundancy money at stake. The union secretary surveyed men asking when they would like to leave so that if possible the company could fit in with personal wishes and to some extent the plan was followed. Despite the uncertainty most were conscious of considerations that they had to take into account in planning for the future. They had, in effect, to assess their commitments in coming to a decision. Uncertainty is a difficulty in decision making, though all had had plenty of time to think about the future. Time to decide was largely irrelevant, what was important was the will to make a decision.

The considerations that were mentioned most often were marriage, family and job. Marriage was especially important to those who had married New Zealanders, and the significance of this aspect of commitment has been discussed. While there was a consciousness that marriage to a foreigner may present difficulties many said, "but my wife likes Italy", and some women said they were happy to go to Italy. Some were concerned with the disruption of children's education and had carefully evaluated the Italian and New Zealand education systems, a difficult comparison.

Jobs were important. "I would stay in Italy if I could get a good job", equally, "I would stay in New Zealand if I could get a good job." Factual knowledge on jobs seemed to be rather hard to obtain, and long absences from Italy made it difficult to make comparisons between Italy, New Zealand and anywhere else, on wages, costs and quality of life.

The importance of property, and especially real estate, has been discussed in this chapter. For some of those planning to return to Italy property was the most important consideration, "to live in my house". Some new houses were standing empty in Italy. One man said he never thought of staying in New Zealand and did not want to stay too long because he did not want to get settled. He believed that the longer you stay in a place the more difficult it is to leave. He recognised that commitments do shift and that time is an important factor in that shift. DeAmicis (1976:143) argues that some Americans who stay in Australia become so committed to Australia that they

"needed reasons to return to the States, since they have reason enough to stay where they are". One person who had not firmly decided to stay in New Zealand said that his property (in New Zealand) was important and that he did not want to sell it.

Concern for elderly relatives in Italy and a wish to see them has already been mentioned. These relations certainly represented an important part of sentimental commitment to Italy. In addition to the material commitment of property was the concern about pensions in Italy. Older people did not want to lose their pension rights in Italy and some about to retire expected to continue working in Italy in order to safeguard pensions. One of the reasons why Yugoslavs had a preference for Australia was that the period of work in New Zealand does not count for pension purposes in Yugoslavia but work in Australia does. In addition, transferring or taking away pension money from New Zealand is problematic whereas an Australian pension can be paid in Yugoslavia. "Maybe we want to die in our own country and if we have money we can do it" (Yugoslav man, 1982).

Although many complained of the quiet life in Turangi they also appreciated some of the advantages, such as outdoor activities, a slower pace of life, clean air and water, fresh food, the wide open spaces and "the green" of New Zealand. This was often compared with noise, bustle and traffic in Italy. A few people had distinct reservations, "I'm not so keen on living in Italy, I've lived so many years away".

There were certain additional constraints on decision making for some, constraints which almost denied choice. For one family the decision to stay in New Zealand was based on the medical facilities available for a paraplegic member. Return to Italy meant an almost certain breakup of the family. They and others saw themselves in a situation of no choice. I was also told of a man who had recently left the employ of the company and who felt he could not return to his family in Italy because he had married a divorcee. She had not accompanied him on a holiday to Italy because he feared the response of his family. An Italian man, also married to a New Zealand divorcee, explained, "When I went home in 1974 I explained to my mother about the marriage before. I said the husband was dead. It was bullshit - just to make my mother believe. My mother said, 'Why didn't you bring her?' In 1976, when we went, my mother was happy." While not commenting on their own situations people felt free to comment on the situations of others in this regard. "His family would not accept her", was the comment made when a family returned to New Zealand rather hurriedly late in 1982. Those who had avoided military service were also not as free as others if their present age made them still eligible.

Analysis of the survey revealed two broad areas of importance to commitment and to the decisions made on the basis of those commitments. These were what I have termed the material or economic area which was concerned with jobs, property, finance and survival and the sentimental area concerned with marriage, family and friends. By identifying the main features in each area and bearing in mind the

considerable overlap I was able to establish a base for the case studies which were to focus on decision making. The findings of the case studies form the basis of Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4DECISION MAKING

"I am upset to leave New Zealand, I am upset to stay" (An Italian man about to leave Turangi, 1982).

"...people can't sleep the night, worry, worry plenty [about what they are going to do]" (An Italian man in Turangi, 1982).

"People change their minds [about the future] frequently, depending on the situation" (Italian woman in Turangi, 1982).

Decision making about what to do after the job finished was and continues to be problematic and the consequences far reaching and long lasting. Although not all the Italians living in Turangi in 1982 appeared to find decision making problematic, the initial survey revealed that more than 50% of the employees were undecided about the future or had no long term plans. In addition, some had made a decision which would delay long term decision making; for example,

those who hoped to take another contract, perhaps in Australia. There were also some who had made the decision (perhaps unconsciously) not to decide, who were perhaps hoping a decision would be forced on them. This chapter deals with information from the case studies. Eleven families and one single man were subjects of the case studies. (The schedule of questions used is given at Appendix 4.) To illustrate the complexities of the decision making process five case studies are described in detail.

The difficulty of deciding was indicated by many. A New Zealand woman said she and her husband had had many arguments about what to do, "bad arguments, and one wouldn't talk to the other for a couple of days. Now I'm just leaving it to him. What he says goes." Why was there so much indecision and how were the problems resolved? Decision making implies choice:

"An obvious assumption of the decision making approach is that the individual can in fact make a decision or choice - that is, that alternative courses of action are available. There are both physical and cognitive aspects of the availability of alternatives; it must be physically possible either to move or stay, and the person must be aware that it is possible to make a choice" (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981:45).

People do not possess perfect knowledge, and even if they did, it cannot be assumed that they are necessarily able to maximise utility and profit. Decisions are influenced not by an ideal objective reality and rational choice, but by personal versions of reality.

It is not only the question of choice and determining interest that impedes decision making, but the very decision making process itself. With the termination of the contracts Italians are, as it were, being given back control of their lives. This responsibility may be difficult to handle for people who have become to a considerable extent institutionalised in the company and have had little decision making of importance to do in recent years. One Italian speaking of his fellows said, "Many are shocked [in a state of shock]", referring to the termination of the contract. A senior executive of the company observed that many employees were not prepared for the tremendous shock of being in control of their own lives, especially where termination had been abrupt. It should not be surprising that for some people decision making about the future was marked by vacillation.

Conscious decision making may force people to come to terms with issues that they may have given little or no thought to, or preferred to suppress. For example, few would have made objective comparisons between Italy and New Zealand, or thought about the possible long term implications of marrying a foreigner. There is also the very basic issue of change within the individual. For example, is the 32 year old married man the same person as the 19 year old single man who left Italy 12 or 13 years ago? While the 32 year old may have changed, some of his memories may be those of the 19 year old, while others are those of the 32 year old. There may be no awareness of shifting commitments until a choice has to be made. Decision making is surrounded by many such problems.

An analysis of the initial survey in Turangi suggested that the important factors in decision making could be located in two broad areas, the material and the sentimental. Material considerations were those which were concerned with material well-being and survival. The paramount material consideration for most Italians was a job. Sentimental considerations were those which stressed the significance of the affective components in decision making for Italians and their families. The major element through which sentiment was expressed was the family.

A brief review of the main features of material and sentimental reasons will provide a base from which to examine specific issues. Neither the material nor the sentimental exist in a vacuum, so it is essential also to analyse the wider economic, social, political and cultural context in order to reach a sociological explanation of decision making.

The importance attached to each factor varies from person to person. The emphasis of this study is on individual perception. De Jong and Gardner (1981:xii) remind:

"To understand migration choice behaviour it is necessary to adopt the perspective of the individual in the household and to examine the alternatives that come into play in the decision making process."

When making decisions, often people want to cover as many options as possible and to act in their own best interests. In material terms best interest is usually interpreted as a good job, one that will allow the employee to maintain or improve the life style of himself and his family. However, people are not always able to identify their best interest. An additional problem is that material factors do not exist in isolation from others.

Even without the addition of other factors a valid comparison between life in Italy and life in New Zealand is difficult. Even straight monetary comparisons are fraught with difficulty, because they may have little meaning outside the total context of life in Italy or New Zealand. A rational cost-benefit analysis of such a comparison requires a skill that is beyond most people.

The comparison is made more difficult because it is not between wealth and poverty, but between relative states of affluence. It is easy enough to emphasise the economic motive when people migrate from poverty to a steady job and hitherto only dreamed of cash. Perhaps when the material comparison is difficult to make or when there is not much in it, other factors assume importance.

Apart from a job itself, job prospects are also an important part of material considerations. Again, difficulties of comparison exist. Decisions have to be made based on imperfect knowledge: 'Are there more jobs in Italy, in Australia, in Honduras than in New Zealand? Are the jobs better than in New Zealand? For each family,

"better" may have a different meaning, and this usually involves many other evaluations apart from the economic.

Real estate is an important aspect of the material. A person with intimate knowledge of Italians in Turangi in the 1960s said that most took a work contract to get enough money to buy a car, later a house. In Italy real estate may also be perceived in a variety of ways: as an investment, a hedge against inflation, a measure of commitment, a desire for security of place, or an intention to settle or some combination of these.

Sentimental considerations about decision making were located principally in the family. The family of primary concern is usually the family of marriage. However, for many Italians and their families in Turangi, the family of birth was also of importance. It was often of great significance where the family of marriage was a mixed Italian/New Zealand one. Inherent in any decision making for these families was the knowledge that one partner would be physically cut off from relations, be they in Italy or New Zealand: "Mum's not looking forward to me going to Italy" (New Zealand woman expecting to go to Italy, 1982). "I've missed the weddings of my brothers and sisters...some people from the family die in Italy...just a telegram, 'Sorry I can't come'" (Italian man, 1982).

A note of caution should be added at this point. While perceiving the material and sentimental as separate areas in the decision making process, they can in no way be seen as discrete.

They are diffuse areas, not necessarily equal in any given situation. One can generally recognise a material and sentimental aspect of any particular factor. Frequently, the material is justified in terms of sentiment: to take a certain economic course is in the interests of the family. The sentimental may have material advantages: to have a mother living round the corner may be of economic benefit.

While the factors job and family emerged from the data as subjective considerations of primary importance, these considerations were constantly permeated by other subjective considerations, e.g., economic, social, political and cultural aspects of life. The most important of these concerned the quality of life and perceptions of Italy and New Zealand. Although I have considered all these factors as separate issues they are continually overlapping and intersecting. To consider each separately introduces an artificiality but without this an orderly examination of the issues would be extremely difficult.

Attention will now be turned to specific issues in decision making within the areas broadly outlined. What tips the commitment balance?

Material considerations in decision making

All the Italians and Yugoslavs were concerned about the future and future job prospects. They were fully aware of the problems that

face a contract worker towards the end of a contract. If a skill is in demand there is often no problem and in the past many had simply renewed their contracts. This time it was not possible and men and their families had to make careful decisions about future job prospects.

The job was seen as extremely important because of the income and the resulting quality of life it could provide. High wages [1] in relation to those in Italy had attracted many Italians to New Zealand, though not necessarily kept them here. Although most workers thought that their remuneration had fallen in real terms by 1982, they were looking forward to substantial redundancy payments. The company had negotiated a special deal with the Inland Revenue that the payment was for redundancy and not severance. Thus only 5% was taxed. Many company employees had been used to a free spending life style in Turangi where they had few financial commitments. "Before we were married [1980] we would spend \$400 per week" (New Zealand woman, 1982). By 1982, aware of the uncertainties of the future, some were more careful with money and viewed redundancy payments as a nest egg.

The survey revealed that nobody had a definite job to go to, though some men were making enquiries. The fact that most people did not know exactly when they would be finishing with the company made it difficult to make specific plans. One man said that hopefully he would have another contract to go to. But he added that he was looking around. "You make sure you are in a position to be safe for

tomorrow." Some other men also said they were looking. One man who expected to remain with the company for another year said he was not looking for a job but had been offered quite a few.

A few were rather evasive about job possibilities and this was probably because they did not wish to reveal their plans. Some men had been told that there could be jobs for them on a possible Codelfa contract in Australia or in Western Samoa. As these arrangements were private, unofficial agreements between the management and the individual worker, people were understandably rather cagey about them. Also there was the fact that they were receiving redundancy pay on condition that no alternative employment was offered. At least three of the men in the case studies were in this situation.

None of the men contemplated not getting a job, though a man who wanted to stay in New Zealand was worried about his limited command of English and the conversion of his Italian qualifications. The comment of another man was, "It's very hard [to get a job] because an Italian is not local. A local is the first to get a job". Return to the world outside the company was often something of a shock. The problem of working in New Zealand outside the company was summed up by the New Zealand wife of an Italian:

"Some of them are not as secure in themselves as far as going out. With an Italian company you've always got someone around speaking your language in the office. I think with just a plain Kiwi company it's not the same for them, because they've got to fend for themselves."

Some of those who were hoping to get work in New Zealand were looking towards the projects at Marsden Point, Whangarei and Motonui, New Plymouth.

One way of avoiding the problem of inadequate English or lack of New Zealand qualifications is to start or buy a business. Towards the end of 1982 at least two of the subjects of the case studies were actively looking for businesses and others gave it a passing thought from time to time. Four businesses had been bought by Italians early in 1982. Food and related concerns were most favoured: coffee lounges, fish and chips and takeaway bars, restaurants and motels. The majority of Italians who had left the company and remained in New Zealand over the years were engaged in such work as far away as Napier, Tauranga, Thames, Auckland, Taupo, Taihape and Waiouru, as well as Turangi. It was generally believed that people preferred to own their own businesses rather than work for others or for a company. Working long hours in the tunnel had been seen as a way of financing one's own enterprise:

"The next best thing [to earning big money in the tunnel] is to go into business by yourself or with friends. So it's got it's advantages. You are still getting big money, you are still living where you want. In a lot of cases its status, to have something to show for all those years of working" (New Zealand woman 1982).

While more than one Italian/New Zealand couple emphasised that neither was trying to influence the other some were concerned to 'stack the odds'. One New Zealand woman was quite frantic to ensure that she and her husband bought a business in New Zealand before they

went on holiday to Italy at the end of his contract in 1982. She wanted to be certain of his commitment to New Zealand before they left. She felt she could not be sure what would happen if they got to Italy without a substantial reason for returning to New Zealand. She was successful in her attempts. Not only was the business bought, it was in her home town and they never went to Italy even for a holiday.

One man said he would try and get his old job back in Italy. Another, Enzo, said, "Oh, for me plenty of jobs [in Italy] - no problem". However, some people pointed out the probability of family separation as in Italy work could not be guaranteed in the home town. For some there was a reluctance to continue that kind of life style. They had envisaged a return to Italy to a life style of certain comfort because of their efforts in New Zealand. A man about to leave for Italy in November 1982 said, "I want to go on holiday and enjoy myself, perhaps come back and find a job".

The experiences of people who had returned to Italy were important to those still in Turangi. Those who had returned were often the topic of conversation. Several people made the observation that to live in Italy was pleasant as long as you already had a considerable number of material possessions: house, car, domestic appliances. It was said that some people could not afford to live in Italy on their return there, because they could not find a job to support the style of life to which they had become accustomed. An example was a man who could only find a job as a council workman. A

frequent solution to the problem was to take another overseas contract, tending to perpetuate a form of circular migration. Such moves may not have been desirable but were seen as necessary. More than half the men initially interviewed had worked outside Italy before coming to New Zealand.

At the time the case studies were undertaken one man, a carpenter, had already left the company and was working for a builder on jobs in the district. He had approached the man about a job before he left Codelfa. The job was seen as an interim position until permanent employment came up. The man and his wife were a little worried as the economic downturn had meant that building work was limited. They were also feeling some of the effects of living in New Zealand "outside the company," the first of which was paying rent.

Though it was agreed that a well paid job was essential, deciding where the best job prospects were another matter. This brought other elements into the decision making process; for example, the plans of the family members, education, social services, property and real estate. Some saw the main advantage of going to Italy was the house they owned. A New Zealand woman married to an Italian said they preferred to live in Italy. She said there were no advantages, "except we'll be able to see the place we've bought". A man who owned a house in Turangi thought he might use his property in some way and that would be an advantage of staying in New Zealand.

Comparisons between Italy and New Zealand were difficult to make, especially if people had been away a long time, but generally Italy was considered favourably if one already had property there. A woman who had returned to Yugoslavia expecting to stay said it had been difficult, because they had to share a house, but to get a house involved too many papers and was very difficult. She added, "It's easier to get things that you need to start off [in New Zealand]". An Italian/New Zealand, couple, Robyn and Francesco, who long ago decided to stay in New Zealand commented, "What we can have in New Zealand we wouldn't have in Italy. I mean in material things too, standard of living. We would have to struggle for the rest of our lives [in Italy], whereas we could be reasonably comfortable here. Life would be easier in New Zealand."

Ambivalence was expressed by one, Enzo, who said, "It's the same choice living here or living in Italy. I want just to find one place to stay." Others also considered there was no more advantage in staying in New Zealand than going to Italy.

The fact that the company paid the fare back to Italy was an important consideration. "We've got the fare paid back by the company because I've had the contract. While we've got the chance of that, better go...won't give the money instead of the fare." Few were prepared to pass up the trip back to Italy, even if they had to pay their own fares were they to return to New Zealand. Repatriation to Italy of wives and families had been the subject of delicate union/company negotiations throughout 1982, culminating in strikes,

previously almost unheard of in Codelfa's New Zealand history. There had been some reluctance by the company to pay the fares of some dependents. Questions were raised, for example, about the legality of marriage, and children of former marriages. In the end all the fares were paid.

Issues of sentiment and decision making

While material issues were of primary importance in decision making, all of the case study subjects except the one single man considered that the family was more important than material considerations. There was, however, often a desire to settle the problems of the material and sentimental with the same action. Material decisions were justified as good for the family. "My family is important but money is important to keep the family running, but family is more important than anything." Another man, Luigi, said, "You need the money too, you need both". A man who had a new house waiting in Italy said the house was the most important thing, but he assumed he was speaking for his wife and children too.

Distinctions were made between the families of origin and the family of marriage. One couple with a small child explained that they returned to Yugoslavia because of the family (their parents), but when they had seen them they wanted to come back. Another couple said that the immediate family of marriage was more important than anything else, but that financial considerations were more important

than the families of origin.

Some people felt that the family was the most important factor to take into account in decision making: "that we are together. The first thing to think about is the family" (Couple who were undecided about the future). "We decided for the family it would be better [to stay in New Zealand]. It's really the children." There were again the same intertwined material and familial elements, the good of the children being interpreted as better material opportunities, but also very important were quality of life values (see below).

It was no coincidence that such a large number of the men remaining with the company in 1982 were those married to New Zealanders. These were for the most part the people who found decision making difficult because it involved making a choice they would have preferred not to make, choosing between Italy and New Zealand. As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, this choice did not have to be made while people were enjoying the advantages of living in New Zealand with the opportunity to visit Italy. When an Italian man with a New Zealand wife said the most important thing he had to think of was "to find one place to stay all my life," he was really saying we have to choose, and in embracing one choice we are in a sense rejecting the other. Things were not made any easier for this couple because she liked Italy and he liked New Zealand. "I'll go where he goes and vice versa, so we thought we'd just have a look around....we've talked about a few things but we both realise you can't decide. It's not as if they've told him he's only a month to

go."

Few New Zealand women married to Italians gave any thought to the possible future implications of marrying a foreigner, especially the possibility of living in Italy in a social, cultural and linguistic setting completely different from any they had previously known. "I didn't think of the future when I married. I thought the job would go on forever [in New Zealand]" (New Zealand woman married 10 years to an Italian, 1982). Her comment could have been made by several other women and their husbands who were faced in 1982 with the reality of the end of the job in New Zealand. It would probably be true to say that many young New Zealand women give little thought to the future beyond marriage, but most of them do not marry foreigners. Women were not alone in facing the current reality of past decisions. An Italian man, Luigi, married to a New Zealander, referred to language problems, "True I don't speak good English, but if I go back I no marry somebody who no speak my language - I mean that" [If I were marrying again I would not marry a non-Italian - speaker].

One woman was unusual in that she had thought extremely carefully before marrying a foreigner. Before they married they made the decision that they would return to Italy. "I don't believe wives should follow their husbands round just because their husbands feel like going there. If I didn't particularly want to go there I don't think I would. In which case I wouldn't have got married...well, I would have, but not to him. I think it's one of those things you

have to discuss before you get married, and [it] saves a lot of trouble." Twenty seven when she married, she was perhaps not so easily swayed by romantic notions.

Many of the New Zealand women married to Italians were committed only to their husbands and not to life in Italy. Few had made any substantial progress in learning Italian (often their husbands spoke good English), and their children usually spoke only a little Italian. Most women said they would like to speak Italian better. While there were certain concessions to Italy, for example, most New Zealand women were very diligent about the preparation of Italian dishes and were aware of and paid attention to Italian custom, the orientation of the family was towards New Zealand. This is not surprising when the Italian element in the family was absent for many hours in the day and in the face of the dominance of the values of New Zealand society. An orientation to Italy could often be made quickly should a family go to Italy. The possibility of a reorientation is relatively easy for children but might be quite traumatic for some adults. One extreme example was the family (New Zealand wife) that returned to New Zealand after only a month in Italy where they had intended to stay permanently. One woman, Annette, recalled the words of her father: "marry a Kiwi. Then you know where you are".

Marriage is a declaration of a commitment, and on marriage the partners take on certain commitments automatically. The commitments of New Zealand women may have been hardly discernable; for example,

the commitment of a daughter-in-law to a mother-in-law she has never seen. But these commitments can become more significant as situations change. Some New Zealand women found themselves subordinate to their mothers-in-law when they were in Italy, "She never let me do any cooking". Others found the relationship quite happy, "as if it was my own family". Commitments on the part of Italian men to New Zealand were stronger on the whole and more likely than those of New Zealand women to Italy. New Zealand women, being on home ground, did not have the necessity to incline towards Italy as their husbands did towards New Zealand.

While some Italian/New Zealand couples struggled with the dilemma of decision making and choosing between Italy and New Zealand, sometimes Italians faced problems of changing commitments within one family. An example was cited of the Italian woman who had returned to Italy several times to supervise the building of a beautiful home which she couldn't wait to occupy. When all was ready, her husband decided he wanted to stay in New Zealand, yet, "...the wife always thought they will end up in Italy eventually, and all of a sudden they are not". School age children of Italian families, though often torn between conflicting commitments and apprehensive if a return to Italy was planned, expected to fit in with the plans of their parents.

Quality of life

While Italians and their families looked for the best material opportunities and usually saw those in terms of family interest, there were certain values they were not prepared to sacrifice. These values were related to individual perceptions of the quality of life. Most of the Italian and Yugoslav men were family men in their thirties, and were no longer willing to live the kind of life they had lived in the past: long working hours, arduous work, often in atrocious conditions, and sometimes family separation. While Codelfa had an excellent safety record on the TPD, the very nature of work at the tunnel face makes tunnelling a dangerous and difficult occupation. "A tunneller is an old man at 40," I was told. Those who were older and even some of the younger ones had silicosis to some extent, especially if they had previously worked in dry drilling conditions. While the tunnel may not kill in a dramatic way, the unseen killer remains in mens' bodies and more than one man went home to Italy to die. "I'll never go down a tunnel again", was one man's emphatic statement.

In all probability, many will go down the tunnel again in another place, because the reward for danger is high. So in Turangi in 1982 there were people who said, "If I can pick up one more contract..." But for many the tunnel had fulfilled their ambitions: a house in Italy or in New Zealand or both, a car, other solid material possessions and enough capital to set up in business. "We have no material worries," one man, Enzo, told me. His wife was

employed in two part time jobs and they had made careful investments, the rationale being to make as much money as they could now, because they did not know what the future would bring. The husband said that they must decide between Italy and New Zealand because he was no longer young (40), and that that would be their last chance to move.

A younger man with a wife and small child said he would not accept a way of life that meant separation. "I don't talk about the job, it's the way of life, being separated." He was at that time working on the Wheo site, living in the camp during the week and returning home at the weekend. A woman commenting on separation said, "...if he goes to Nigeria for a whole year without me I think I'd panic."

Cultural considerations are also important aspects of the quality of life, and one area that people held strong but widely differing opinions on was that of education. Perhaps when some people see their children growing up as foreigners before their eyes they have a certain longing to see something of their own backgrounds instilled into the lives of their children. Some men whose children were happy and adjusted to school in New Zealand, nonetheless said they would like their children to have an Italian education. Many New Zealand women also saw merit in Italian education. What did become clear in discussion is that it is very difficult to equate different systems, and the tendency to defend jealously one's own system is not peculiar only to the comparison of education in New Zealand and Italy. Neither is it unusual to compare the positive

aspects of one with the negative aspects of another. There was also the question of which form of education would provide children with the most satisfactory material advantage.

Social services are a material feature of modern economies that safeguard a basic quality of life. Italy and New Zealand have similar safeguards for their citizens in the case of accident, though Italian payments are slightly better than New Zealand. Some of the older men were concerned about their pensions in Italy, and although nearing retiring age, expected to work a few more years to qualify for their full pension rights, as pensions are based on average earnings in the last three years before retirement. Many benefits in Italy are related to present or previous earnings. Family allowances and unemployment benefits are paid on this basis. One Italian man returned to New Zealand in January 1984, after a year in Italy, said how good it was to get off the plane in Auckland and pick up the dole. Soon after he found a job.

One Italian family had made the decision to stay in New Zealand on the strength of social services in New Zealand, particularly in the area of health. In 1982 the wife was confined to a wheel chair as a result of a paralysing illness which had become progressively worse. She had had several prolonged periods of hospitalisation in various North Island hospitals. Her condition was monitored by regular hospital checks. At home she had daily help from two women, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, a service provided by the state. Such services would not be available in Italy, and the

husband and wife considered that to return would break up the family, as the invalid pension would not cover the costs of paying for help and the wife would have to live in an institution. Her comment was "I'd feel I'd scream if the government pushed me out of here. I'd like to see my relations, my parents. I know where I'd be - in some old people's home - pushed in a corner."

The environment of New Zealand was frequently commented on. What had for some been intimidating open spaces were later recognised as environmental assets. Most Italians appreciated the clean air, open spaces, green countryside, and traffic free roads of New Zealand. Many men had availed themselves of the opportunity to engage in outdoor activities (eg. hunting, fishing) so accessible in the central North Island. A New Zealand woman (Sandra) told an amusing story about an incident in Italy. She told how before a fishing competition could begin the fish had to be put in the river. She couldn't understand why nothing was happening. "I asked what was wrong and they thought I was nuts, and then they got excited when they saw this truck coming down. They got really excited and when I ran over to the truck with them, there were barrels full of fish. As soon as they dumped all the fish in they started fishing."

Some people were keenly aware of the structural differences between Italian and New Zealand society, of their social position in Italy and New Zealand. There was an awareness of the social implications of education in Italy and in New Zealand, and of stratification generally. "We are better off class-wise in New

Zealand" (New Zealand woman married to an Italian, 1982). She explained this by adding that there were social opportunities available to her family in New Zealand that would not be open to people of their social position in Italy. Another woman and her husband explained how they strolled down the road to play tennis on the local public court on summer evenings in Turangi. In Italy they said they would have to join an expensive club to play tennis. When social distinctions were talked about it was suggested by some that any "class" feelings were a European phenomenon introduced into the Turangi situation by Italians, particularly staff members (rather than workers) and by women. Several people believed there were fewer social distinctions between people in New Zealand than in Italy and interpreted this as a positive feature of New Zealand society. However the nature of Italian society or of New Zealand society cannot be judged by these comments. Italians have enjoyed social mobility as well as geographic mobility. They occupy a different place in New Zealand society than they would in Italian society.

Perceptions of Italy and New Zealand

Previous discussion has touched on the issue of perceptions. This will now be examined in more detail. "In New Caledonia and New Zealand for four years I dreamed of going to Italy, but when I got to Italy I missed New Zealand" (Italian man, Enzo, Turangi, 1982). This man's experience is one of the hard realities that the migrant

frequently has to face. In his absence from his own country he has unwittingly become committed in some measure to another place. This is especially likely if the experience away from home is reasonably pleasant. Even when the experience is considered unpleasant there is no guarantee that return to the native land will be quite as imagined. An acquaintance of mine bitterly resented five years spent in Australia and longed to return to Britain. The return proved joyless, and it was not long before re-emigration plans were in progress. A few years ago a British newspaper carried what was obviously considered an amusing item about a woman who was about to emigrate to Australia. She had, however, migrated two or three times before to Australia. Her plaintive comment was "when I'm here I want to be there, and when I'm there I want to be here". Amusing at face value, but many in her predicament would be sympathetic.

The, "when I'm here I want to be there, and when I'm there I want to be here" feeling was expressed by many people. Perhaps such divided loyalties are almost inevitable, but that does not necessarily make them any easier to deal with. One man said he was quite happy to come back to New Zealand from Italy, but as soon as he was here he wanted to go back. Another said when he was in Italy he didn't know whether he wanted to stay because he couldn't make up his mind, but in the end he came back to his New Zealand girlfriend, whom he subsequently married.

How do people come to find themselves in such predicaments, while others appear not to face such problems? While much depends on

the type of commitment a person has when entering into the new situation, it is also clear from the example of the woman who hated Australia that it is even possible to shift commitments against one's will or have different levels of commitment. A question of importance to this study is, 'What are the perceptions that Italians and Yugoslavs and their families have of their home countries and of New Zealand, and what part do these perceptions play in decision making?'

Coming to terms with life in a new place is a problem that faces every migrant:

"The known facts show that in every migratory movement the economic, social and cultural (including religious) distance between the former way of life, and the usually different working and living conditions in the receiving communities present problems, resulting in the success or failure of the migrants" (Beijer, 1969:12-13).

In the early years some problems were probably obviated for many because of the nature of company and camp life mentioned in Chapter 2. Although a geographic move had been made it was not necessary to make a similar social move, though in fact many social moves were made. In 1982 there were very few who had not made such social moves. One or two men remained encapsulated in a cultural cocoon, which allowed them to live in New Zealand but only to be minimally a part of it. However, even these few identified with New Zealand to some extent and one at least had made the commitment to remain in New Zealand at the end of the contract.

In 1982 the perceptions of New Zealand by Italians were reflected in their level of commitment to New Zealand. Any commitment that Italians had to New Zealand was built on what they had experienced since coming here. All those represented by the 12 case studies had little or no knowledge of New Zealand before they came. A typical comment was, "I [Luigi] didn't know anything about New Zealand before I came. I know it's a long way from Italy, that's all." Remoteness was often equated with primitive: "I [Francesco] thought it would still be primitive. Not what you call...100% civilised". The New Zealand wife (Robyn) of that man said, "They arrived in Auckland - 'Oh, it's lovely. Oh it's nice.' Drove down to Rotorua, still nice. Drove down the Desert Road - 'What do you think of New Zealand now?' 'God! What a place to end up.'"

An Italian man (Paolo) said he had no idea what New Zealand was like before he came. His Italian wife (Gina) said she had, and he asked how it could be if she hadn't seen the place. She said she had been told by an Italian woman who had lived in Australia that, "In New Zealand, green...a big place...not too many people and big shops...lots of animals - that's all".

The journey to Turangi had been an education for some:

"Yes, the first night I [Paolo] came with the mini-bus Auckland to Turangi. I passed the big city Auckland, then Hamilton. In the night I passed Taupo. I saw not one person - half past nine in the night! I asked the driver why, where are the people? This time all in the hotel or everybody home. It's a little bit funny because in Italy...in the summer...7 o'clock in the night to

midnight...plenty of people all out walking, going to cafes, or films or bars."

Once they arrived impressions were quickly formed. "First time I come here just rain, rain, rain all the time. A couple of months I live in the camp - just rain all the time."

Although they had come to terms with it, the more closed life of New Zealand had impressed many Italians, and was still a major point of comparison even after several years residence. One man spoke of entertainment: "Hotels and that sort of thing going all the night in Yugoslavia." Many found Sunday, their one day off, very tedious.

"Over there [Italy] on a Sunday you go out and you go to restaurants, go and see people, go and walk round the shops - bars, restaurants are always open. Just sit there, have a coffee, crack jokes - it's alive, but here on a Sunday it's terrible, ... even up in Auckland on a Sunday if you don't have the garden to attend to, what, do you go out? You just don't have that much [to do]."

If Italians missed the social life of Italy, with street cafes and Sunday festivals and shopping, some of them deplored what they saw as the New Zealand social counterpart, the pub. There was on the whole disapproval of New Zealand drinking habits. "I'm not too used to people who are drunk or fighting. It's bloody useless." Another man commented, "What I don't like, impressed me, is a few people going out drinking and fighting". Some mentioned gangs in Turangi and one woman said, "I don't like to see street kids running around...kids are not looked after the way they should be from what I've seen here".

New Zealand houses had been a surprise to many, as they were frequently wooden and often large. One said he was surprised to find nice houses with inside toilets, especially as they had still to go outside to the toilet at his home in Italy ten years previously (the time of his arrival in New Zealand). More than anything the countryside of New Zealand impressed Italians when they arrived: "the green", "got grass winter and summer. All you see green in the farm". They were also impressed by the wide, open spaces.

Some people said they found little difference between life in New Zealand and life in Italy. Others found life totally different from anything they had known before. "Totally different...it's dead in New Zealand. Everything's sort of slow. In Italy it's alive...it's nothing to go to Germany and you can go anywhere. Here in New Zealand it's so isolated" (The response of a man, Riccardo, who wanted to return to Italy and who had never previously lived outside Italy). Another man (Luigi) who was undecided about his future said, "Oh yes, everything different...here it is good, but my country just for life...Life is life over there, but for me here is no life here...what you fellows have here, what you have, nothing, nothing in this country". By this time his New Zealand wife was getting rather irritated, so after some further comments he concluded, "It's a good life here, but not for me". But even for this man there was ambivalence about New Zealand. "In some ways I hate it, but in some ways I like it. It's hard..." and he just laughed. He could possibly have made a similar statement about Italy, but few people expect to make such evaluations of their own

country. Huber (1977:184-85) writing of Italians in Sydney found a similar reaction. "Life has so much more meaning in Italy." She also observed that attitudes and opinions reflected the feelings of the moment. "People weighed up the pros and cons and each time came up with a different conclusion."

No such ambivalence was expressed by a man (Francesco) who had decided several years ago that he would remain in New Zealand, and who was therefore already committed. Asked what he liked about New Zealand he replied, "Oh, it's good, yes". Then he added nonchalantly, "it's like more or less to be your own country. If you go out say in Switzerland or Germany, you feel like a stranger, but here you don't feel like a stranger."

To no longer feel strange is probably an important stage of commitment, though it may not be a necessary one. That particular man also spoke excellent English, and had married a New Zealand woman. He had been prepared to make certain moves towards New Zealand society, and when asked if there was anything he disliked about New Zealand and New Zealanders he commented, "No, no...well, you must settle whatsoever, because the country won't change for you, won't take much notice of what you like or dislike...you've got to change. Can't change the country."

"I love New Zealand. I have never felt a stranger here" (Yugoslav woman, 1982). For this woman, the commitment to New Zealand had been made by making a conscious effort to become part of

New Zealand society. That had meant learning English and she was critical of women who she considered had been house-bound by their lack of English. She had strong friendships with the New Zealand wives of Italians and other New Zealand women and was generally positive towards life in New Zealand.

Paradoxically, what were seen as the weaknesses of New Zealand were often also interpreted as strengths, sometimes by the same people, so that despite what some saw as the boring blandness of New Zealand, life here was often seen as more restful and an easier way of life - "more relaxing". One Italian couple said it was too noisy in Italy, and that there was too much activity. Lack of formality in New Zealand had been rather surprising to some when they arrived. One New Zealand woman said that her husband found everything different when he came: "how boisterous the girls were, right down to how the children can run round without shoes on". In 1982 he commented, "I like New Zealand very much. It's a very quiet country. You can go anywhere without worry - you don't have to worry if you haven't got a tie".

Not everything about New Zealanders was seen in positive terms. "Absolute rubbish" was one man's opinion of New Zealanders. "They've got no soccer, they are all talking about rugby, and if it's not that it's cricket or golf. There's a lot missing..." This man was a soccer fanatic, so perhaps his comments are understandable. His interest in soccer was clear from the pictures and books in the living room and he and several others made regular 3am trips to the

home of a workmate with short wave radio, especially to listen to commentaries on Italian soccer. Understandably, there was much jubilation in Turangi when Italy won the World Cup in 1982.

One man was bold enough to say he didn't like New Zealanders in front of his New Zealand wife, but he modified it. "But I don't mean all - I mean just - you can say the majority I don't like." It should be remembered that the opinions held by New Zealand women of Italians had often, at least initially, been unflattering. The wife of that man said she had thought all Italians were "greasy Itais". Other Italians said they liked New Zealanders. "I married one," from one man, and from another: "Oh well, I have to like New Zealand, because I married one from New Zealand...When you decide to make a family you have to like." I suggested that he was very diplomatic. "I can't say to my missus I don't like New Zealand, better I go home." For these men commitment to New Zealand was expressed in their marriages to New Zealanders.

Length of residence frequently dims the memory about the first impressions of New Zealand and the last of Italy. One man said that it was hard to think now about things that he disliked about New Zealand. This suggests that perhaps Italy and New Zealand no longer remain as distinct entities in his mind. Some people who had been in New Zealand for many years said apart from family, there was little they missed. One man said, "After ten years you start to forget". He added that he only missed it sometimes if somebody came back from Italy and they talked about it over a couple of days. A New Zealand

woman made a perceptive comment when her husband decided the only thing he missed was good Italian cooking. "It's all different taste in Italian cooking," he said. "And it's very difficult because Giovanni can't remember how his mother cooks...", his wife added. So the myth remains in the mind rather than the reality.

Myths of the homeland linger in the mind of the migrant. Experience will reinforce the myths or even produce them. The person who longs to return home may remember longer, hotter summers, and kinder people than ever existed, while the person who has made a commitment to a new place may exaggerate a previous hard life. One expects to remain an authority on one's birthplace even after long absences. If that authority cannot be maintained one might feel quite displaced on return.

Those who exclaim, "Nothing has changed," are probably deluded. A migrant who carries a suspended image in his mind, of the homeland is almost bound to be disappointed on a return home. A suspended image, that is, an image of a place as it was left and also perhaps how it ought to be, does not make a good basis for decision making. While the company assured return fares to Italy every two or three years, the suspended image was an adequate backdrop for a holiday. The holiday maker enjoys a different existence and may not be brought up against the troubles and realities of everyday living.

Many Italians realised, even on holiday, that life had not stood still in Italy or even in the family in their absence. "When I go

home who do I know? Just my family. Others who were my friends before have all married, all moved somewhere. You have to start at the beginning, its not easy."

One couple said they didn't really have much time to find out how things had changed "because we were just there for a few months. It's different from trying to stay there. You find out later what's wrong...you've got lots of money and you don't worry about it". One man who was firmly committed to returning to Italy said he had seen no changes and everything was as he expected when he made a return trip to Italy. His New Zealand wife commented, "He always talks about Italy. It's his land. His ideas will never change about Italy." Such steadfastness was unusual and even those who would admit no change in Italy attributed any changes to themselves. "I change - you can't change Italia - I mean, the Italians can change. I'm different".

For most, perceptions of Italy were modified by the stay in New Zealand and comparisons were constantly being made. Nearly all who had made return trips to Italy said that Italy had changed a lot. "Every time we're going over there I find it very hard to get into it again." The changes this man noticed generally seemed to be concerned with the pace of life. "There you are all the time under pressure for everything - go to work - come home - rush here, rush there. You can't sit down and have a relax like here."

The often confused perceptions of Italy did not ease the decision making process. Some felt they would have to go and live there for a year before they could make any long term decisions. Few people realised that they had changed. Perceptions are modified with age, let alone any geographical, cultural and social moves. Appleyard (1962:365), writing of migrants returning to England from Australia, found: "...respondents were usually bewildered by their homecoming for they, not home, had been subject to important 'changes'".

It may be just as difficult to evaluate change in New Zealand as it is to come to terms with personal change, because it is a continual process that is often imperceptible. "Things have changed in New Zealand. I can't say how much has been changed because I'm living here too" (Italian man). Another Italian man: "You don't notice really because it's changed, because something changes 10% every year. In ten years it changes 100% - don't notice". Perhaps when one becomes part of something one can no longer make the detached judgements of those who are still outside.

Those who did comment on change in New Zealand were often quite emphatic in a rather hazy way. "More progress" or "big changes come, everytime, more problems." One Italian woman complained about the government: "...price freeze, freezing the pay not so good, because I find they're not freezing the prices".

The "holiday" perception of Italy held by some New Zealand women was sometimes attractive enough for them to be the driving force in a return to Italy. "It's like a lot of girls want to go there because they've been there on holiday and liked it, and gone back and can't stand it, and come back here. It's trial and error." One New Zealand woman had left Turangi with her husband at the end of 1981, returned to Turangi in February 1982, and left again for Italy sometime later. Her husband could only find satisfactory work by taking a single status overseas contract, which meant she was living alone in Italy. At the end of 1982 it was expected they would return to Turangi.

The concerns of New Zealand women over decision making were often based on their perceptions of Italy. Most women had enjoyed their visits to Italy, some with reservations. Often the comment was made that Italy was alright for a holiday, but that that was different from being there permanently. When they talked of holidays they related tales of festivals and picnics, warm family gatherings, exciting markets, and plenty of money to spend. When some of them translated this to permanency in their minds, they saw cultural and social differences that they did not like, the markets were full of shoddy goods and the formerly abundant spending money had to pay the bills. Furthermore, they often feared that after years of modification in New Zealand, their husbands might revert to Latin chauvinists. "I shall be a prisoner if I go to Italy," a woman said to me, a few days before she left, after plans to go to Australia had not materialised. This was an extreme case, in contrast to some New

Zealand women who said they would enjoy living in Italy.

To move from one country to another may require considerable social reorientation. Italians and Yugoslavs in Turangi have to varying degrees gone through this process of reorientation. For some the change has been extensive and involved them in commitment to New Zealand linguistically and by marriage, and by intention to stay in New Zealand. For others, the orientation to New Zealand is not so extensive, while a few others have hardly made any social moves towards New Zealand. But whatever the extent of the moves, Italians and Yugoslavs, especially men, were able to remain socially and culturally within the Italian milieu in their place of work. There was considerable unease among some people at the thought of moving outside the protection of the company. Not only had the company taken care of the material needs of its workers, it had often acted as a buffer or intermediary between the Italians and Yugoslavs and New Zealand society. To remain in New Zealand would call for a greater commitment than previously.

If there was some unease among Italians about the future in New Zealand, the same would be true for New Zealand women were they to move to Italy. For them, the reorientation would be initially more drastic, as every aspect of their lives would be involved. Women expected that they would have to make social adjustments in Italy - that is why one could say, "I shall be a prisoner in Italy". Some expected that social customs regarding dress and public appearances would be more restrictive than in New Zealand, though in reality

often their fears were not confirmed. "My friends that went there before...all came back with a different story, that most Italian families don't like Maoris, don't like women going out or smoking or drinking. At that time I was smoking and drinking. When I went over there it was totally different. I really felt at home". Of her mother-in-law, "Oh, she was lovely. Actually she reminded me of my own people, how she did things. He [her husband] comes from a big family, about 13 of them. Sitting at the table reminds me of my own family, talk, so close together." But some women (especially if they were Maori) whose husbands came from rural areas had been subjected to stares and comments from local people. The woman who spoke warmly of her mother-in-law was not so enthusiastic about other relatives. "They see you are from another country, they stare at you, and you wonder sometimes what they are thinking of you." And of people in the street, "They stare. I didn't know why they were staring. Some might stare because they have never seen you before. Over here I don't class myself as black but over there some people class me as [pause] Spanish or a nigger because they say my colouring is totally different from theirs". She said she could not get over it because she had seen a lot of women in Italy who were darker than she. Another woman, Sandra, said, "They thought we were backward and I thought they were backward. I amused them like they amused me. It worked both ways".

Case studies

The central ideas about decision making processes discussed in this chapter are best illustrated by a closer examination of five of the case studies. The particular case studies were selected because they represented certain findings in the study of Turangi. While much of the information contained in each of these case studies was obtained during a series of lengthy interviews, subsequent actions are also described. Thus this section relates not only what people said they would do but what they actually did (to date at least).

Case 1: Francesco and Robyn - A decision to stay in New Zealand

By 1982 Francesco had spent 14 years with Codelfa Cogefar in New Zealand. He had arrived in 1968 as a single man 23 years old. A qualified cabinet maker/carpenter, he was attracted to the job in New Zealand because the money was good, three times what he was earning in Italy. It was not his first venture out of Italy as he had spent about eight years living in France, where his father worked, and where he had learned his trade.

As a single man Francesco had found little that he liked about camp life, "Boring, meals, work, go to bed - nothing". At the camp the cookhouse was the centre of recreational activities. Like most of the men in the early days he didn't have a car and relied on a company mini-bus to get to Turangi for late night shopping on

Thursdays. To escape camp boredom he used to travel around looking for girls.

At the time of his arrival in New Zealand Francesco thought that he would probably stay about three years. Despite the privations of camp life Francesco did not return to Italy after three years. He was already married to Robyn, his New Zealand wife, before he returned with her to Italy for a holiday.

Robyn, a teacher from Auckland had only spent one week as a teacher in Turangi in 1972 when she met Francesco at the local hotel. She had never previously met an Italian and her knowledge of Italians was limited to, "They were dark, they ate spaghetti, that was about all". She did admit to having an Italian phrase book with her when she arrived in Turangi, "with no idea that I would meet an Italian..."

Francesco and Robyn married in 1972 with some concern on the part of Robyn's family who had only met Francesco once. "They were concerned that I was going to go back to Italy and sort of be lost." Francesco's parents were also worried about the marriage because they had never met Robyn and they tried to persuade Francesco to change his mind.

Although their early married life was spent in a Codelfa camp Robyn was away from the camp at work each day. Later when they lived in Mangaweka she continued teaching, travelling each day to Taihape.

By the time their second daughter was born they were living in Turangi.

In the years after their marriage Francesco and Robyn had two holidays in Italy. Robyn enjoyed her visits to Italy and got on well with her husband's family. She described the place where they stayed as, "A really warm place - in character I mean, and for me a festive feeling, a different atmosphere completely. May be due to the fact that we were important, we were there on holiday...we were fussed over and everybody was extremely good to us and went out of their way to show us things and do things for us, we were just treated beautifully" and "I'm really pleased I've been because I think I really understand Francesco better and his background and his life and the people better".

While Robyn said she loved the "feeling" of Italy - something she found lacking in New Zealand - there were also things about Italy that she found difficult to come to terms with. She regarded the education system as rigid and formal, the medical system as old fashioned and doing business a slow process.

Francesco expressed no strong dislikes about New Zealand, though he confessed he did find it rather boring. This was explained by the lack of international sporting activities, especially of the kind he had enjoyed in Italy, for example, bicycle racing. He said that in New Zealand he did not feel a stranger as he had in some countries but he made the point that it was necessary for the migrant to change

because the country would not change. Robyn commented that her husband had become "more like a Kiwi". While it may be difficult to define the elements of such a change there were obviously commonsense understandings in Turangi of what constituted a New Zealander and an Italian.

A problem of commonsense understandings, touched on earlier in this chapter, is that they rely upon immediate empirical evidence at the expense of contextual analysis. This is characteristic of perceptions held by Italians and New Zealanders of each other - and of themselves. The result is a strong tendency to emphasise dispositional factors in the explanation of personality and social relationships at the expense of situational factors. Furthermore, stereotypes, once formed, are clung to even in the face of contrary evidence. It was suggested for example that Italian men did not like their wives to wear trousers or to smoke (Kidman, 1981:23). The wives of Italians in Turangi appeared to wear trousers and to smoke with the same frequency as other women. There were always a lot of exceptions when people were discussing what they thought of as Italian characteristics. "They're like that, but he's different," or "He's not like that," usually from New Zealand women talking about their husbands. Even the popular belief that Italians are dark was not borne out in Turangi where the 'typical' dark hair and eyes were in fact uncommon.

On more than one occasion Italians and New Zealanders commented on New Zealand women who had "Italianised" themselves and of Italian

men who had become "like Kiwis". The word "Italianised" was used of New Zealand women who had perhaps learned Italian with at least a degree of fluency, prepared most food in the Italian manner and wore frilly blouses and gold chain necklaces. A man who had become "like a Kiwi" probably spoke good English, was not considered a chauvinist by women, did not demand Italian food at every meal and was not generally conspicuous. The most frequently quoted example of the latter was Francesco. He spoke good English. His wife was a New Zealander. He did not seek out Italian company after work. And he intended to stay in New Zealand after his contract ended.

Francesco and Robyn made the conscious decision to stay in New Zealand long before 1982. They had invested in a house in Auckland in 1976 and at that time they decided they would stay in New Zealand: "Not really a hard decision...[we] compared countries and this [New Zealand] came out best" (Francesco, 1982). For Francesco the fact of marriage to a New Zealander had been the major influence in the decision to stay. Both found it hard to separate sentimental and material elements in decision making, "It's really what's best all round" (Robyn). "Well, I don't mind for myself really to stay here or there but we choose [sic] for the family that it would be better here" (Francesco). However, while a decision had been made to stay in New Zealand, Robyn said, "...if Francesco really wanted to go back to Italy...and had considered all the ideas and thought that was best for all of us, I'd go". The commitment to staying in New Zealand had been made in the best material and social interests of the family as Francesco and Robyn understood those interests.

Both agreed that life would probably be easier in New Zealand than Italy. There was also the possibility that in Italy Francesco would have to seek work away from home. While Francesco thought that social security benefits were better in Italy than in New Zealand Robyn was quick to point out the inequalities of the Italian welfare system and the need for money, for example, to go to university. "What we can have in New Zealand we wouldn't have in Italy." After the end of the Turangi contract they expected to live in Auckland. Francesco hoped to get a good job though he was concerned that his Italian qualifications as a joiner were not recognised in New Zealand. Robyn hoped to get work as a teacher. Robyn's professional qualifications had been an important consideration in the decision to stay in New Zealand. They both hoped that life would be easier than in Turangi with the shift work and long hours. Robyn admitted to being a bit sad about leaving Turangi, "As it gets closer I suddenly think of the nice things, being able to ride a bike to the shops, taking life quietly, the mountain, and the things I hate about Turangi don't seem so bad". Although they did not expect to return to Italy permanently they hoped to return for a holiday. They did not rule out the possibility of other moves if opportunities arose, particularly to Australia.

At the end of 1982 Francesco and Robyn expected that Francesco's contract would be terminated in January 1983. Robyn was hoping to get a teaching job in Auckland. They thought Francesco would probably have a holiday on his own with his family in Italy before returning to Auckland to look for work.

Postscript January 1984

Francesco's contract continued until mid-1983. After that the whole family went to Italy for a holiday. They returned to Auckland towards the end of 1983 though Robyn said, "I would quite like to have stayed in Italy but it was mainly because we had such a wonderful holiday and I guess also this time it was harder to leave as we don't know when we can return". Francesco got a job as a carpenter/joiner as soon as he returned to Auckland and Robyn found work as a relief teacher. They found city life quite different from Turangi and initially were a little lonely and found life away from the company and their friends in Turangi a little difficult. Although Francesco spoke good English he found some difficulties in an all English-speaking environment. Cultural differences were also noticeable. As a wine drinker he was not used to the rounds of beer after work neither was he used to a weekly sweepstake - activities which emphasised his outsider position.

Case 2: Enzo and Annette - Indecision

Enzo first arrived in New Zealand in 1972 at the age of thirty. He had spent the previous ten years working on short overseas contracts of six months or one year, returning to Italy for a period before leaving again. In this way, as a circulating migrant, he had worked in many places including Saudi Arabia, Germany, France, Turkey, Zambia and New Caledonia. It was while working in New

Caledonia that a friend told him of the job in New Zealand so he thought he would come to "have a look". Enzo liked what he saw and Codelfa Construction employed him on the Tamaki bridge construction in Auckland, on a one year contract. "I start working, I put away good money. After I find my wife I decide to marry one day - still here."

In Auckland there had not been the boredom of the bush camps. There had been opportunities for going out and Saturday nights at the pub. Within a few months of arriving Enzo met Annette, a Pakeha, in a pub and they were soon married and Enzo moved in with Annette's parents. From Auckland they moved to Mangaweka where Enzo worked on the viaduct. They lived in a rented house in Mangaweka and when they moved to Turangi they bought their own house which by 1982 they had lived in for seven years. The section had been carefully landscaped and planted and stood out as the most attractive in the street.

Enzo was one of the few Italians interviewed who was involved in a variety of activities in Turangi. He said that he liked to leave the job behind when he finished work and didn't look to his workmates for social activity. He was very much involved with the local Gun Club which he saw as a social activity for the family. Annette was also interested and had two years previously been North Island ladies' shooting champion. Enzo also bred rabbits and cage birds, kept a thoroughbred horse and belonged to clubs associated with each. Enzo said that he saw social and community activities as a way of improving his English and getting to know people, things that he saw

as important for his own well-being in New Zealand. He said he felt at ease in New Zealand and he appeared settled as there was nothing temporary about his life style.

Although Enzo did not rely on his workmates for company he did have a couple of close Italian friends, also in the Gun Club. He had in addition four or five friends who were very interested in soccer. These men would come to his house at 3.00am on Monday mornings to listen to direct soccer commentaries from Italy on Enzo's short wave radio. Those who did not get out of bed were telephoned with the results directly after the match.

Enzo could find little to criticise about New Zealand. Like most Italians he missed his family and especially his mother. And like many others he missed Italian sports, especially soccer, but "after ten years you start to forget it [life in Italy]". He thought it was possible for him to go back to Italy at any time but found life in Turangi congenial and considered he had more opportunities in New Zealand for doing the things he liked to do, such as hunting and shooting and outdoor activities.

On his return visits to Italy Enzo had found that his friends had married and that "all had the private life". After two weeks he wanted to come back to New Zealand but stayed because of his mother and brother. Annette had had two long holidays in Italy and was very enthusiastic about life in Italy and would have been happy to live there. She enjoyed the emphasis on family life that she found in

Enzo's village and the opportunities for the whole family to join in social gatherings at cafes and bars.

In the middle of 1982 Annette and Enzo had made no decision about the future. She was happy to go to Italy and he was happy to stay in New Zealand. He expected to be employed by Codelfa for quite some time so they felt they could not make a decision until later.

Enzo and Annette are a good case of those with divided loyalties who feel a commitment to both Italy and New Zealand. Both were anxious to say only good about each other's country and wanted to avoid making a choice.

"I'll go where he goes and vice versa so we thought we'd just have a look around ... we've sort of got an open mind. It's either going to Italy to live or back here for a business. It will be one or the other but we can't decide until we have had a holiday."

Enzo was anxious to see his mother and thought they might stay a couple of years in Italy. Though at 40 Enzo just wanted to find "one place to stay" and Annette agreed. "Now I'm no longer young, the family, the kids want to stay in one place. I don't care where, Italy or New Zealand I want one place." They were not alone in wanting to 'settle down'. Another couple had said, "We can't go on like this [on contract work]". While young people may move around there is a social expectation that at some, not too clearly specified, time they will settle down.

Both said that their concern for the future had prompted them to work hard. In mid-1982 Enzo was still working about 60 hours per week. Annette had two jobs, one as a waitress in a local hotel and the other as a driver of the Codelfa bus that took men to the night shift at Rangipo. Her explanation for all the work was:

"I think the big thing is if you have got a bit of money behind, well you've got less problems shall we say. A few people thought we were really silly buying a house and staying at home and sort of not going out and having a good time, but now, a bit different now."

Annette resented that people said that they were lucky because they had their own house. "I said it was not lucky. I said we gave up while you were out having parties and things, we were sitting at home buying furniture and trees [sic]."

By the end of 1982 Enzo and Annette had not decided about the future. Enzo was still with Codelfa with no definite finishing date. He was not quite so concerned about returning to Italy as his mother had recently died. They felt they did not have to rush with decision making.

"We feel we've got more choice because we've always got a house to come back to here or something to sell if we want to stay over there. Whereas they've got to go - you know they haven't even got time to sit in the house and look around for a business, they've got to get out [of the rented house]."

Postscript December 1983 to January 1984

In December 1983 Enzo and Annette were still in Turangi. Enzo had been made redundant earlier in the year and after that had spent five weeks in Italy on business. After returning from Italy Enzo took on the job of driver of a school bus while Annette had a fulltime administrative position at an hotel. No choice had been made between New Zealand and Italy, rather Annette and Enzo were hoping to enjoy the best of both worlds and were planning to move between New Zealand and Italy. They already owned an apartment in Italy and planned to build a house to live in, starting in February 1984, in the same town. The whole family intended to go for the Italian summer during which time Enzo and his brother hoped to build the house.

It was proposed that they would return to New Zealand for the summer of 1984-85. They hoped to continue moving between Italy and New Zealand at least for a while. They expected to maintain their commitments to New Zealand and Italy and thus solve the problem of deciding between conflicting commitments. They did not mention the resources necessary to maintain such a life style. Neither did they mention the possibility that the appeal of such a life might fade.

By January 1984 although the plan remained substantially the same certain modifications had been made. Annette and Enzo intended to stop in Australia with her sister on the way to Italy, and

investigate possibilities. Enzo was enthusiastic about the fact that in Sydney there are 50,000 Italians from his home area, speaking his own dialect. They had received gloomy news from Enzo's brother about the Italian economy which they thought might have some effect on them, as far as employment and their building plans were concerned. It is possible that material circumstances will force Enzo and Annette into making a choice between Italy and New Zealand and that in fact their choices may be more limited than they hoped. The case of Enzo and Annette highlights the problem of conflicting commitments in decision making and the agony that some families have in making a choice between Italy and New Zealand.

Case 3: Luigi and Sandra - Indecision followed by a decision to stay in New Zealand

In 1982 Luigi had been in New Zealand for 11 years first arriving in 1971 as a single man of 24. By trade he was a plasterer. He was the son of a tunneller and had spent most of his time in New Zealand as a tunneller. In mid 1982 he was engaged in concreting the tunnel at Rangipo.

Before coming to New Zealand Luigi had spent a year in West Germany as an icecream maker. He heard about the job in New Zealand through a friend and came mainly out of curiosity, with a two year contract but expecting to stay only a few months. He did return to Italy for a holiday but took another contract and in 1974 married Sandra, a young woman whose family lived in Turangi and who Luigi had

met at the restaurant where Sandra worked. When asked how long he had lived in New Zealand Luigi had to think a moment before answering "Eleven years but it only seems like yesterday".

For Luigi there was no question that the sparkle of life in Italy was preferable to the tedium of New Zealand though throughout 1982 both he and Sandra were undecided about what they would do when the contract was terminated. I visited them several times during the year and was frequently greeted by Sandra saying "we haven't decided yet". She told me that they were going to leave it as long as possible before deciding. They intended to extend the period for decision making as Luigi expected to seek work at Wheo with Codelfa Construction after being declared redundant at Rangipo.

Luigi's ambivalence about living in New Zealand was expressed by such comments as "in some ways I hate it, but in some ways I like it" (New Zealand) and he could also say, "Oh I like it here in New Zealand - fishing, beautiful views, I like to go hunting - you have good air - really good I like it. Not many people...you want to go somewhere with the car - no traffic, easy."

While appreciating the countryside Luigi wasn't too enthusiastic about New Zealanders though he was close to his wife's family in Turangi and got on well with New Zealand workmates. He had one or two close Italian friends and was a keen member of the Gun Club.

Sandra, an outgoing woman was involved in sporting activities in Turangi. Like most of the wives of Italians she had a social life of her own which took account of her husband's shift hours. In the past she had acquiesced when Luigi was on night shift and had expected her to be home when he was sleeping during the day. Over the years she had taken a more independent stand. This she considered demonstrated a change in her husband as much as in herself as he had moved from what she and others saw as the Italian male chauvinist stereotype. Reference has already been made to these kinds of perceptions earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 2.

Both Luigi and Sandra were reluctant to make direct comparisons between New Zealand and Italy. Sandra felt she couldn't base her present ideas on impressions of six years previously. There was a desire to cling to what she saw as the best of Italy and of New Zealand especially for the sake of the children who were seven and five in 1982. Sandra expressed this desire with reference to her children:

"I think if you keep on thinking about the kids you'll be happy about it [a decision]. ..in some ways I'd like to see my kids from now till about 12 being brought up over there, then come back here. Half English - half Kiwi - half Italian...you've got their ideas mixing with our ideas - when they get back here they'll be old enough to absorb those ideas, to make the best of them".

There was also the worry that things might not work like that, "If we wait that long to come back here it might be twice as hard to start". Their indecision was summed up by Luigi, "Like to stay both sides".

For Luigi his marriage to a New Zealander and his children were the most important influences in decision making. But he was aware that these interests were best served by a concern for material well-being. The aim of many of the Italian workers was to own their own business, "the ultimate" as one woman said. Nearly all the Italians interviewed thought it would be easier to get their own business in New Zealand rather than in Italy and Luigi was no exception. Businesses were more readily available and cheaper to buy than in Italy. Towards the end of the year Luigi made it clear that he was looking for a business but had no specific businesses in mind. There was still a reluctance to make any long term decisions. "To stay permanently in this country - I don't know - for the moment I like to stay. Maybe one year, two years - I don't know."

When asked what had finally made them decide to stay in New Zealand Sandra said "I thought of those two (Luigi and his friend) going over there and doing without what they've got here...and it just tipped it. If it's hard over there and it's hard here it must be harder there, especially if you don't want to work for anyone over there". She had also been concerned about violence in Italy "when I was in Rome and saw them shooting down those people was another one that tipped it".

Sandra had on the whole enjoyed her experiences in Italy but was not unhappy with the decision to stay in New Zealand. Her comment "I'll always be a Maori" was more an observation of Italian society and possible discrimination, than it was of New Zealand society. It

was also a way of rationalising a decision. There were also positive aspects of ethnicity that could be of use in New Zealand. Sandra's father had suggested the possibility of making land available for Sandra and Luigi to operate some kind of caravan or camping site in the north.

By the end of 1982 the decision to buy a business had been acted on. Sandra and Luigi bought a takeaway business in Turangi which Sandra operated. Luigi had transferred to the Wheo site and was still employed by Codelfa construction.

Postscript January 1984

The business was not a success and according to other informants went bankrupt in the middle of 1983. The business was sold and Sandra, Luigi and family went to Italy in June 1983. Little was known of them but I was told by a man who returned to New Zealand from Italy in December 1983 that Luigi and his two friends from Turangi were working on a tunnel project in Northern Italy. I was told that Luigi would like to come back to New Zealand "but how can he? He's nothing to come back to" [Luigi had never owned property in New Zealand]. By failing to make a commitment to New Zealand and to himself in terms of property, Luigi would probably find it difficult to return to New Zealand even if he wanted to.

Case 4: Riccardo and Judith - A decision to return to Italy

"He always talks about Italy - it's his land. His ideas will never change about Italy".

Riccardo had only briefly entertained the idea of remaining in New Zealand. When I talked to him on several occasions in 1982 he was determined to return to Italy. He was however concerned about whether Judith would settle happily in Italy and if she did not like it, it was possible they would return, but only to Auckland.

If Riccardo had not met Judith he would probably have never left Italy. He had never worked abroad before coming to New Zealand and spoke no English before coming, and not too much after five years residence. Judith and Riccardo met in Italy in 1972 when she was holidaying there with her mother and sister. Judith's mother was an Italian who had married a New Zealander at the end of the war and settled in Auckland. The children had been brought up bilingually so Italian was no problem for Judith. She had not been too impressed with Riccardo on this first meeting, but they wrote to each other and after a year he came to New Zealand for a two month holiday. Two years passed before he returned looking for a job, which he found with Codelfa. They were married the same year.

At that time Riccardo expected to stay two and a half years in New Zealand, his contract period. At the end of the contract the company were keen to retain him, so after a holiday in Italy he

returned. During the first years of their marriage Riccardo and Judith had lived in Moawhango Camp. Riccardo had disliked camp life: "too isolated, windy and cold, in the middle of nowhere". Judith agreed but also said she liked the quiet and being on their own. She had worked as tea lady for MOW at Moawhango, a job she found enjoyable.

Riccardo and Judith spoke Italian at home, though Judith also intended to speak English to their new baby. Although Riccardo had learned some English, he spoke less English than most of the Italians in Turangi, probably relying on Judith in social situations. He had made little effort to move towards New Zealand society; he worked with Italians, spoke Italian at work and home, and lived on the worksite at the Codelfa stores in Turangi. Their house was quite isolated in the industrial area of Turangi and they had no neighbours "only two dogs".

Riccardo was a keen follower of soccer, and one of his main complaints about New Zealand was the lack of soccer. He spent a lot of time at the homes of two friends discussing soccer or listening to direct commentaries on the short wave radio. In the living room a pile of Italian sports papers from Australia testified to the interest.

"...in private life he [the sojourner] tends to live apart from the natives and to share with his countrymen in striving to maintain homeland culture. His best friends are people of his ethnic group, and they entertain one another at their homes" (Siu, 1952:37).

Apart from the football connections Riccardo had no other interests in Turangi except the occasional game of cards. He did watch television: "It's the only thing there is here". Generally he found the New Zealand way of life very slow and dull when he compared it with Italy, and Turangi especially so: "It's like a cemetery!"

After the birth of her baby in April 1982 Judith's social life was restricted and she did not join Riccardo when he went out to discuss soccer. She missed her mother's companionship and advice concerning the baby. Although Judith was not looking forward "at all" to going to Italy permanently in mid 1982 she was quite prepared for it. "Right from the start I knew that one day we would end up in Italy". There had never really been any question for Judith that she might influence her husband to stay in New Zealand. Perhaps this indicates her understanding of what she called 'the Italian way'. She may have expected her husband to make decisions perhaps trying to fulfill her role as an Italian wife rather than as the New Zealand wife of an Italian. She certainly recognised distinctions between, for example, Italian and New Zealand child rearing practices and said she would bring the baby up in "the Italian way". Whether her perception of the Italian wife measured up to the reality of the role of Italian wives in Italy is another matter. But whatever happened she said New Zealand would always be home. She didn't envisage any problems in Italy "I'm half Italian and I go by the Italian way - I try to, so he's got no problem". Asked if she disliked anything about Italy she said "it's far away from New Zealand". Riccardo hoped that he would be able to get his old job back as a mechanic in

his home town.

Postscript December 1983 to January 1984

Riccardo's job with Codelfa finished in mid 1983. I was informed that he and Judith went to Italy for a holiday and planned to return to Auckland and buy a stationer's business. Apparently Riccardo had changed his mind about returning to Italy when relations had informed him of the poor economic prospects in Italy.

By January 1984 Judith and Riccardo had returned to Auckland. One of Riccardo's first actions had been to telephone his fellow soccer fan in Turangi! This case is particularly interesting. Riccardo and Judith thought they were making a choice determined by sentiment, a choice to return to Italy. But they proved that sentiment can quickly be subsumed by material advantage. Riccardo too has some security in knowing that he will speak Italian at home and enjoy at least some aspects of Italian life with his wife's family.

Case 5: Paolo and Gina - A decision to return to Italy

For Paolo and Gina there had hardly ever been any thought that they might stay permanently in New Zealand. Despite living 11 years in New Zealand and several years in Switzerland before that, they always expected to return to Italy. Paolo had originally taken the job in New Zealand because the money was good and he would be able to

save. He had not however intended to stay too long, two to four years he had thought. His job as a master mechanic made him one of the most valued employees and in the early days he had often worked a 60 hour week.

In 1982 Paolo was working at Wheo returning to Turangi at the weekends, a situation he did not like. Previously he had only ever lived six months in a camp when he first arrived in New Zealand and before his wife and children arrived. After seven years they had had a brief stay in a camp. For most of the time in New Zealand Paolo had lived next door to his brother, also a Codelfa employee, married to Gina's sister. The two brothers and two sisters had previously lived next door to each other in Switzerland. Paolo's brother had returned to Italy in 1981 to live in the house which he had built with remittances from New Zealand. This stood next to the identical house that Paolo and Gina had built and planned to live in! In addition Paolo's younger brother worked for Codelfa. He returned to Italy with his New Zealand wife in 1982.

For Paolo and Gina the prime reason for returning to Italy was to live in their house and to see their family. The family was an extremely strong influence on the plans of Paolo and Gina. When they arrived in New Zealand they brought their closest relatives with them. Paolo claimed he had no friends in Italy because he had lived so long away. Yet they had little need of friends outside the family when the family fulfilled all their social needs. Paolo was emphatic that free time, weekends, was spent with the family: "Just my

family, my family is all for me." Differences between Italian and New Zealand perceptions of the family were mentioned in Chapter 2. Thompson (1980:143) found that the views of several Italians she interviewed coincided with those of a man who said, "...friends are brothers, sisters and relatives, and they are enough". The financial and emotional investment made in the property and family made non-return unthinkable for Gina and Paolo.

Paolo's long working hours, mainly with Italians and the close relationship he enjoyed with his brother's family probably inhibited him from learning too much English, though he got on well with New Zealanders. Gina on the other hand, had had more time to get to know New Zealanders and to learn English. She said she found it easy to adjust and had always been happy in New Zealand, with many friends and interests. She had arrived with her sister, and the family had been housed first in Waiouru then Ohakune and finally Turangi. Neither Paolo or Gina had any strong dislikes about New Zealand though they found Turangi quiet and wished there was a cinema.

If a return to Italy was the fulfillment of the dreams and work of Paolo and Gina, their children were not quite so confident. At the end of 1982 their daughter had just been accredited with University Entrance and their son had finished Form Four. The daughter was rather hesitant but said she didn't really want to go. All her conscious life had been spent in New Zealand. Both were a bit apprehensive about going to Italy though they were looking forward to seeing their cousins again. The sometimes conflicting

commitments of Italian teenagers were previously discussed in Chapter 2. This case study illustrates such conflict, though neither of Paolo and Gina's children initially took any action on their New Zealand commitment.

Although Paolo and Gina wanted to go back to Italy they did not rule out the possibility of a further overseas contract, but only if all the family could go. "If Codelfa is having another ten years job here in New Zealand I stay another ten years, going sometime for a holiday and come back".

Postscript December 1983

Paolo and Gina returned to Italy mid 1983 and as far as is known have remained. Paolo and Gina always saw themselves as sojourners and their departure confirms their perception.

SUMMARY

The complexities of decision making have been discussed in this chapter. The five case studies emphasise the main problems that people face. Their decisions or indecisions reflect certain levels of commitment.

Of the five case studies those of Francesco and Robyn and Paolo and Gina exemplify best the position of those who have made firm

commitments and based their decisions on their commitments. For Paolo and Gina an overseas contract was a way of beating the system and ensuring that they and their family would have ultimately a better standard of living in Italy than they would have had had they not gone overseas. Their stated reason for coming to New Zealand was to save more money than they would have saved otherwise. When they arrived in New Zealand their commitment was to their future, a future in Italy. Marriage had not produced any conflict of commitments, rather it had strengthened the commitment, not only to their own family of marriage, but to both families of origin. The close commitment to the family had been extremely influential in the single minded purpose of Paolo and of his brother over many years and their careful use of material assets had enabled them to fulfill family ambitions.

For Francesco commitment to staying in New Zealand had developed largely through marriage to a New Zealander. Like DeAmicis' migrants to Australia, Francesco had gradually become committed. He had learned English, married, purchased a house and fathered children who were New Zealand children. His commitments in New Zealand had become more salient than those he had left behind in Italy. While he and his family could have returned to Italy it was probably Robyn's professional qualifications and job opportunities for her that intensified the commitment to New Zealand. For Robyn the main advantage of staying in New Zealand was the opportunity to work.

Conflicting commitments and the resulting indecision marked the case of Enzo and Annette. They were also an example of several couples who kept their options open and maximised opportunities by making material investment in the form of real estate in both Italy and New Zealand. In the case of Enzo and Annette that action had not made decision making any easier, in fact it had probably made it more difficult. Their stated aim of making as much money as they could while they had the opportunity, as a protection for the future, permitted them to delay decision making, and to some extent create a fantasy world.

Decision making was not easy for Luigi and Sandra. While conflicting commitments were a problem there was also a reluctance to come to terms with decision making. Luigi and Sandra were like other couples in that they would have liked to know the future before making a decision. While Luigi had made a commitment to a New Zealander on marriage and this had been strengthened with the birth of two children he remained ambivalent about New Zealand. Until they bought the business at the end of 1982 they had never owned property in New Zealand, though Luigi had real estate in Italy. He compared New Zealand unfavourably with Italy, though he had been happy to return to New Zealand after holidays in Italy and thought that prospects for buying a business were better in New Zealand than in Italy. The decision to buy a business in New Zealand was made quickly. Sandra was enthusiastic about the business and was happy to stay in New Zealand. A particular justification was on the grounds of ethnicity though she made no complaints about any discrimination

on her visit to Italy. With the failure of the business, the material venture, commitment to Italy was reaffirmed and Luigi and Sandra fell back on the material and sentimental investments in Italy. However the uncertainty remained.

The continuing story of some of those interviewed in 1982 points to the difficulty of trying to categorise the decisions that people made. The case study of Riccardo and Judith is an example of the complete about face that can be made with changing circumstances. A seemingly unwavering commitment to a return to Italy and a closed-ended commitment to New Zealand was overturned by changing circumstances. Sentiment was overruled by the material and Riccardo and Judith returned to New Zealand with open-ended commitments reorientated to life in New Zealand.

Commitment although appearing strong can often be very fragile and liable to be overturned if circumstances change. While commitments are made on the basis of sentiment, the family being particularly important, a sentimental commitment has more chance of survival if it is backed by material resources. Where economic circumstances are uncertain most people are prepared to sacrifice at least some of their sentimental interests in favour of material well-being. Some are able to satisfy both their material and sentimental interests by the same action and this is more likely if they have made advance preparations. That however suggests a degree of rationality that is not easy to attain.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to explain why people who came to New Zealand as contract workers, expecting to return to Italy, made the decisions they did about their futures and why decision making was problematic for many. Orthodox migration theories were of limited use in this research for two main reasons. First, an emphasis on objective structural determinants in migration theories frequently failed to take account of the reality of subjective elements, that is, the individual's perceptions.

Second, the definition of migrants as those who move with the intention of settling permanently, or at least for a lengthy period, in another place prevents the consideration of migrants with intentions other than permanent residence. The emphasis on the objective tends to view migration and permanent residence as resulting from a series of rational choices made before the migrant leaves the original home. While many do migrate after such an exercise it cannot be assumed that all do.

Italians made decisions to move to New Zealand to work. Permanent residence in New Zealand was not part of that decision. That some have become, or intend to become, permanent settlers has been indicated by the findings of this study.

While not denying the importance of rationality, the subjective approach of this study emphasises that migration decisions are a complex of the rational and irrational, conscious and unconscious, calculated and impulsive. Hence subjective understandings do not provide wholly satisfactory explanations either, therefore there is a need for wider analysis, taking into account the individual's experience and situation. In this thesis the discussion of the company, community and family background provides the social setting for decision making.

There were two specially important areas that people considered when they were faced with the decision to go or to stay. These were concerned with jobs and material well-being and with family and friends. I have termed the areas material and sentimental.

Issues of material and sentimental interest, while necessary for examining the microlevel decision making process, are not sufficient to explain the nature of its socio-economic context. These two major components operate within those particular socio-economic backgrounds which characterise Treviso and Turangi in the late twentieth century.

How people took account of their material and sentimental interests in decision making was examined by in depth case studies. This analysis was concerned not only with the subjective view but also sought to exemplify a distinction between subjective and objective.

The concepts, circular migration and sojourner, were of much greater relevance to the situation of Italians in Turangi than was the notion of permanent migration. The process of transformation from sojourner to settler or from sojourner to returnee to Italy was examined within the framework of commitment. Commitments are obligations that attach a person to others or to activities or places. Behaviour is guided by commitments. In changing circumstances, commitments can be reassessed to accommodate changing opportunities and perceptions.

Italians took on commitments in New Zealand that for some became more important than commitments in Italy. Most of these commitments were not entered into consciously as commitments that would be binding to New Zealand. For many the most important commitment was marriage. Marriage is a bundle of commitments, only some of which people will be aware of at the time of marriage.

The concept of commitment was also useful in explaining why people did not stay in New Zealand. Many Italians retained strong commitments to Italy. Most Italians from the TPD did return to Italy over the years, because they were married to Italians, had property

and family in Italy and had Italian job prospects: a combination of material and sentimental reasons.

There were many similarities between the Americans that DeAmicis (1976) wrote of, and the Italians in Turangi. As daily life in Turangi became more salient, ties with Italy weakened. Ties with New Zealand strengthened as more significant others were in Turangi than Italy. Some Italians shifted their commitments to the extent that they chose to stay in New Zealand rather than return to Italy.

Yet there were also circumstances unique to Italians in Turangi that influenced decision making. Although the reasons that Italians gave for coming to New Zealand varied considerably, they all came to work on the same project, in the same place and for the same Italian company. They all had contracts on similar terms and an expectation that they would probably return to Italy.

Once the contract was signed, commitments were to a certain extent structured by the company. Whatever the reason for coming, all had elected to work for the company and the first commitment was to the company. This major commitment inhibited the development of others, at least initially. The company was in effect a total institution, providing income, accommodation, and heavily structuring social life.

The encapsulation of Italian workers within the confines of the company and the camps, especially in the early years, placed them in

very different circumstances from other migrants. Some of the problems that caused migrants to return to Italy from Australia (Thompson, 1980), such as getting a job, difficulties with English, qualifications, discrimination in jobs and housing were of no concern to the Italians in Turangi. Such was the extent of company provision that they were, in effect, still in Italy, culturally and socially, if not geographically. These circumstances distinguish this study from other studies of migration.

So many of the workers' material needs were provided by the company that there was little need to make contacts beyond it. Their lives were structured by the company: the tunnel face where they worked; the company-provided cookhouse where they ate and were entertained; the company provided on-site accommodation where they slept. This was particularly so in the early years, characterised by single status contracts, when few workers had their own transport, most relying on the company mini-bus to take them outside the camp. Thus even trips to Turangi were structured by the rhythms of work.

The contractual tie of the workers to the company was strong. The terms of the contracts were such that if they were terminated, the men were obliged to return to Italy as immigration requirements prevented them from seeking alternative employment in New Zealand.

While the company took good care of material needs, emotional needs were not satisfied. The experience of loneliness and the need and desire for affection and sexual satisfaction took men away from

the camps. As a larger proportion of them were young and single it is not surprising that they sought the company of women in Turangi. For a considerable number of men the original chance encounter with a woman developed into commitments that tied and obligated them to New Zealand. Two thirds of the Italian men remaining in Turangi in 1982 were married to New Zealand women, one reason why many were still there. For many the greatest commitment to New Zealand was through marriage, though some Italians not married to New Zealanders also became committed to staying in New Zealand.

When the company began to provide accommodation for families, material needs were again satisfied. But again provision could not be made for all needs. Children left the camp to go to school. The educational needs of the children were largely responsible for the change in company policy which resulted in housing being provided in Turangi.

Marriage and family and associated areas of sentiment, the concern for elderly parents, for the best opportunities for children, for the quality of life for the family were extremely important in decision making. But evidence from the case studies demonstrated the influence material interest has on sentimental interest in decision making. Many Italians and their families appreciated the need for strong material backing, especially if choice on the grounds of sentiment, as was often the case, resulted in the need for heavy financial expenditure. Many had made sound material investments, often in the form of real estate, some covering their options by

investing in Italy and New Zealand.

To consider decision making in terms of the material and the sentimental is useful, but the interrelationships must be recognised. They are often difficult to separate. Sometimes one is more important than the other. Decision making is an on-going process, commitments can and do change according to circumstance as events subsequent to 1982 have shown for Italians and their families. But there are constraining factors which tend to stabilise commitment. It is likely that in the future Italians from Turangi will spend longer periods in one place, be it New Zealand, Italy or elsewhere. Only three or four people were interested in moving on to contracts in other countries. Several were at an age or stage in their lives when they were anxious to settle down. Single men who had arrived in New Zealand prepared to move on again, no longer had only themselves to think about, sometimes there were now three or four others to consider. However if the experience of some who have returned to Italy is repeated, men will take future contracts and will rationalise the decision, it seems, in terms of material and sentimental interests.

Those who stay in one place will strengthen their commitments: and the longer they stay the stronger the commitments are likely to be. Few will have the material resources to allow them to maintain and deepen commitments in more than one place indefinitely. They will have to choose or will have a choice thrust upon them.

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH METHODS

My attention had been drawn to the Italians in the Turangi area by an article in the Listener in September 1981 (Kidman, 1981). This was an account of the closing stages of the Italian input into the TPD and a brief look at the lives of some of the people involved and the futures they faced. The scope of the article only allowed for a fairly superficial treatment of the subject but touched upon two areas of interest to me, migration and ethnicity. Within these broad areas I chose to focus on migration, in particular migration decision making.

By using what Bell and Newby (1977:10) term methodological pluralism, I hoped to utilise the strengths of informal discussions, survey and in depth case studies and perhaps minimise any weaknesses of relying on one technique. A weakness of surveys is that they may measure but not explain. While case studies may give the valuable in depth explanatory information on a few, they may fail to provide the overall setting that the survey helps to supply. While I am aware that method frequently influences purpose, I hoped that by not relying on a single method I would be able to develop more insight into the problems faced by people in Turangi.

Preliminary investigations in Turangi were concerned with establishing a wide range of contacts among Italian families. Initial contacts were established through the wives of Italian workers. I had been warned that Italians might be suspicious of me and I thought that approaches through New Zealand wives would be more fruitful to start with. In addition a letter of introduction was sent to each Italian or Yugoslav employee of Codelfa Cogefar (see Appendix 2). After the first introductions I was passed on from family to family through friendship networks which meant that in almost every instance people were aware of me before they met me. Using these methods I was able to meet almost the entire Italian population. There was very little suspicion and, during long informal talks over coffee or wine, I got to know people and their problems well. I was also able to visit the worksite at Rangipo and see the final stages of the tunnel work.

Before the question of decision making could be thoroughly examined it was important to try to isolate the main constraints on decision making and hence commitment. I decided it was necessary to gather certain census type data in order to establish a base line of general information from which to begin to identify broad areas important in decision making. Having established contacts I considered the most appropriate way to do this, given constraints on time and the fact that Italians were steadily moving out of Turangi, would be by conducting a survey (see Appendix 3).

The main issues covered by the survey were related to commitment and thus decision making. The information already gathered from informal discussions suggested that the following areas were seminal to decision making: knowledge of English, family background, education and skills, length of time in New Zealand, previous experience outside Italy, property ownership and future intentions. The survey questions concentrated on these areas, emphasising the subjective element of the approach taken in this study. The responses enabled a quantitative dimension to be built up.

An analysis of the survey results suggested that there were two broad factors of great importance in decision making. These I termed the material and the sentimental. The influence of the material and the sentimental on decision making and their relationship to commitment was investigated in 12 case studies. The subjects of the case studies were selected as representing a stratified sample of the Italian workers and their families. I wanted representatives of those who planned to go, those who planned to stay and those who were undecided. I also wanted a representation of New Zealand/Italian marriages and of marriages where both partners were Italians. The information from the survey helped to create the context for the case studies. I personally conducted all the survey and case study interviews. Two survey interviews were conducted at the work place, the rest in homes. Both husband and wife took part in most interviews. All the case study interviews took place in the homes of those interviewed. In every case (except the single man) husband and wife participated and in one case children as well.

Between February and November 1982 I visited Turangi on eight occasions spending a total of forty days in Turangi. Ideally I would have liked to interview all Italians and Yugoslavs working for Codelfa during this period. This was not possible. Some people left the company before I was able to interview them. Five did not wish to be interviewed, I was advised not to approach two men suffering from personal stress at the time and one man was in Auckland all the time, first in hospital and then recuperating. It was not possible for me to visit the Wheo site. The company did not permit visits and as a few employed there had no home base in Turangi I was not able to meet them. A total of 36 men, out of approximately 50, and their families were interviewed in the initial survey. Twelve of these were selected as case studies. Brief visits were made in January and December 1983 and January 1984. These subsequent visits enabled me to find out whether any changes in the circumstances of particular families had occurred and whether intentions stated 12 and 18 months earlier had been acted upon.

APPENDIX 2: LETTER CIRCULATED TO POTENTIAL RESPONDENTS

Massey University

PALMERSTON NORTH, NEW ZEALAND

TELEPHONES, 69-099, 69-089.

In reply please quote:

Dear

I am a senior student at Massey University where I study sociology. My special interest is in the movement of people from one place to another. I am particularly interested in the people who have come from Italy and Yugoslavia to work on the Tongariro Hydro Development.

The reasons for my interest are :-

- (a) Because the project lasted much longer than was originally expected and therefore many people stayed longer in New Zealand than they originally wanted to.
- (b) Because the project will soon be completed and people will be thinking about the future.

Would you be willing to help me by answering a few questions about your stay in New Zealand; this would take about half an hour? The questions are prepared in English and Italian. All conversations would be strictly confidential. You do not have to answer any question you do not wish to. I am not publishing anything in the press. No information will be given to any other individual or agency. This research is part of my work for a degree.

I would be extremely grateful if you would be able to help me in this way. I will be contacting you again shortly.

If you would like any further information, please contact me at the above address.

APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name
2. Do you speak English? A little reasonably well fluently
3. Year of birth
4. Place of birth
5. Married Single
6. Is your wife Italian New Zealander other?
7. If Italian - Commune of birth
 Province of birth
8. If New Zealander - Maori Pakeha other?
9. If New Zealander - Place of birth
10. Is your wife in New Zealand or Italy?
11. Year of marriage
12. Children

Place born	Date born	Occupation/ Student/home	Place living	Married

13. How many years full time schooling have you had?
14. Qualifications
15. Occupation
16. Father's occupation
17. Place of last residence in Italy?
18. When did you first come to New Zealand?
19. Why did you come to New Zealand?
20. How long did you intend to stay when you first came?
21. How many times have you returned to Italy since coming to
New Zealand?
22. Had you ever worked outside Italy before coming to New Zealand?
23. If so where?
24. Do you own property in Italy? House land
25. Do you own property in New Zealand? House land
26. Do you have any dependent relatives in Italy? In New Zealand?
27. What relation are they to you?
28. What would you like to do when work of the TDP ends?
29. Do you expect to return to Italy? Stay in New Zealand Undecided
30. What/who has (or will) influenced you in making the decision
to stay or to go?

Marriage
Work
Children
Property
Family
Cultural
Social security
Other

APPENDIX 4: CASE STUDY SCHEDULEQUESTIONS 1-21 ADDRESSED TO ALL ITALIAN MENWork

1. How long have you been in New Zealand?

How did you hear about the job in New Zealand?

2. What is the total number of years you have spent outside Italy, including places other than New Zealand where you have worked?

What other places, if any?

3. How many years did you live in the camp?

Which camps?

What did you like/dislike about camp life?

How long have you lived away from the camp?

4. When you first came how much of your life, social as well as work, was spent in the camp?

How much does your social life now derive from work life, i.e., socialising with workmates?

Did the cookhouse play an important part in your life?

In what ways?

5. Do you have, or have you had, relations working on the project?

6. Have you a job to go to? How did you find it?

Are you looking for a job now?

What are you doing to look for a job?

Social activities

7. Are your friends Italians?

If so, people from your home area?

Others you work with? Italians/Kiwis?

Other New Zealanders?

8. How do you spend your leisure time?

Cards?
 Games?
 Going to the hotel?
 Sports?
 Membership of organisations?
 TV ?
 Hunting?
 Other?

9. Is your social life spent with other men?

Wife?
 Family?

10. How important are family and relatives to you?

How important are friends to you?
 How important are neighbours to you?

11. How often do you go out for social activities?

12. Do your children have god parents?

How did you choose them?
 Is this an important relationship?

13. Do you have connections with Italians in New Zealand outside Turangi?

14. Is the church important in your life at all?

In what way?
 If you had any problems would you expect to get help from the church?

Attitudes to New Zealand/Italy

15. What ideas did you have about New Zealand before you came here?

Was it as you expected?

16. Did you find life in New Zealand very different from Italy?

In what ways?
 Or perhaps you did not find it so different?

17. What do you like about New Zealand/New Zealanders?

What do you dislike about New Zealand/New Zealanders?

18. What do you miss in New Zealand?
19. Have your ideas about Italy changed since you have been here?
 How?
 Have your ideas about New Zealand changed since you have been here?
 How?
20. In what ways have you changed since you have been in New Zealand?
 When you returned to Italy for a holiday, did you find things as you expected?
 What was different?
 Did you want to stay or were you happy to come back?
21. What is it like living in Turangi?
 What do you like/dislike about Turangi?
 Did you ever have any problems with living in Turangi?
 If so, what do you think was the cause of the problems?

QUESTIONS 22-26 ADDRESSED TO ITALIAN MEN MARRIED TO NEW ZEALANDERS

Marriage

22. How did you meet your wife?
23. How did your family feel about you marrying someone from another country?
24. Did you find that by marrying a New Zealander your relationships with Italians changed in anyway?
 How, for example?
25. Do you think there are any special difficulties to be faced when married to someone from another country?
26. Does the fact that you are married to a person from another country affect the way you bring up your children?
 How?
 What language do you speak in your home?
 Do you speak Italian to your children?

QUESTIONS 27-41 ADDRESSED TO NEW ZEALAND WOMEN MARRIED TO ITALIANSMarriage and family life

27. How did you meet your husband?
28. What did you think about Italians before you met your husband?
29. How did your family feel about you marrying someone from another country?
30. Did you ever live in the camp?

What did you like/dislike about camp life?

31. Can you speak Italian?

Would you like to be able to?

32. Have you been to Italy?

Was it like you expected?
What were his relations like?

33. What picture do you have of Italy now?

How do you think you developed your ideas about Italy?
What things do you like about Italy?
Were there any things you disliked?
What?

34. Do you think the fact that you are married to a person from another country affects the way you bring up your children?

How?

35. What is it like being married to a person from another country?

Now continue
with questions
44-49

QUESTIONS 36-43 ADDRESSED TO ITALIAN WOMENMarriage and family life

36. Have you learned English?

37. How did you feel when you first came to New Zealand?

Unhappy?
Language difficulties?
Missing family?
Homesick?
Other?

38. How did you find life in the camp?

39. Did you find there were any special difficulties that women faced?

If so, what?

40. What sort of problems did you have with foods and cooking when you came?

41. Have you ever worked while in New Zealand?

If not, would you have liked to?

42. What will you miss most about New Zealand when you leave?

43. What are you looking forward to most in Italy?

Now continue
with questions
44-49

QUESTIONS 44-49 ADDRESSED TO NEW ZEALAND AND ITALIAN WIVES

44. How does your husband's work affect your marriage/family life?

Does your husband's work mean you spend a lot of time on
your own?

What did you think of the cookhouse?

45. Do you have friends of your own?

Wives of other Italians?

Others?

Common friends?

46. Have you a job?

Would you like a job?

Do your job circumstances affect your decisions about the
future?

47. What sort of strains are placed on a marriage in deciding
whether to go or stay?

Breakups?

Is there agreement about your decision?

Do you change your mind?

48. Is the church important in your life?

In what ways?

49. What did you think of the relationship between management and
workers and families?

QUESTIONS 50-59 ADDRESSED TO BOTH HUSBAND AND WIFEDecision making

50. What advantages are there for you in going to Italy?

Staying in New Zealand?
Going elsewhere?

51. What advantages are there for children in staying/going?

Education?
Way of life?

52. What problems are there for Italians trying to get jobs in New Zealand?

Qualifications and effect on job opportunities?
Do you have a ticket to work in other employment?

53. What opportunities are there for buying businesses/property in New Zealand and Italy?

Do people prefer to have their own business or work for others?

54. How important is your family and relations in your decision making?

Is it as important, more important or less important than financial considerations?

55. How do benefits and pensions in Italy compare with those in New Zealand?

Better - worse - same?

56. What is the most important thing you have to think of when deciding to return to Italy, stay in New Zealand, or go to some other place?

What is problematic?

57. Would you prefer things to go on as they are and not have to make any decisions?

58. Are you more or less decided than you were three months ago?

Decision is?
Is there agreement about the decision?

59. Do you see yourself as a permanent resident of New Zealand?

What do you consider to be a migrant?

APPENDIX 5: THE TONGARIRO POWER DEVELOPMENT

This appendix gives a brief background to the Tongariro power development, the project that Italian tunnellers came to NZ to work on. The Italian company, Codelfa Cogefar, was involved in tunnel construction on contracts One, Three and Four.

As far back as 1903 the future potential of water power in the central North Island was recognised:

"In this region, which is quite unusual in many ways immense quantities of power can be developed and, though somewhat distant from the centres of industry, it will some day prove of wonderful value to the colony ..." (Hancock Report, 1903).

In 1954 the New Zealand Government engaged engineering consultants, Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, of London to investigate the possibility of increasing the output from existing power stations on the Waikato. Eight man made lakes had already been formed on the Waikato below Lake Taupo, by the construction of dams for hydro-electric generating purposes.

Investigations over seven years culminated in the Tongariro Power Development scheme, the most ambitious of the power schemes that have harnessed the Waikato. The existing generating stations already had a capacity of 1,044,800 kilowatts. The Tongariro Power Development will increase their capacity by 16%, adding 300,000 kilowatts of generating capacity at Tokaanu and Rangipo.

The Tongariro development has involved drawing upon the headwaters of certain big rivers and many tributary streams and diverting some southward flowing waters into Lake Rotoaira, Lake Taupo and northwards to the Waikato. Thus the completion of the task of harnessing the Waikato has not taken the conventional high dam and low power house format. It is convenient to consider the project in terms of its four main stages. Major work in each stage was undertaken by contractors under the overall authority of MOW.

Stage 1: Western Diversions

This involved the diversion of the headwaters of the Wanganui River and smaller streams into Lake Rotoaira via stream bed intakes, two dams, 16 kilometres of tunnels and open channels. Most of this was completed in 1972. Contract One, won by Codelfa Cogefar, required the building of the tunnels and ancilliary work.

Stage 2: Tokaanu Power Project

This involved the diversion of some water from the Tongariro river to increase the head of water which falls 200 metres from Lake Rotoaira to the Tokaanu Power Station. The power station was commissioned in 1973. Contract Two, won by Downer and Associates, required the building of the Tokaanu Tunnel and ancilliary work.

Stage 3: Moawhango Diversion Project

Southern flowing streams are collected in a reservoir formed by a 64 metre high dam on the Moawhango river. From here the waters flow northwards through the 19.3 kilometre long Moawhango Tunnel to the Tongariro River providing water for the Tokaanu Power Station and increasing the output of the Waikato Stations. This was completed in 1979. Contract Three, won by Codelfa Cogefar, required the construction of a 19 kilometre tunnel under the Kaimanawa Ranges.

Stage 4: Rangipo Project

Water from the Moawhango diversions plus Tongariro water is led through an eight kilometre tunnel to an underground power house of 120,000 kilowatt capacity. A three kilometre tailrace tunnel returns water to the Tongariro. At the end of 1982 this final project was almost complete. Contract Four, won by Codelfa Cogefar, related to the construction of the tunnels.

The Italian contribution to the TPD was far greater than had been initially envisaged either by MOW or by Codelfa Cogefar. Originally the company had expected to complete the first contract in a maximum of four years. At the same time as bidding for Contract One, they had also bid for Contract Three but there was a delay in the award. Contract Four was undertaken when it was decided to extend the TPD to the Rangipo Project. The Italians established an excellent work and safety record. Codelfa Cogefar completed work on Contract Four without one fatality.

NOTESIntroduction

- 1 Italians make the distinction between Christians and believers. All are considered Christians, only those who practise are believers.

- 2 The 'Italian' workforce also included a small number of Yugoslavs. Two of the 36 interviewed were Yugoslavs and references to Italians also include Yugoslavs unless otherwise stated. New Zealand employees were not considered in this study.

- 3 Burnley (1972:36) describes four basic Italian settlement types in New Zealand: rural, dairy and sheep farming; agro-urban, market garden with adjacent urban area; semi-urban, fishing communities located within urban residential areas and urban settlements in which occupations are associated with cities and towns.

- 4 Seventeen percent of the workforce on the Manapouri hydro-scheme in the early 1960s was of Italian origin. Most were Australian citizens and had been employed on the Snowy River hydro-scheme in Australia.

Chapter 2: Company, Community and Family

- 1 Any suggestion that Italians would be cheap labour and would undercut NZ labour were quite erroneous. In fact at all times the Italian rates of pay have been higher. A system of bonuses increased their rewards, though in 1982 the differential between Italians and other workers was considered to be very little.
- 2 Porteous (1977:330) defines a company town as a community built, owned and operated by a single entrepreneur or corporation.
- 3 Goffman (1961:17) describes the central feature of the total institution as the breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating the sleeping, playing and working spheres of life. All aspects of life are conducted in the same place under the same authority and in the company of others similarly treated. Daily life is tightly scheduled and part of a rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution.
- 4 Here the term patron/client is defined as by Scott (1977:22) as an unequal relationship which is reflected in the disparity of wealth, power and status and characterised by a face to face relationship.

- 5 As used by Weber charisma refers to a certain quality of individual personality possession of which sets a person apart from others. Such a person is seen as especially deserving of respect, despite the office that is held.
- 6 Not all media comment was negative. The Daily News of New Plymouth published on 4 December 1967 a section in Italian and English. This was both a gesture of welcome to Italians and to honour Santa Barbara, patron saint of tunnellers, whose feast day falls on 4 December.
- 7 Codelfa Cogefar's contractual terms limited them to construction work on the TPD. In order to tender for other contracts in New Zealand (and Australia) a separate company, Codelfa Construction, was established. Codelfa Construction was responsible for Tamaki Bridge, Auckland, Mangaweka bridge, Wainuiomata tunnel and construction in Australia. In 1982 the company was still involved in tunnelling on the Wheo Scheme for Rotorua Electricity Authority and was about to embark on a construction project in Western Samoa. The company is administered from the same office as Codelfa Cogefar in Turangi.
- 8 For the purpose of this research, community is defined as a local social system (Stacey, 1969:141). A local social system exists when a set of interrelations exists in a geographically defined locality. Such a social system is based on proximity and does not refer to a quality of relationship - for example,

any kind of gemeinschaft quality. Thus defined Turangi is a local social system.

Chapter 4: Decision Making

1 Men were attracted to high Italian wages in New Zealand not to New Zealand wages. Wages were paid in accordance with the industrial agreement negotiated between FOL, employers' federation and the government. In addition a payment called conguaglio - (the equaliser) which brought remuneration up to the Italian agreement more than doubled net pay. The exchange rate was guaranteed by the company despite New Zealand devaluation. Medical treatment, hospitalisation and dental costs for the men and their families were the company's responsibility. The company also kept up employees' insurances in Italy. In the days of the New Zealand Workmens' Compensation Italian accident compensation was about 400% above New Zealand payments. Lump sum payments for death or permanent disability of a tunneller were about \$30,000.

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