

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN HAMILTON

by



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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of the thesis was to look at the spatial characteristics and factors affecting residential mobility of a group of first generation Italian immigrants in Hamilton. It also investigated the link between occupational and residential mobility. Data for this study were collected in two phases: questionnaires were mailed out to a randomly selected sample of Italians in the city and a subgroup of the respondents were interviewed orally.

It was found that the immigrants upon arrival settled in the older parts of the city generally north of Main Street, between Queen and Ottawa Streets. This section, close to the industrial sector, has all the characteristics of an immigrant receiving area. The group was highly mobile. Some moved within the area of original settlement but with an eastward shift in relocation. Others moved to different parts of the city, chiefly the East and the Mountain. This latter movement signifies a move to newer housing, but where a considerable number of Italians are to be found.

While number of job changes and occupational mobility were significant in affecting number of moves, only occupational mobility affected the type of move made. It was interesting to note that, contrary to what was expected, those who moved within the area of original settlement were occupationally more mobile than those who moved out of it. No discernable pattern was found in the relationship between residential and occupational mobility. In some cases one took place before the other and in others, they occurred around the same time.

From the oral interviews it became clear that the reasons for moving were different from those hypothesized. As boarders they were looking for cheaper places. As owners they were looking for more space, bigger houses, better neighbourhoods, opportunity to buy a lot and build their own houses. Their idea of prestige is not in the kind of job, but in the type of house they own and where they live. All in all, the immigrants show a great deal of solidarity be it social or localised.

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## INTRODUCTION

Residential change, the movement of people from one dwelling to another, is an important aspect of people's adjustment to the environment. In the U.S. alone, every year approximately 20% of the population move from one dwelling to another (Simmons, 1968). Two distinct forms of movement are recognised, inter-urban and intra-urban. Inter-urban movement (migration) is a shift from one part of the country to another. Spatial change within an urban area, is intra urban movement (mobility), and may have a horizontal or residential connotation, or a vertical or socio-economic component (occupational mobility).

Intra-urban mobility has been studied by geographers, sociologists, urban historians, economists, and demographers. The focus has been on spatial patterns and the factors affecting such patterns. Emphasis has been on the general population with little attention directed to a specific immigrant group. Residential change of immigrant groups in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has received some attention. Some example are the works of Ward (1971); Nelli (1970); Cressey (1939); Ford (1951). Other works mentioning geographical mobility in the nineteenth century include those of Thernstrom (1973) and Griffen (1969). But ~~similar~~ studies for the middle and latter part of the twentieth century are scanty.

The purpose of this study is to look at both components of mobility with emphasis on residential mobility, including a study of the

factors affecting it. Then the link between residential mobility and occupational mobility will be examined with a view to explaining mobility patterns of the Italian immigrants of Hamilton in terms of the existing theories on immigrant intra-urban residential mobility patterns. Residential mobility will be investigated with respect to both frequency of moves and type of move. The following questions will be addressed:

- (i) Where did the Italian immigrants first settle?
- (ii) How often did they move?
- (iii) Where did they move when they changed residence?
- (iv) How did settlement and moves relate to such factors as marital status, number of job changes, tenure status and occupational mobility?

The first three questions are dealt with descriptively; the last one has as base a certain set of hypotheses, derived from the literature on residential mobility and an observation of the residential mobility of the sample.

The study is organised into five chapters. Chapter I looks at the background of the Italians and their emigration to and settlement in North America. Chapter II reviews the literature on residential mobility. Chapter III describes the general characteristics and mobility patterns of the sample of Italian immigrants in Hamilton. Chapter IV presents hypotheses and an analysis of data from the questionnaire survey. Chapter V further discusses the hypotheses with particular reference to the oral interviews. Chapter VI summarises the findings and suggests fields for further research.

### Study Design

Five hundred heads of Italian households were randomly chosen (using random number tables) from a 1978 telephone directory where the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the Italians residing in Hamilton were listed. Questionnaires<sup>1</sup> were mailed to these individuals; and a reminder postcard followed three weeks later. Based on the returns, a subgroup of 25 heads of household was selected for an oral interview. These were selected on the basis of their willingness to be interviewed.<sup>2</sup>

The original sample of the 500 Italian heads of household may be regarded as representative of the Italians of Hamilton. It represents five per cent of the Italian heads of household in the city. The telephone directory, which listed the names of the Italians in Hamilton, had over 10,000 Italian names. Assuming that all the heads of household are males, this figure corresponds very closely to the number of males of Italian origin given in the 1971 census (10,125).

The questionnaire survey provided the basis for the research. Information collected included: the addresses at which each family had lived, the years the residence was changed, tenure status at each stage, the background of the subjects such as region of origin, age, urban experience, emigration, education, marital status, knowledge of English and family size.<sup>3</sup>

The oral interviews were conducted in March 1979. They consisted of conversations with a selected subgroup of those who returned the questionnaires. The interviews drew forth in-depth information, such as reasons for emigrating, for moving, and for changing jobs. Attitudes

and perceptions were also examined. The questionnaire was partially structured, but flexible and unstandardised. The questions were open ended in order to encourage a variety of spontaneous responses.

The difference between the oral interview and the questionnaire survey lies in the approach to the collection of evidence. The mailed out questionnaire attempted to obtain quantitative information for a representative sample. The data were objectively analysed. The oral interviews involved meeting the subjects personally, maintaining a rapport with them while finding out about the motives and the lines of thought of the immigrants. The information is qualitative. Though only a small selected group was interviewed, the variety of responses was large enough and coherent enough to allow comparison with Italians in other North American cities.



## CHAPTER I

### ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN NORTH AMERICA AND HAMILTON

Canada's recent Italian immigrants have come from the same regions as their countrymen who came in such large numbers to the United States.<sup>1</sup> At least 85% of the total Italians who emigrated to the United States moved from the "Mezzogiorno" - Italy south and east of Rome, the six regions of Abruzzi, Molise, Basilicata, Campania, Apulia, Calabria and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia (Gambino, 1974; p. 3). In a survey of over eight hundred Italian-born Torontonians it was found that 64% came from the Mezzogiorno (Ziegler, 1971; p. 41, Table 3). According to Boissevain (1970), "most of the Italian immigrants in Montreal were born in small villages and towns in the south of Italy." (Boissevain, 1970, p. 12). Foster (1965) made similar observations for Hamilton. He claimed that there were very few northern Italians in Hamilton. What he meant by northern Italians was probably those emigrating from the north eastern regions. According to Ziegler (1971), the number of Italians from northern Italy was very considerable before but not after 1900 (See also: Nelli, 1973, pp. 4-5).

#### Characteristics of Italians

In a survey of two hundred heads of households in Toronto subscribing to an Italian language newspaper in 1969, it was found that 78 per cent came from villages,<sup>2</sup> 9 per cent from small cities and 12 per cent

from large cities (The Elliott Research Corporation Ltd., 1969, Toronto). Ziegler (1971) whose 1970 survey was not limited to newspaper subscribers found that 68 per cent came from villages, 23 per cent from small towns and only 9 per cent from the cities. But Ziegler and Richmond (1972) found that only 27 per cent of the sample came from villages and farms, 48 per cent came from small towns and 21 per cent from big towns and cities. Overall, Italians mainly came from villages and small towns.

Italian immigrants were overwhelmingly of the "contadino" class - peasant farmers. Some were fishermen artisans and unskilled, urban poor (Gambino, 1974; p. 3). Except for some urban places such as Naples, Catania, Palermo, which were commercial, industrial or administrative centres, the towns of southern Italy were rather a concentration of rural people. The majority of the residents were farmers and farm labourers who went out each day to work on the land (Covello, 1967).

The "contadini" (peasant farmers) rarely owned their farms. The "gabellotto" (land agents and speculators) leased and subleased properties. In this way the land frequently become divided into minute plots which peasants rented, under conditions that "a fixed ratio, commonly 50 to 60 per cent of the expected yield was to be paid to the owner at the end of the year" (Gambino, 1974; p. 63). Quite often, the lessee did not fulfill his share of the contract and was forced to borrow on the next year's contract from the leasing landlord.

In the case of the privileged few who owned parcels of land, their fate might be similar to that of the others. Land holdings were small, between 1.5 and 2.5 acres (Gambino, 1974; p. 63) and certainly insufficient to support a family. In this case the care of the land

was left to the eldest son and the others hired themselves out as day labourers (giornalieri), the worst off of all the contadini. They depended completely upon wages which the proprietors offered. They were affected by seasonal unemployment and under-employment, frequently moving from one place to another to seek work and often enduring periods of separation from their family (Covello, 1967). Being used to under-employment and different kinds of jobs, ranging from farming and fishing in rural Italy, it was natural for the immigrants to accept hardships and multiplicity of jobs in a new country (Yans-Maclaughlin, 1971).

There is a big difference in the occupational structure of the south and the north of Italy; for example, in a poor southern region, nearly one half of the population is involved in agriculture, whereas in a rich northern region, like Lombardy, over one half of the population is involved in industry. Also, unlike Calabria, most of the industrial workers of Lombardy are not involved in the lowest paying kind of industrial work - construction (Ziegler, 1971). The "push" factors are therefore strongest for the southern Italian migrants.

The nuclear family dominates the social and economic organization of peasant life. The father is the head of the family, the breadwinner and the "ruler" of the family. The mother is considered as the centre of the family whose role is to take care of the house and the children. She is a subordinate to the husband. No one except the closest relatives and the godparents, is considered part of the social circle.<sup>3</sup> Also in the Mezzogiorno, the contadini would never dream of leaving their home and moving somewhere else: "the typical contadino in the Mezzogiorno lives and dies where he was born". They are very suspicious of

strangers (Gambino, 1974; p. 37). This can, to a certain degree, explain the reluctance of the Italian immigrant in the new world to move away from the area where they first settled (see, Firey, 1947; Cressey, 1939; Ford, 1951).

One measure of potential self-improvement is the level of education a person possesses. Southern Italian adults who are peasants are four times as likely to have no education as non peasants. They are twice as likely to have partial elementary education. Ziegler (1971) found that only 2.2 per cent of the southern peasants have more than an elementary education as compared with 35.1 per cent of the non-peasants.

The peasants of southern Italy are the least educated, the most productive of children and the poorest (Yans-MacLaughlin, 1971; Barton, 1971; Nelli, 1972). They form the bulk of the Italian migrants within Italy (travelling to the northern cities), elsewhere in Europe, in the Americas and Australia. Though the early Italian settlers had no education, they had an abundance of common sense and willingness to work hard (Cupelli, 1972; p. 1).

#### Reasons for Emigrating

Italian unification, effected in 1871, was followed by a rapid growth of the industrialised north to the disadvantage of the feudal agrarian south (Italian Workers Federation, New York, 1969, p. 36; Iorizzo and Mondello, 1971, p. 5). In the late nineteenth century, one southern politician reminded the Italian Parliament that in its twenty years of existence, Italy had not produced one effective measure to improve the working conditions for the impoverished workers in the

south (Weaver, 1977). This condition prevailed even in the twentieth century. The land remained under the control of a privileged minority - some rich owners or northern capitalists, who claimed high rents, paid low wages, provided unsteady employment and put little of the profit back into the soil (Iorizzo and Mondello, 1971).

Climatic and geographic factors also played their part. The south has many unfavourable conditions. It is mountainous, the summer is dry and hot; the hot sirocco wind increases the aridity of the soil, much of which has never received the full benefit of artificial irrigation. The southern regions are also relatively backward agriculturally and very low in per capita income. Iorizzo and Mondello (1971, p. 41) found that in the early twentieth century over 80 per cent of the people of Italy depended on agriculture for their livelihood.

The scourges of nature deepened the despair of the southern Italians. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods and diseases sapped the strength of Italy's human and natural resources. To escape the disastrous economic conditions and appalling misery caused by the pressure of overpopulation and the chronic poverty prevailing in large areas of Italy, especially in the south, many set out to join relatives and fellow townsmen in the New World with the hope of finding better jobs (Gambino, 1974; p. 57).

When an improvement in agricultural yield came in the early twentieth century, it reinforced the determination of Italians to migrate in order to free themselves from the dependence on the vagaries of farming. Moreover, many could now use the small increase in income to help finance their migration. Italians saw emigration as a way to

avoid loss of status and to fulfill their desire to own property (Yans-Maculaughlin, 1971).

#### Circumstance of Emigration

The Italian exodus was accelerated by a chain migration in which Italians in America acted as personal labour agents and informed their friends and relatives when and where jobs were available. The flow was virtually unstoppable as long as unfavourable economic conditions prevailed in Italy. Not even improving economic conditions in Italy could halt that.

In Canada, at first, the British were responsible for more arrivals in the post war periods; but during the period between 1958 and 1961, the Italian immigration surpassed the British. The chain migration of family members suggested that sponsored immigrants who did not have to be self-supporting might create an intolerable economic burden for the sponsors. Hawkins (1969, p. 51) discovered that sponsorship of Italians in the post war periods snowballed to such an extent that every Italian meant forty-nine relatives.

#### In the New World

The American urban environment had a profound effect upon newcomers of southern Italian background. They had moved from an agrarian economy to an urban industrial one. But, as in the old world, needs were still handled on the basis of the family and problems were viewed from the stand point of the extended family. This is a heritage that the contadini brought with them to America.

Working with food industry had a special attraction for the peasant. Food production and the experience of working directly for one's employer rather than for a faceless corporation was consonant with a past in which employment usually involved personal ties to one's employer or "padrone" (Sturino, 1978). They soon became stereo-typed as experts in the handling of food, especially vegetables. Some turned to the clothing trade which afforded substantial security in a factory position (Roncari, 1977; p. 20). Italians also became identified in more casual outdoor labour of the railroad yards, the docks and the construction works (Yans-MacLaughlin, 1971; p. 19).

Immigrants of agricultural origins fared poorly in the skilled and non-manual occupations. Yet, as Nelli (1970, 1972), observed most Italians did not travel to North America with the hope or intention of farming. They were seeking other economic opportunities.

What brought about the concentration of Italians in large cities? Moquin and Van Doren (1972) propose two causes:

(i) The poverty of the Italian immigrants: When the Italian immigrants arrived in the new country, they could not survive for very long on what they brought with them. Faced with the language problem and no employment they needed the help of others of their kind who had been in the city for some time.

(ii) Their previous mode of existence: A study of the character of southern Italians shows that they would not live isolated. They had acquired great diffidence towards the outside world and of all those who did not belong to a nucleus in which they were born and bred.

A third cause may be added: The institutions - the process of

adjustment begins for individual immigrants on arrival in the new country. The community and its institutions admirably fulfill the functions for a succession of newcomers. According to Yans-MacLaughlin (1971), Velikonja (1972), Gambino (1974), Nelli (1972), among others, immigrant districts are responsible not for perpetuating old world traits and patterns, but for providing vital steps in introducing newcomers into the mainstream of American urban life - an important first step in the adjustment process.

Italians came to the new world at great sacrifice, leaving behind relatives, friends and familiar conditions to make a better living for themselves and their children. As the literature reveals, the Italians, as a group were highly segregated in most large cities such as Chicago, New York, Boston, Buffalo, Toronto and Montreal. The drive to buy a home, to own property was one of the fundamental reasons why the immigrant left his own country. Only when he had acquired a house did he begin to put down roots in his new homeland.

#### Arrival of Italians in Canada

Italian emigration hit its peak in 1913 when the main destination was the United States. The second most popular target area was South America, with Canada relatively unimportant as an Italian receiving area. The situation later changed. The majority of the Italians in Canada are post World War II immigrants. In 1921, Italians made up less than 0.01 per cent of the total population; by 1941, the figure had risen to only one per cent and by 1951 to just 1.1 per cent. In the following decade, it had more than doubled, so that by 1961, Italians were 2.5



per cent of the Canadian population.<sup>4</sup>

From the war's end to the middle of the 1950's, fifteen thousand Italians entered Canada. Ontario was the choice of the majority, while Quebec attracted the second largest group. From 1955 to 1960, the Italian immigration figures were higher than those for any other national group.<sup>5</sup>

### Italians in Hamilton

After the British, people of Italian origin formed the largest group in Hamilton in 1971. At the time of the census, 35,155 persons of Italian origin were living in the city forming 11.4 per cent of the Hamilton population and 4.8 per cent of all Italians in Canada.

Since the turn of the century, the population of Italian origin increased at a considerable rate, particularly after 1951 (see Table I). This increase may be attributed to natural increase but mostly to continued migration. Most of the group was first generation immigrants since immigration from Italy to Canada on a large scale only began in the post World War II years. In 1941 there were only 6,294 persons of Italian origin living in Hamilton; by 1971, the number was about five times larger. However, in 1971, slightly over one half were immigrants (see Table II). The heavy industry and its associated facilities have made Hamilton a constant magnet for labour migration.

Arrival of Italian immigrants can be subdivided into three distinct periods with peaks appearing in 1911, 1931 and 1961 (see Table II). In between the peak periods, there were some slack ones as evidenced by 1921 (as a result of the First World War and restriction

TABLE I  
ITALIANS AND TOTAL POPULATION  
OF HAMILTON

Census Year	Italian By Origin	Total Population	% of Italians in Total Population
1971	35,155	309,180	11.37%
1961	23,203	273,991	8.47%
1951	9,111	166,337	5.48%
1941	6,294	208,321	3.02%
1931	3,688	155,547	2.37%
1921	3,268	114,151	2.86%
1911	1,442	77,072	1.87%

Source: Census Canada

TABLE II

ITALIANS IN HAMILTON  
BY BIRTHPLACE & ORIGIN

Census Year	By Birthplace	By Origin	% of Italians by Birthplace over Italians by Origin
1971	18,995 M - 10,125 F - 8,870	35,155	54%
1961	13,307 M - 7,179 F - 6,128	23,203	57.35%
1951	3,813 M - 2,256 F - 1,557	9,111	42%
1941	2,347 M - 1,335 F - 1,012	6,294	37.28%
1931	2,433 M - 1,410 F - 1,023	3,688	65.97%
1921	1,885 M - 1,149 F - 736	3,268	57.68%
1911	1,193 M - 940 F - 253	1,442	82.73%

Source: Census Canada.

of migration by Italian government) and 1941 (as a result of the depression). After the Second World War immigration picked up again reaching its third peak in 1961. In 1911, 82% of the Italians in Hamilton were foreign born whereas in 1971 only 54% of the Italians were foreign born. The reason for the decline of the number of foreign borns Italians may be attributed to the policy towards immigration which has become more selective towards independent immigrants and in the case of sponsored relatives, the definitions were made more specific hence limiting the type of relatives that could be sponsored (Hawkins, 1972; Corbett, 1957; Parai, 1975). Some of the most interesting results of immigration has been the emergence in Hamilton of distinctive residential sectors occupied by certain ethnic groups. Nagle (1962) used the intensity of ethnic distribution as a criterion for delineating culture areas and neighbourhoods in Hamilton, as he considered it normal for people of like culture and nationality to live in close proximity.

Foster (1965), looking at the period 1921 to 1961 in the Barton Street region of Hamilton, found that the strongest concentration of population of non-Canadian origin was in the lakeshore plain between the escarpment and Chedoke and Kenilworth with the greatest densities north of Main Street particularly on the Barton Street axis. Densities fall off east of Ottawa Street and in the west where the proportion of post war immigrants in the population was very low. A similar pattern was observed by Rahman (1977) who used census figures for Hamilton.

Foster (1965) found that in 1921 and 1941, there were two distinct clusters of Italian settlement in Hamilton. The first and major one had its core between Bay and MacNab Street and was composed mainly of southern

Italians, particularly Sicilians; the second and lesser one was at the intersection of Barton and Sherman Streets and was composed mainly of northern and central Italians.<sup>6</sup> Both concentrations were accompanied by a certain number of basic service establishments (see Foster, 1965; Tables 6A and 6B). By 1961, the two clusters had intensified and expanded with in-filling between them (Foster, 1965; Table 6C). Foster observed that a "large number of Italians have shown a marked reluctance to move away from the old nuclei to other residential districts of Hamilton, even when they could conceivably have afforded this" (Foster, 1965; p. 66, pointing out that this characteristic might weaken in the future!)

Using the 1971 figures by census tract, Rahman (1977) identified the two clusters of Italian settlement. The first and larger one had about 50 per cent Italians in 1971 and the smaller one between 35 and 40 per cent. The Italian settlement pattern has expanded markedly since 1961, based on a comparison of Foster's map of 1961 and Rahman's map of 1971. By 1961, there was already an extension in the East end; by 1971 a new zone of Italian settlement had appeared on the Mountain between Mohawk Road and Limeridge Road.

Going back to the areas of initial concentration of Italians, that part of Hamilton north of Main Street was a predominantly working class area, being close to the heavy industrial belt, a diversified source of unskilled employment opportunities. According to Foster, this area became attractive not only because of its convenience to many of the industrial plants, but also because of its low rent housing. Both aspects were important to new immigrants arriving at a very low

economic level and desiring to accumulate savings. Furthermore, as Ward (1968) postulated, group consciousness would stimulate the concentration of immigrants in the central district, for they preferred to spend their early years in an unfamiliar city among their compatriots (Ward, 1968; pp. 345-347).

## CHAPTER II

### A REVIEW OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Residential mobility has been cited as "one of the most important forces underlying changes in urban areas" (Rossi, 1955; p. 2). This phenomenon has been widely studied and several excellent reviews of the subject are available.<sup>1</sup> The study of residential mobility has been approached from two distinct perspectives, the moving behaviour of individuals or households in an urban context and the areal determinants of movement between origin and destination pairs in an urban area. Since our main interest here is in the moving behaviour of a particular group, this review cites studies dealing with this aspect of residential mobility. When people make a decision to move,<sup>2</sup> the questions "why do people move?" and "where do people move?" become important aspects. The latter question addresses itself to the spatial characteristics of mobility which will be discussed later. The first question incorporates the characteristics of individuals or households.

#### Factors Affecting Residential Mobility

Studies dealing with factors affecting residential mobility of immigrant groups are very few. This section reviews the major determinants of mobility of the general population and examines the variations in the findings; it also discusses the applicability of these factors to an immigrant group.

There has been widespread agreement that life cycle and social status are the most important determinants of intra-city mobility.

However, there is less agreement in the definition and measurement of these two factors with the result that the findings have not been consistent and their applicability to any particular segment of the population is uncertain.

### *Life Cycle*

In this area, the most consistently reported result is the inverse relationship between age of household head and mobility. Rossi, among others,<sup>3</sup> found that "the younger the head of household, the higher is its inclination towards mobility," (Rossi, 1955; p. 71). Quigley and Weinberg (1976) stated that there is an ambiguous relationship between mobility and household size and attributed such ambiguity to "definitional differences among researchers" (p. 22). Rossi (1955) and Weinberg (1975) both found mobility rates increasing with family size, whereas Brown and Kain (1972) and Maisel (1966) found decreasing mobility with larger family sizes. The results of the analysis by Fredland (1974) and by Butler et al. (1964) suggest that family composition is not very important in determining mobility but changes (increases and decreases) in family size are highly correlated with mobility. This latter fact is confirmed by the results of Fredland (1974), Chevan (1971) and Brown (1975).

Another instance where ambiguity arises is the interpretation of stages in the life cycle, Glick (1947, pp. 164-174), Lansing and Kish (1957, pp. 152-174) and Abu-lughod and Foley (1960 pp. 134-178) have divided the life cycle into seven stages but have different taxonomies of stages. Such variations in the definitions would leave little room for comparative analysis of the findings. Yet, there is a substantial



agreement that changes in marital status increase household mobility. This holds true with the native born population.

Like the case with the general population, age and family size may affect the number of times that the immigrant heads of household make a move but it is doubtful how far stage in the life cycle could be comparable. Immigrants arrive at different stages in the life cycle: as children accompanying parents, as young single adults and as family men (some with their families, others having left their families behind). Therefore the number of times they move would no doubt be affected by their status at the time of arrival.

### *Social Status*

Like life cycle, social status is measured differently by different researchers. It may be characterised by social change, occupation, income and education. Questions about the effect of occupation on mobility are tied up with socio-economic status and work-place stability because occupation by itself has been considered a poor predictor of mobility (Goldstein and Mayer, 1964; Morrisson, 1967). Yet occupation or lack of one can influence the decision to move. For instance, someone engaged in a service or retail trade (doctors, barbers, merchants) may build a clientèle and find it economically unfeasible to abandon a certain locale; on the other hand, many occupations (carpenters, painters, factory workers) are not associated with fixed locations and do not require residence nearby. Chudacoff (1972) found that the higher the rank on the occupational scale, the higher the permanence rate. He found that after eleven years one fifth of the executives and professionals

lived at the same address contrasted with less than one tenth of the other groups and that members of the manual occupational class shifted residence internally more frequently than those of the non-manual.

Like life cycle, social status may affect immigrants' mobility differently, especially in the two definite stages in the pattern of residential mobility, one when they first arrived and the other when they have spent some time in the city. Occupation and work place may be important in determining initial settlement but later relocations may be more strongly related to upward occupational mobility.

#### *Occupational and Residential Mobility*

The nature of immigrant occupational mobility patterns has received considerable attention from Canadian sociologists.<sup>4</sup> Some sociologists believe that upward social mobility plays an independent role of moving behaviour (Leslie and Richardson, 1974). Simmons (1968, p. 632) argues that only one move of the several that a household makes in a lifetime may be explained by occupational mobility. Chudacoff (1972)<sup>5</sup> tried to combine residential mobility with occupational mobility. He found that differences in residential mobility between groups with and without occupational mobility were not great. Though those men who were mobile vertically, shifted residence slightly more often than those whose status remained unchanged, the "unchanged" still moved with remarkable frequency. Among those who rose occupationally, there was no discernable pattern concerning the sequence of occupational and residential mobility. Some changed job first and then moved, others reversed the pattern. A third group switched employment and home almost simultaneously. In the

case of an immigrant, the situation might not be the same. Here one can argue that the immigrant may link his residential mobility with his occupational mobility. A promotion may provide the income for the purchase or construction of a new and better home and a potential for moving to more reputable neighbourhood in the city. Otherwise, the loss of a business or job may force a move to less expensive quarters.

#### *Other Characteristics.*

There is a persuasive evidence that renters are more mobile than homeowners (Rossi, 1955; Goldstein, 1958; Abu-lughod and Foley, 1960), since the "transaction costs of owning are substantially higher than those of renting" (Rossi, 1955, p. 72). Also, people who rent their dwelling have less attachment to their homes than owners and are more likely to find it easier to move. Therefore until he owns a home, a man may shift his residence several times. In the process of moving, there is also a change of status from tenant to owner or vice versa. Pickvance (1973) shows that there is a tendency with some to follow the pattern of "rent-own-rent" which is related to life cycle.

When immigrants first arrive, they are generally boarders and renters and their aim is to eventually own a house. As Yonge (1944) explains, rural immigrants from Italy, Poland and Ukraine have a strong ambition to become property owners. Kosa (1956) explains that the first motive that pushes an immigrant out of his original location is his desire to own a house. Therefore, subsequent moves are generally directed to this fulfilment. Once they own a house, they would not voluntarily go back to renting again. Some would achieve the state of

ownership slowly depending upon financial success.

Since a time period is involved when the immigrant has to "feel" his way in the city, length of residence in the city would be a strong controlling factor in the number of moves he makes and how soon he owns a home. Richmond (1972), in his study of different ethnic groups in Toronto, found that 80 per cent of the British immigrants who arrived in Toronto after 1955 were still renting as compared to only 26 per cent of the Italian immigrants who arrived in the same period. Barton (1971) explains that while property ownership indicated an expenditure of family resources among Slovaks, among Italians, the acquisition of a house and a lot was an index of greater resources. If property ownership indicates status, it also retards residential mobility of families. Chudacoff (1972, p. 82) found that "higher proportion of homeowners in a community breeds higher degrees of residential stability", or as Barton (1971, p. 102) puts it "residential segregation".

With the exception of age of heads of household and family size, and to some extent occupation and tenure status, the effect of life cycle and social status on immigrants is once again different from that of the general population. The immigrants come with different aims and, in a strange society, are affected by factors reflecting adjustment to the new country and their aspirations.

#### Spatial Characteristics

The second question: "where do people move to?" reflects the spatial behaviour of individuals. This can be shown on maps of

intra-urban mobility with flows and counterflows criss-crossing the urban area. Implied in this question is the magnitude of residential mobility dealing with frequency of moves and type of move. Once again studies related to the ethnic behaviour pattern are not abundant although some relevant material may be cited from the literature on succession.

J.W. Simmons (1968), referring to some studies dealing with maps of intra-urban migration, stated that "the tendencies to move nearby and within the same sector are determined by the procedure for seeking a new home rather than the reason for leaving the old." (p. 637). A number of studies show that about one quarter of all moves take place within a census tract; for example, Caplow (1949) gives 25 per cent for Minneapolis in 1940-1948; Albig (1932) indicates that 25 to 30 per cent of the movers moved less than twelve hundred feet in Danville, Rock Island, and Moline, Illinois.

Albig (1932) discovered that the average number of people changing residence within the city was 15 percent. But, later (1936) while studying mobility in a single street in Danville, Illinois, he found a steady decline in intra-urban mobility rates from more than 50 per cent a year in 1900-1910 to 20 per cent in 1930-1932. Goldstein (1958) also identified a decline but it was not so marked. Simmons (1968), referring to Rossi's work, commented that life histories of a sample population indicated continuously increasing mobility rates. Chudacoff (1972) discovered that there were a few individuals who were much more mobile than the others thereby boosting the mobility rate of the community.

There have been variations in the experience of different cultural groups in cities as shown by the studies of mobility of urban immigrants. Chudacoff (1972) found that immigrants in Omaha did not remain in the receiving area for very long and there was very little ethnic clustering. They moved out of their neighbourhoods in less than one generation. Those who moved most often migrated away from the older crowded inner city towards newer and more spacious neighbourhoods. Only those who shifted less regularly tended to remain in the older section of the downtown.

In his study of population succession in Chicago between 1899 and 1930, Cressey (1939) found that the Italians lived in compact settlement and were immobile until 1920; after 1920, there was considerable movement out to areas of secondary settlement. The new areas were connected with the old ones by important through streets. Yet, in spite of the move, the majority of Italians still lived in areas of first settlement, and the group, as a whole, was located closer to the city centre than any other large immigrant group. Nelli (1972) supports this view - that the Italians appeared to move outwards from the urban core slowly and reluctantly compared to the Irish, Germans, and other groups. Ford (1951) who did a follow up study based on Cressey's work, found that the foreign born Italian population showed the least degree of dispersion among immigrant groups.

Kosa (1956) attempted to interpret the residential mobility of Hungarian immigrants in North American cities. He found that Hungarians in the United States behaved differently from those in Canada. The former illustrated localised social solidarity whereas those in Toronto

and Montreal were dispersed over the metropolitan areas. Length of residence did not seem to matter (the Hungarians of the U.S. arrived much earlier than the ones of Canada); rather opportunities available to them at the time they arrived in both the U.S. and Canada were very important.

Kosa postulates that groups which are conspicuously visible and culturally backward are hampered in their attempts to follow the residential mobility of the native born population and, secondly, ethnic business and institutional centres can follow the movement of the ethnic population to more reputable quarters.

These variations have generated a complex and often contradictory body of theory about intra-urban movements. The Chicago School of sociology viewed the residential mobility of immigrant groups with reference to subsequent waves of immigration. According to this theory, ethnic clusters are explained by economic factors: "An immigrant upon arrival tends to settle in a compact community .... With improvement of his economic position, he moves out to a more desirable neighbourhood, leaving his place of residence in the old colony to a new immigrant. This wave theory was successfully applied to Canadian cities to explain foreign islands in Montreal and Jewish communities in Winnipeg." (Kosa, 1956; p. 358).

Walter Firey (1947) has put forth another theory that regards the foreign colonies as a more static formation in the ecology of large cities. His study of the Italian settlement in the North End of Boston showed that the Italian immigrants demonstrated "localised social solidarity". They gathered in one section of the city where they were

among themselves and maintained, rather undisturbed, their special type of life with its old system of values. Thus, the theory of localised social solidarity would imply that ethnic groups show less residential mobility than the native born population and do not fall in line with the constant "filtering process" of average residents moving, according to socio-economic success, into better residential districts.

#### Summary

Studies dealing with intra-urban residential mobility of a particular group are few, particularly those dealing with factors affecting moves. Therefore most of this review has looked at residential mobility of immigrant groups compared to the general population. The only variable which could be considered as affecting both sets of population alike is age. It seems logical to think that a young immigrant in both examples has more incentive to move several times. Like age, the family size of immigrant would inversely affect mobility, that is those arriving with larger family would move less often than those arriving with smaller families. In the case of the general population the findings have been inconsistent.

Unlike the general population, immigrants arrive at different stages in their life cycle and have to start a new life in a new country. Therefore their mobility would be affected by their status at the time of arrival.

Of the components of social status, occupation seems to relate more strongly with the mobility of the immigrants than with the general



population. Residential mobility and occupational mobility are frequently linked because job advancement is likely to increase housing expectations.

Findings on the spatial aspect of mobility reveal some variations both with regard to different groups, and also to similar groups in different places at different times. This pattern relates to the "wave theory" and to that of "localised social solidarity". The Italians seem to be more prone to the latter; in fewer cases they have also shown a tendency to move out.

### CHAPTER III

#### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

##### Response Rate

Of the 500 questionnaires mailed, 145 were completed and returned, making a response rate of 29 per cent,<sup>1</sup> representing 1.45 per cent of the Italian heads of household in Hamilton. Of these 145, 126 (87 per cent) were first generation Italian Immigrants (those who were born in Italy), 17 (11.7 per cent) second generation and two third generation Italians. Since the sample of Canadian born persons of Italian descent (19 in all) was too small to have much statistical validity, the analysis was restricted to the first generation only. However, complete information could be obtained about the fathers of the Canadian born Italians; twelve of them in the sample who were born in Italy are living in Hamilton.<sup>2</sup> Information obtained on these were similar to the other first generation Italians. These twelve were therefore added to the original sample of 126 first generation Italians, thus bringing the sample size to 138.

##### General Characteristics

This section describes the general background characteristics of the respondents with respect to their origin, urban and work experience, age and marital status, education, emigration, length of residence in Hamilton and occupational structure.

### *Origins*

Map I shows the region of origin of the 138 Italian immigrants in the sample. The majority (76 per cent) came from those southern provinces which have been sending out emigrants for decades.<sup>3</sup> The heaviest contributors were the regions of Abruzzi (29 per cent), mainly the province of Aquila, and Sicily (19 per cent - chiefly the province of the Agrigento).<sup>4</sup> About 14 per cent came from the northeastern provinces in the poorer parts of northern Italy.

### *Urban Experience*

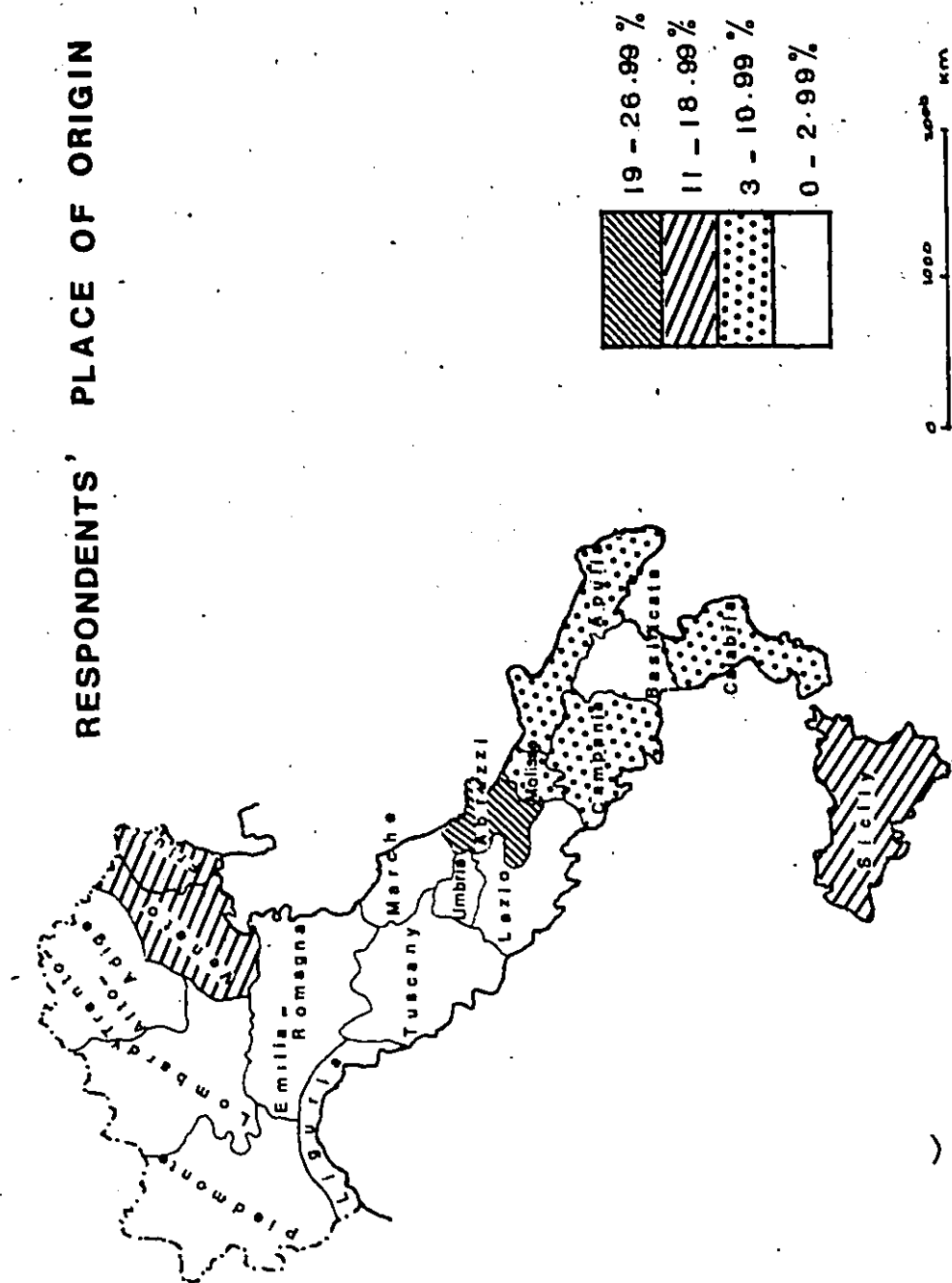
TABLE III

	Number of years		Total
	1-26	> 26	
Lived on a farm	7	6	13 (9.3%)
Village or small town	42	22	64 (45.7%)
Town (5,000-50,000)	30	23	53 (37.9%)
City (over 50,000)	3	7	10 (7.1%)
Total	82 (58.6%)	58 (41.4%)	140

The majority of the sample, except for seven, lived at only one of these above mentioned places before emigrating particularly small towns with a population of under 5,000.

MAP 1

## RESPONDENTS' PLACE OF ORIGIN



### *Work Experience*

TABLE IV

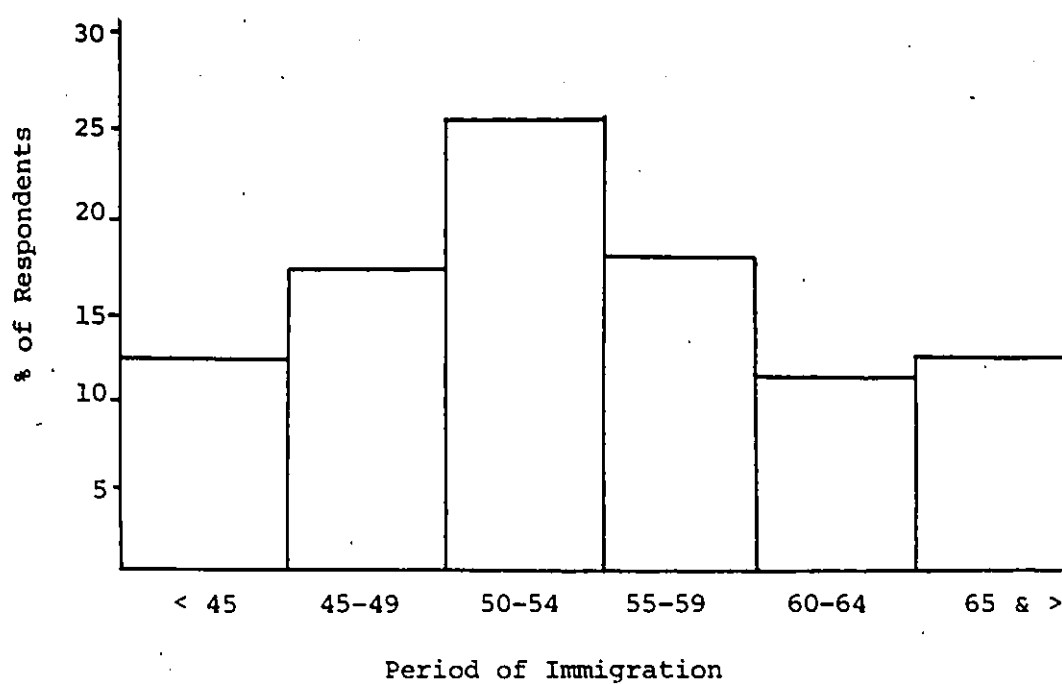
Not worked	21 (16.3%)
Worked in farm related jobs	51 (39.5%)
Worked in non-farm related jobs	57 (44.2%)
Total	129

Of those who answered the question on work before migration, 108 (73.7 per cent) said "yes" and 21 said "no". Of those who worked, contrary to Ziegler's (1971) findings, peasants did not form the bulk of the Italian immigrants. Less than half (47.2 per cent) worked in farm related jobs. Some were tenant farmers, others day labourers. Very few owned their own farms. Fifty-two point eight per cent of the 108 worked in non-farm related jobs; they were fishmongers, mechanics, truck drivers, barbers, apprentices to some trade, shoemakers, carpenters and decorators. This conforms to the observations made by Yans-Maclaughlin (1971) on the Italian immigrants in Buffalo.

### *Emigration*

Emigration was sporadic before 1945. The earliest immigrants left Italy in 1904; most came in the 1920's. Only 13.1 per cent emigrated before 1945. After the Second World War, emigration picked up considerably. Eighty-five per cent of the sample emigrated since 1945 with the fifties being the decade of heaviest Italian immigration (see Figure I).

Fig. I.



### *Circumstance of Emigration*

There was considerable chain migration. Relatives and friends were sponsored by those who had been in Canada for some time.

TABLE V

Sponsored	81(61.8%)
Child with parent	21(16.0%)
Independent	29(22.1%)
Total	131

### *Length of Residence*

The majority of the sample (116 or 85 per cent) came directly from Italy; of the remainder, some (8 or 5.5 per cent) went to other parts of Canada (British Columbia, Toronto, Halifax, Montreal, Sarnia, Chatham, Peterborough and Sudbury); others (12 or 8.7 per cent) went first to other parts of the world such as Argentina, Venezuela, Belgium, France, Spain and England. On the whole, the sample reflects a bi-polar flow (between Italy and Hamilton). Less than 15 per cent went elsewhere before coming to Hamilton. Also there was not much difference in the year they emigrated and the year they arrived in Hamilton. The range of arrival in Hamilton was from 1904 to 1974. So the length of time for the group in Hamilton ranges from 4 years to 74 years (see Table VI for a breakdown by length of residence in Hamilton) with a mean of 24.9 years and a mode of 14 years. Ziegler (1971) found a modal length of residence of her sample to be between 10 and 13 years (Ziegler, 1971 p. 69).

TABLE VI

#### Length of Residence in Hamilton

10 years and below	7 (5.1%)
11 - 20 years	47 (34.5%)
21 - 30 years	66 (48.5%)
Above 30 years	16 (11.8%)
Total	136

### *Age and Marital Status at time of Immigration*

Table VII gives the age distribution of the sample by period of immigration. Seventy-one per cent were under 32 years of age; of those 47.8 per cent were between 20 and 31 and immigrated after the Second World War particularly in the 1950's. At the time they entered Canada, 55.8 per cent were single and 41.3 per cent were married. Of those who were married, over 73 per cent had children when they emigrated. At the time of the survey in 1979, the 55.8 per cent who had come as single immigrants were also married. Ninety-three per cent of the wives of the respondents were of Italian background with 83.3 per cent born in Italy. Those who married women of non-Italian background mainly came here as children and grew up in this society.

### *Education*

Education is measured by the number of years of schooling in both Italy and Canada (see Table VIII)

TABLE VIII

#### Number of Years of Schooling in Italy and in Canada

Years of Schooling	In Italy	In Canada
0	5.9%	72.9%
1-5	53.7%	21.8%
6-10	35.2%	3.0%
10 and over	5.2%	2.3%
Total	100%	100%



TABLE VII

## IMMIGRATION BY PERIOD AND AGE

Period of Immigration	AGE				Not Given	Total
	Under 20	20-31	32-43	44 and Above		
< 1945	10	8				18 (13.05%)
1945-1959	16	42	24	1		83 (60.14%)
1960's and Above	6	16	11	2		35 (25.36%)
Not Given					2	2 (1.45%)
Total	32 (23.19%)	66 (47.83%)	35 (25.36%)	3 (2.17%)	2 (1.45%)	138 (100%)

Slightly over 5 per cent had no education at all in Italy and over 70 per cent did not pursue any schooling in Canada either. About 25 per cent went to school both in Italy and in Canada, mainly those who came as small children who had some schooling in Italy and pursued their studies in Canada. Others were the adults who went to night school to learn English or for some job training. In general 52.6 per cent had a maximum of 8 years of schooling in Italy with over half of the sample having enjoyed one to five years of schooling before emigrating. Only one completed university before he left Italy.

### *Occupational Structure*

The first jobs or "entrance status jobs" (Porter 1965, p. 65) of over two thirds of the respondents were in the lowest category<sup>5</sup> as unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers (see Table IX). These jobs were not related to the ones they had done in rural Italy. In Hamilton, jobs were available at the steel plants of Stelco and Dofasco and other related small firms and in the cotton mills. Some worked in the railroad and stonework. Less than one third of the respondents were employed as skilled labourers in their first jobs, primarily those who did non-farm related jobs in Italy; who had completed five years of schooling before emigrating; and those who came here as children and completed their education in Canada.

Table IX describes the distribution of the sample by occupational categories in first and last jobs and by period of immigration. It also illustrates the occupational mobility of the sample by occupational categories. Quite a few of the respondents were promoted in the places

TABLE IX

IMMIGRATION IN SELECTED PERIOD BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASS<sup>+</sup>

Period of Immigration into Hamilton	VI		V		IV		Others (Class III, II, I)	
	Unskilled and Semi- skilled Manual Workers	Skilled Clerical and Labourer Level Admini- strators manual and non- Manual Workers.	last job	1st job	last job	1st job	last job	1st job
< 1945	12	8	2	3	-	3	-	-
1945-1949	12	8	6	8	1	3	-	-
1950-1955	25	11	6	18	1	2	-	-
1956-1959	15	6	8	10	-	-	-	8
1960-	22	12	18	19	1	6	1	5
>								
TOTAL	86 (66.2%)	45 (34.6%)	40 (30.8%)	58 (44.6%)	3 (2.3%)	14 (10.8%)	1 (.8%)	13 (10%)

III Semi-professional, low administrators and small industrial owners  
 II Proprietors and managers  
 I Professional.

<sup>+</sup>According to Blishen's 1966 scale (see B. Blishen 1967)  
 (Figures in brackets are column percentages)

where they worked; for example, some who had started work as unskilled labourers at Stelco had become crane drivers and foremen. Others changed employers to get a higher status job while others became self-employed as carpenters, plasterers and barbers.

### Residential Patterns

In an attempt to answer the first three questions outlined earlier, this part describes initial settlement, later relocation, frequency of moves and types of moves made.

#### *Initial Residences*

With regards to initial residences of the respondents, Map II illustrates a "core" and "fringe" distinction with a dense concentration in certain section and a scattered distribution in other parts of the city.

The majority of the respondents (approx. 76 per cent) first settled below the mountain, chiefly within the area bounded by Queen Street in the west and Ottawa Street in the east. This represents the "core" of the Italian concentration in the city which overlaps the core of the city,<sup>6</sup> including all the neighbourhoods between Queen and Ottawa Streets. Of these neighbourhoods, those of Central, Beasley, Gibson, Landsdale and Stipeley, between Main Street North and the CNR track, have the major concentration. A greater part of the core lies to the north and northeast of the downtown core at the intersection of King and James Streets, in the neighbourhood of Central; the centre of gravity is in Landsdale neighbourhood, 0.8 miles to the northeast of the downtown.

**INITIAL RESIDENCE**



0 0001 0001

Most of the core was in the original city of Hamilton incorporated before 1891. Subsequent annexations demonstrates the city's growth (see Map III). Dense land developments started when the first sewer services were installed with each annexation. Housing in that area date from as early as 1845, but the majority of the existing ones were built between 1910 and 1914 (see Table X). Further east, some houses were built in the 1930's. The houses are single family dwellings, generally two to two and half storeys high, made of brick on narrow lots; certain areas, Beasley, for example, have some terrace houses, and towards the east the houses are mostly painted frame. Immigrants seem to prefer houses built before the First World War. Table XI shows the approximate age of the housing in which the immigrants who arrived at different time periods first lived. Over half of those who arrived between 1948 and 1959 and later lived in houses which date from 1910 to 1914.

By 1945, a greater part of Central, northern Strathcona, North End east, North End west and Beasley were considered as declining or blighted neighbourhoods. Among other things, they had low standard housing with inadequate maintenance and/or deteriorating and delapidating dwellings with lack of adequate and modern sanitary conveniences in the houses (City Planning Committee, 1945). Now these areas are being redeveloped by Urban Renewal Program, Neighbourhood Improvement Program, and Special Area Policy.

Besides including the downtown and the Central Business District, which is mostly commercial and interspersed with some industries, the core merges into the industrial sector to the north of it, (see Map IV).

# HAMILTON ANNEXE AND THE CORE



TABLE X

DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBOURHOODS AND INITIAL SETTLEMENTS  
OF IMMIGRANTS

Neighbourhoods	Year Developed*	Year the Majority of Houses* were Built	Initial Residents
Central	< 1895	< 1895-1914	16
Beasley	< 1880	"	14
Landsdale	"	"	10
Gibson	1891	"	13
Stipeley	1903	1900-1914	12
Crown Point W.	1909	1910-1921	5
North End W.	< 1891	< 1895-1914	4
North End E.	"	"	6
61 A	"	"	2
61 B	1891	"	4
61 C	"	"	5
61 D	"	"	2
Durand	< 1891	1910-1914; > 1960 <sup>+</sup>	1
Corktown	"	1845-1875; > 1960 <sup>+</sup>	4
Stinson	"	"	1
St. Clair	1891	1890-1927	1
Delta West	1909	1910-1944	2
Strathcona	< 1891	1910-1914	4
Kirkendall N.	"	"	5
Westdale N.	1914	1944-	1
Delta E.	1909	1910-1917	2
Homeside	1924	1924-1950	2
Bartonville	1924	1924	1



Table X (continued)

Neighbourhoods	Year Developed*	Year the Majority of Houses* were Built	Initial Residents
Pringe	1949	1950-	3
(cont'd)	"	> 1960	2
Parkview	"	1960-	1
McQuesten W.	"	> 1960	1
Rosedale	1958	"	1
Vincent	"	"	1
Gershorne	1952	"	1
Westcliffe E.	"	"	2
Balfour	"	"	2
Yeoville	"	"	2
Lisgar	"	"	2

\* Source: Census Canada  
Hamilton City Directories  
Hamilton City Planning Department.

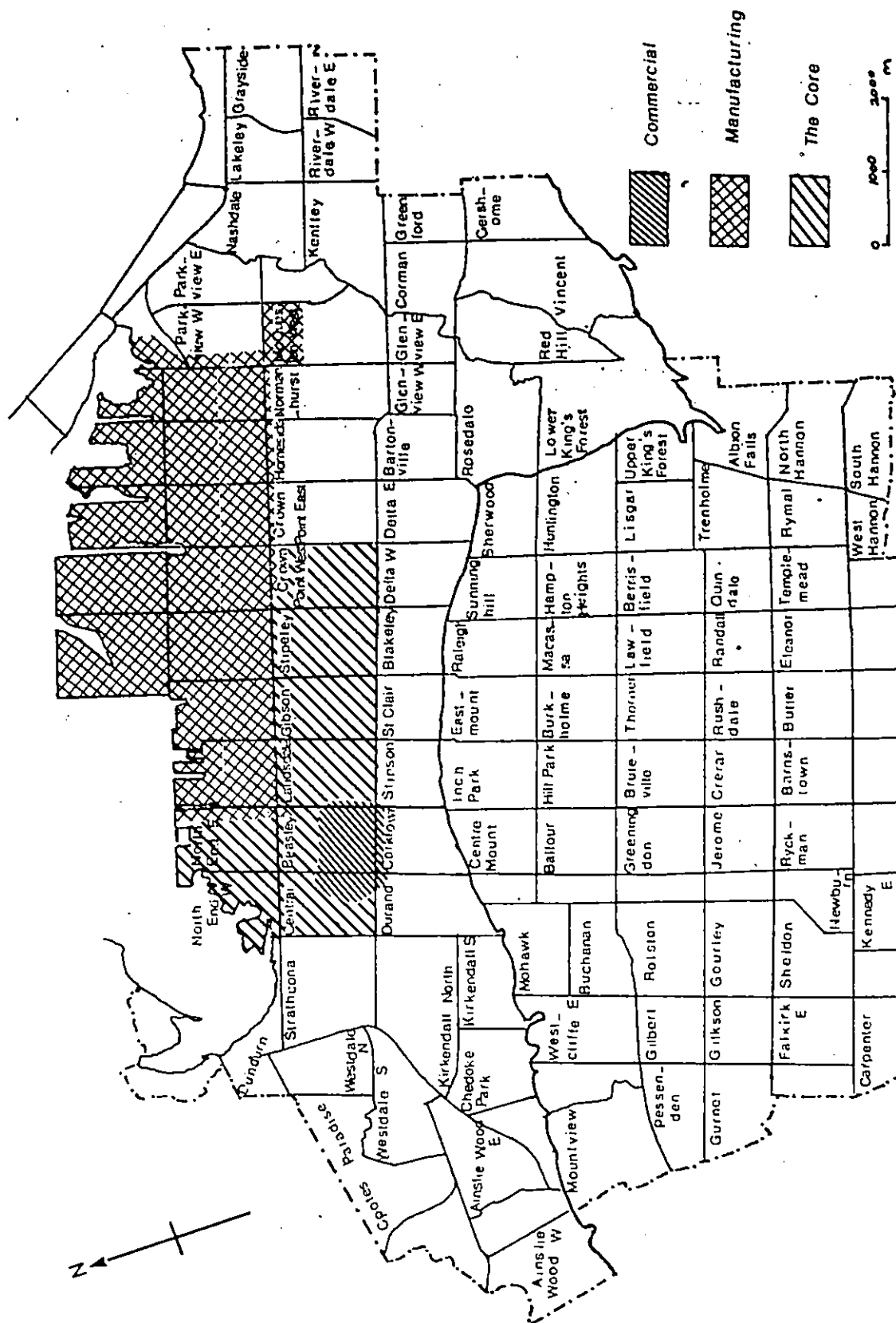
+ Urban Renewal Project.

TABLE XI

AGE OF HOUSING BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL  
OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS

Age of Housing	Period of Arrival				Total
	1900-1916	1921-1941	1948-1959	1960 & >	
< 1900	2	2	17	6	27 (21.4)
1900-1914	-	8	45	23	76 (60.3)
1915-1929	-	2	2	2	6 (4.8)
1930-1945	-	-	8	1	9 (7.1)
1946-1960	-	-	1	3	4 (3.2)
> 1960	-	-	-	4	4 (3.2)
Total	2 (1.6)	12 (9.5)	73 (57.9)	39 (31.0)	126

# IMMIGRANTS' INITIAL RESIDENCE AND LAND USE IN LOWER HAMILTON



This area, close to the business sector, providing cheap accommodation and a source of unskilled and semi-skilled employment was ideal for immigrants.

When the initial residences of the samples are displayed by period of immigration into Hamilton (see Maps V a, b, c), the attraction of the core which acts as "receiving area" becomes apparent. Arrivals after the Second World War (Map V b, and c) settled within the same neighbourhoods as those who came before the War (Map V a). Though very few of the respondents belonged to the latter group, the pattern of settlement is quite revealing (Map V a). Two distinct clusters emerge north of Main Street; one between Queen and Wellington Streets (in Central and Beasley neighbourhoods) and the other between Sherman Avenue and Ottawa Street (in Stipeley and Crown Point West). The pattern is set from the beginning; what happened in the ensuing periods was an expansion within and a consolidation or "filling in" of the neighbourhoods within which the Italians had originally settled. In Map V b, the two clusters are still apparent. They conform to the two clusters described by Foster (1965).

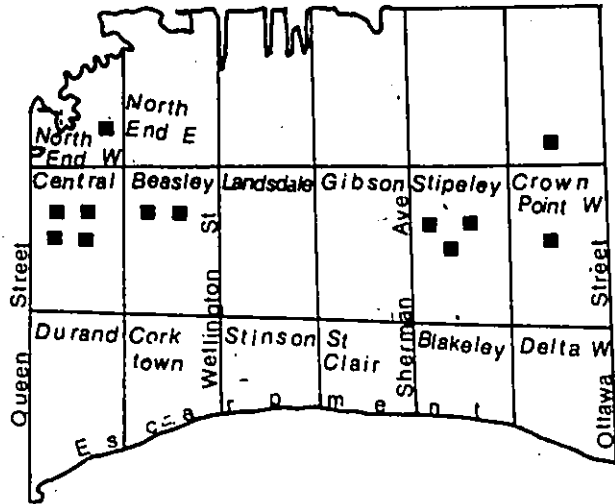
In the decade of the fifties, the two clusters were settled at different times: the neighbourhoods of Central and Beasley were settled by those who arrived in the first half of the decade and those of Gibson and Stipeley by those who arrived in the latter part of the fifties. A southward extension (south of Main Street) is indicated in Map V b.

In the 1960's (Map V c), there is more of an equal distribution between Beasley and Stipeley and comparatively fewer settled in Central neighbourhood and in the neighbourhoods north of the CNR track. By

# MAP V

49

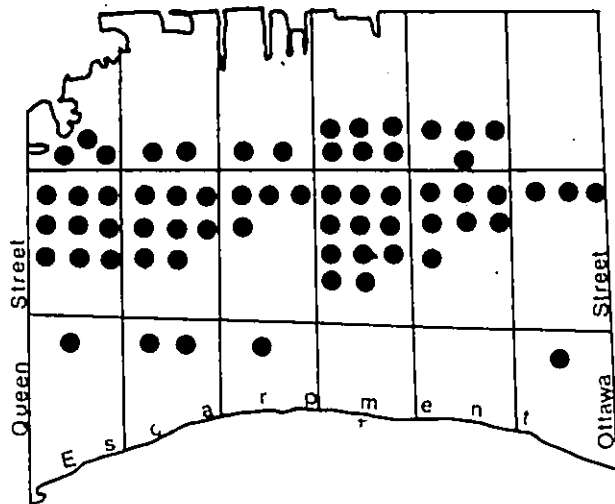
## INITIAL RESIDENCES BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION



A

Those who immigrated  
before 1945

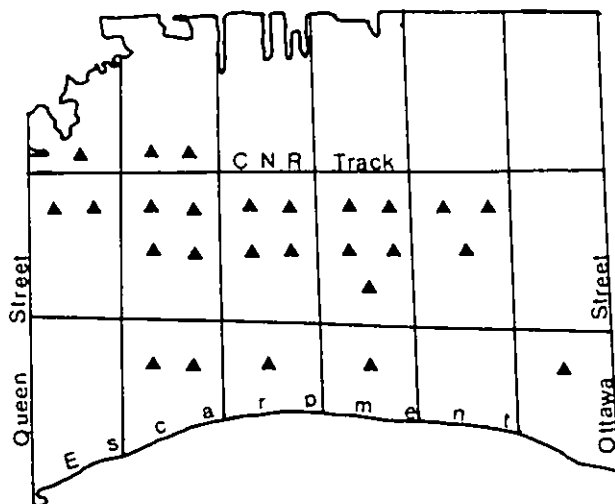
N : 12



B

Those who immigrated  
between 1945 and 1959

N : 66



C

Those who immigrated  
in 1960 and later

N : 26

1960, a greater part of Central neighbourhood was being designated for commercial and employment purposes. In the North End neighbourhoods a certain degree of blight has crept in and there was industrial encroachment north of the CNR tracks.

From this pattern of residence and housing it can be extrapolated that other Italians in the city have been living in housing which date from before 1915 because most of the immigrants (65 per cent) were sponsored and stayed with relatives and friends upon arrival. Those who came as independent immigrants had their accommodations arranged by other Italians they met on their way from the port of entry to Hamilton or by the unemployment officer in Hamilton. Therefore the presence of other compatriots were helpful in the initial settlement of the respondents.

This part of the city, therefore, has all the characteristics of an immigrants receiving zone: it is that part of the city with low rent housing and close to factories and the Central Business District (Roberts, 1964; Nagle, 1962; City Planning Department, 1945) and has a number of ethnic institution services (Foster, 1965).

Foster (1965) claimed that the southern Italians were to be found in the first and larger cluster of Italians, concentrated around MacNab Street and Barton Street and the northern Italians were concentrated in the second and smaller settlement at the intersection of Sherman Avenue and Barton Street. From the sample, it is found that except for a few northeastern Italians, the core attracted most of those who emigrated from various regions of Italy (Table XII). Within the core itself (Table XIII) a fair proportion of Sicilians (particularly

TABLE XII

REGIONAL DISTINCTION IN INITIAL SETTLEMENT  
AND LOCATIONS IN 1979

Regions	Locations							
	Core		West		East		Mountain	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Northeast	8	3	2	1	6	8	3	7
Marche	11	4	-	-	1	2	1	7
Latio	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	2
Abruzzi	29	14	2	1	3	7	1	15
Sicily	19	13	-	2	1	3	2	7
Campania	3	1	-	1	1	1	-	1
Molise	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	4
Apulia	9	4	-	-	-	1	-	3
Calabria	11	5	2	2	1	2	-	5
TOTAL	95	46	9	9	13	24	7	51

A = initial location;

B = location in 1979.

TABLE XIII

INITIAL SETTLEMENT OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS BY NEIGHBOURHOODS OF THE  
CORE AND REGIONAL ORIGIN

Initial Settlement in the core	Regional Origin						Total
	Sicily	Abruzzi	Marche	Apulia	Calabria	North-east	
Central	7	2	1	1	1	2	14 (19.4)
Beasley	7	3		1	1		12 (16.7)
Landsdale	2	2	1	2	2		9 (12.5)
Gibson		6	2	1	2	1	12 (16.7)
Stipeley		7	2	1		1	11 (15.2)
61A			2				2 (2.8)
61B	1	2				1	4 (5.6)
61C		2	2			1	5 (6.9)
North End West		1			2		3 (4.2)
TOTAL	17 (23.6)	25 (34.7)	10 (13.9)	6 (8.3)	8 (11.2)	6 (8.3)	72

Figures in brackets are percentages.



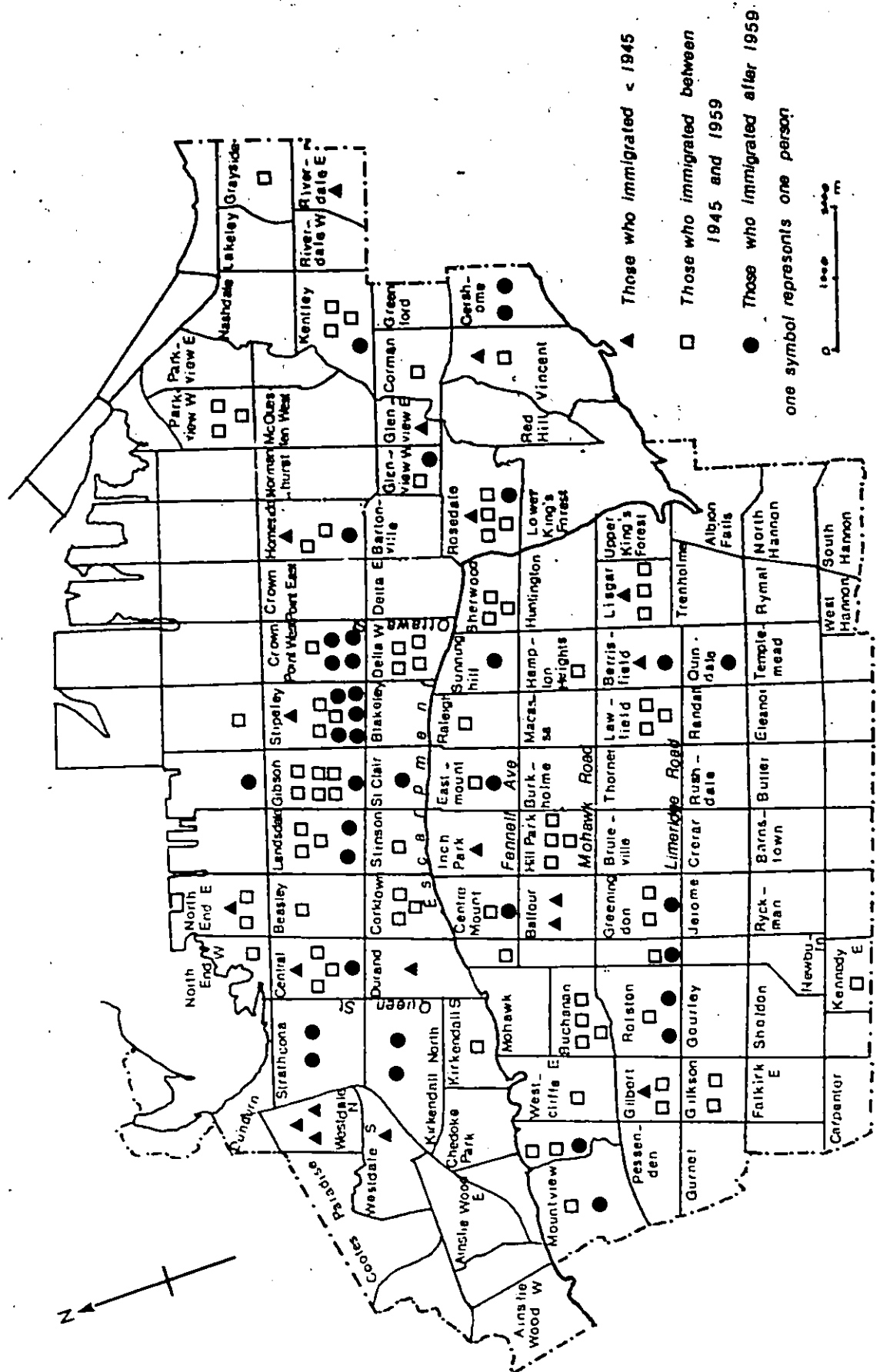
from Racalmuto, Agrigento) were found in the neighbourhoods of Central and Beasley and most of the Abruzzi (chiefly from Chieti and Aquila) were in Stipeley and Gibson; Calabrians in Landsdale and North End West; Apulians in Landsdale. Immigrants from Marche were equally distributed in four different neighbourhoods of the core. Therefore, except for some immigrants from northeastern part of Italy who settled in Parkview East neighbourhood, the other immigrants were grouped in neighbourhoods according to their provincial origin.

While the core acted as a magnet for the new immigrants and was prominent from the beginning, the fringe shows the growth of the community where the immigrants benefited from the experience of previous immigrants. They were either immigrants who settled with relatives who had already moved to the other parts of the city or others who moved to Hamilton after having lived in other parts of the country. Also while the core was concentrated in a small section of the city, the fringe was quite extensive and the immigrants were fairly widespread both in the east of the city and on the Mountain.

#### *Residence in 1979*

The "core" and "fringe" distinction was still maintained in 1978 (see Map VI) but with a different emphasis. Though the core was not as pronounced (with slightly over 1/4 residing with it), it was still a prominent place in 1979. But an eastward shift had taken place. The concentration was in the neighbourhoods of Gibson, Stipeley, Landsdale and Crown Point West. Most of the individuals who settled in the neighbourhoods north of the CNR track and in those

**MAP VI**  
**RESIDENCE IN 1979**



of Central and Beasley have relocated somewhere else. North of the CNR tracks, there are residential enclaves within the industrial sector; there is residential overcrowding with substandard houses; the houses are built on narrow lots; there is inadequate parking space and the environment standard is considered below average. City planners rate the housing quality as poor or fair, and it is only in cases where excessive maintenance has taken place the rating ranges from fair to good.

Some of the perceived problems such as: dust, dirt, bad smells, noise and heavy car and truck traffic make the area undesirable residentially (according to reports on neighbourhoods from Hamilton Planning Report) though the houses are affordable pricewise. But uncertainty about the area does not encourage owners or the government to spend money in the area. Part of the area may be acquired and cleared for industrial purposes; if people do not willingly move out, they would be expropriated. Central neighbourhood provide limited residential functions, being largely commercial.

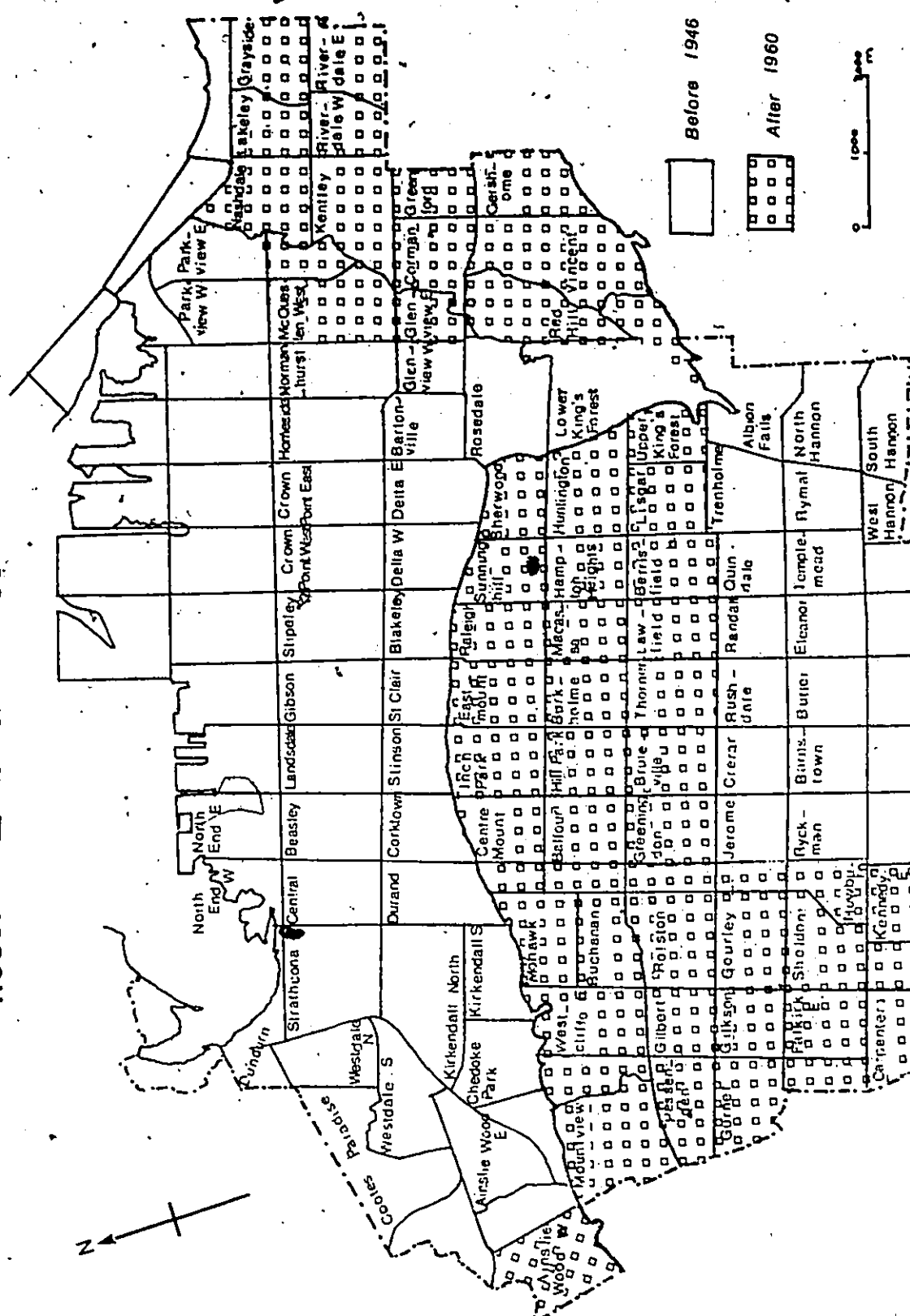
The "fringe" lies beyond Ottawa Street to the east, the escarpment to the south and Queen Street to the west. It extends towards the eastern and western limits of the city and as far south as Limeridge Road on the mountain. More than half (approx. 55 per cent) of the respondents lived on the fringe in 1979; indicating the scope of the movement out of the core. The mountain particularly south of Fennell Avenue, was not developed until the 1950's and 1960's when it was annexed to the city of Hamilton. It represents the main area of residential growth in the city. The majority of the houses

were built after 1960 (see Map VII). The buildings are in excellent conditions with a sprinkling of older houses along the former concession roads (City Planning Department 1977, Census 1971). They are predominantly single family houses built on larger than average lots.

Consequently, the mountain has attracted a larger proportion of the movers (37 per cent) particularly the neighbourhoods on both sides of Mohawk Road. In the East, annexed around the same time as the mountain with housing conditions about the same, the respondents (17 per cent) were scattered roughly along a north east-south west axis. A very small proportion settled in the west. Consequently three centres of gravity can be determined for the three clusters of settlement (including the core) in 1979: In the core the centre of gravity is still in Landsdale; Glenview West for the East and Greeningdon for the Mountain, each being respectively 4.3 and 2 miles from the downtown.

The length of time that the immigrants have been in the city has also affected their distribution (Map VI). Most of those who immigrated before the Second World War have left their two clusters of settlement and spread out on the fringe whereas those who came in the sixties were still largely below the Mountain, in the core region. In the core itself, one can, once again, observe the distinct eastward shift in the pattern of residence especially by those who came after the Second World War (cf Maps II and VI). Quality of housing seems to affect the eventual relocation of the respondents. Those who lived in areas of substandard housing with inadequate lot size, near industrial activities, have moved somewhere else. In certain neighbourhoods, such as Stipeley and Gibson, where houses range from fair to good, efforts

## HOUSING — PERIOD OF CONSTRUCTION



are being made by city planners under the banner of Neighbourhood Improvement Program, to maintain the housing and make the neighbourhoods attractive. They might have attracted some from Central and Beasley neighbourhoods which have experienced a definite decline. On the fringe, settlement was more random, irrespective of the periods of immigration. The movement from the core to the fringe reflected a movement from the older to the newer section of the city.

### *Mobility Patterns*

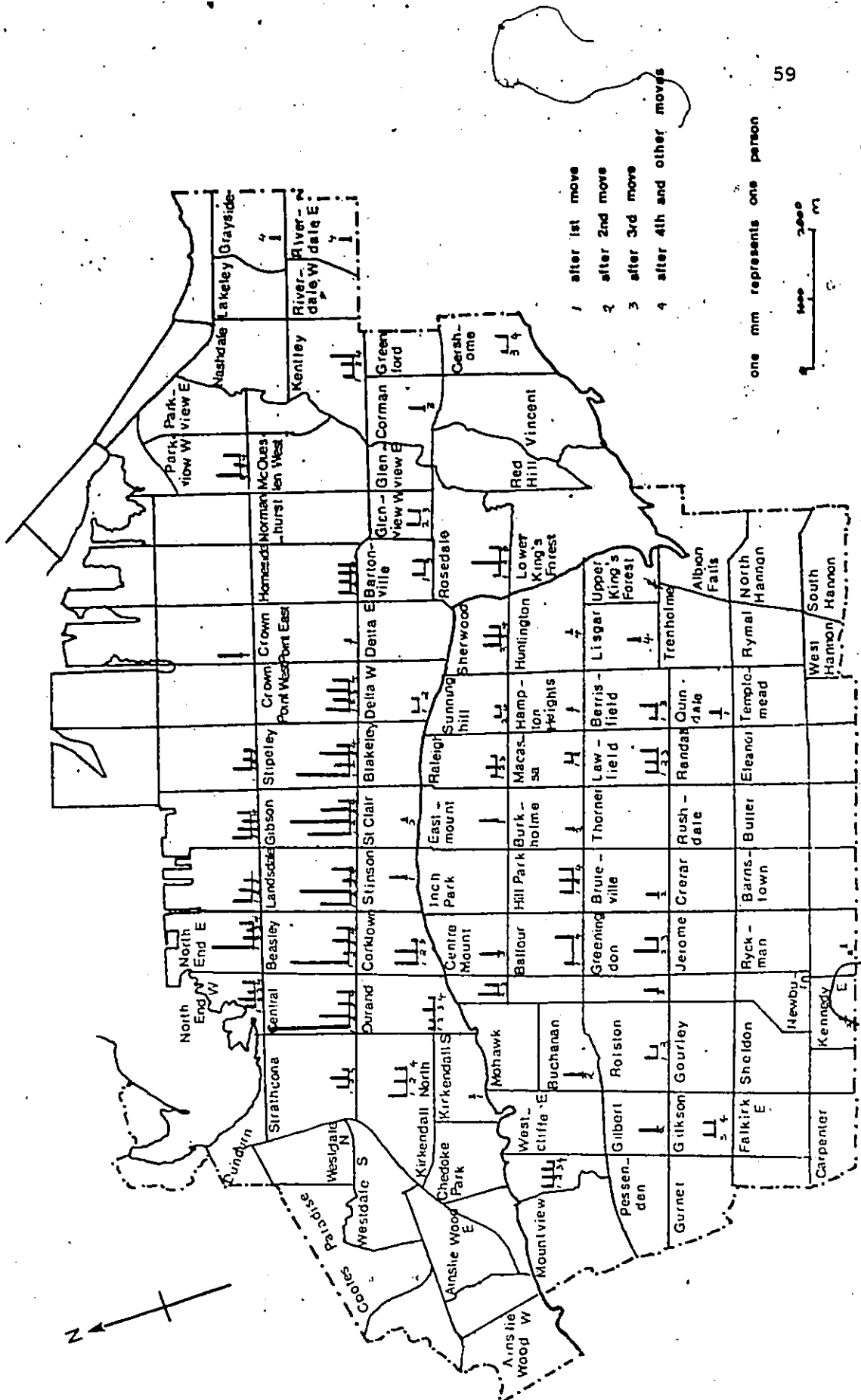
The mobility patterns illustrate the frequency of the moves and the attraction of different parts of the city. The number of respondents who moved to each neighbourhood was noted and histograms were constructed for each move. These graphically show the movement along the lake plain and to the Mountain.

In Map VIII, the declining importance of the core is quite effectively illustrated. For example, a significant number settled in Central and Beasley after their first move; very few did so after their other moves. Landsdale, Gibson and Stipeley also experienced a decline, but not as drastically as Central and Beasley. Those who arrived in the latter part of the fifties and after the fifties were still there in 1979. Recency of arrival of the immigrants or attractiveness of the area to earlier arrivals may be contributory factors.

In the case of those who settled on the fringe, two patterns emerge. Many who moved to the East did so even after their first move, whereas on the mountain relocation occurred as a second or later move. This may have been the effect of the presence of the escarpment which acted

# MAP VIII

## LOCATION OF IMMIGRANTS AFTER EACH MOVE



as a barrier to housing development on the mountain. There was a great deal of eastwards extension below the Mountain before development on a large scale started on the Mountain.

Lower Hamilton emerges as a stepping stone for some immigrants who moved within it and bought their first house here because they could afford it. Later they looked for a house on the mountain or a lot on which to build.

#### *Typology of Move.*

Based on the initial and final residences of the sample, Hamilton may be divided into four sections: (i) the core between Queen Street east and Ottawa Street west; (ii) the section west of Queen Street; (iii) the section east of Ottawa Street and (iv) the Mountain. The last three sections represents the fringe of the Italian settlement. Using these demarcations, the typology of move is illustrated in matrices showing initial residences of the sample and their residences in 1979 (see Figure 11).

Ten per cent of 138 did not change residence, most of them in the core. Thirty-five point seven per cent moved only within the section in which they settled initially (Fig. 11B). Of these 82 per cent never left the core though some moved as many as four times. A second group (22.5 per cent) moved to different parts of the city after each move and relocated in a particular section in 1979 (Fig. 11C). For example, the fourteen who lived on the mountain in 1979, initially resided in the core. They moved out of the core and made several moves to the east and west and to the core and finally moved to the Mountain.



FIGURE II

## TYPOLOGY OF MOVE

**A**  
NO MOVE  
N: 13 (10 %)

	C	E	M	W
C	9			
E		2		
M			1	
W				1

RESIDENCE IN 1979

**B**  
MOVED WITHIN  
N: 46 (35.7 %)

	C	E	M	W
C	38			
E		3		
M			2	
W				3

**C**  
MOVED OUT  
N: 29 (22.5 %)

	C	E	M	W
C		7	14	1
E	1		1	
M	1			
W		2	2	

**D**  
MOVED WITHIN THEN OUT  
N: 35 (27.1 %)

	C	E	M	W
C		9	24	2
E				
M				
W				

**E**  
MOVED BACK  
N: 6 (4.7 %)

	C	E	M	W
C	1			
E		2		
M				
W				3

C - between Ottawa and Queen Streets

E - east of Ottawa Street

M - above the escarpment

W - west of Queen Street

The attraction of the Mountain is accentuated by a third group of movers, those who moved first within the areas of initial settlement and then to other parts of the city (Fig. 11D). Twenty-seven per cent belonged to this group: all initially residing in the core, moving within it, and finally moving to the Mountain, East or West. The Mountain attracted most of them (over 68%); only 6.9 per cent relocated in the East.

A fourth type of move, here represented by only 4.6 per cent of the sample, was made by those who moved out of the area of initial concentration, then back in again (Fig. 11E). It is worth noting, however, that the core did not seem attractive to those who moved out of it.

Figures 11C and D summarize the pattern of residential mobility displayed in Map VIII particularly for the Mountain where respondents settled mostly after their second and other moves. These matrices also stress the importance of the Mountain, perceived as a more prestigious area than the core.

### Summary

The general characteristics of the sample reinforce what has been found by others. Almost 8 out of 10 immigrants came from the south of Italy and Sicily. The sample ranged over a variety of different regions, with the exception of Racalmuto, Sicily, origin of 15 (10.9 per cent). Overall, the areas represent the countryside in poorer parts of Italy where the urban and educational experiences were most limited. Emigration was heavier after the Second World War,

especially in the decade of the fifties, so that the average length of residence of the sample was approximately 25 years. Chain migration was common. Most emigrants were in their twenties and early thirties and over half of them were single when they came. Seventy-three per cent of those who were married before they emigrated and had children when they left Italy. By 1979, single immigrants were all married mostly to Italian born wives.

The majority of the Italian immigrants came directly to Hamilton and experienced a transition not only from one country to another but also from a rural to a highly urban and industrialised society. Yet, despite the fact that they came from a rural background most worked in nonfarm related jobs, thus showing the variety of their work experience. Most of the respondents started off as semi-skilled and unskilled workers in Hamilton particularly at the steel factories. Their first jobs were not associated with the ones they had in Italy, even for those who worked in non-farm related jobs. Gradually some, not all, obtained employment in their own lines of work as plasterers, carpenters, construction workers; a few opened their own businesses. Though some remained in the lowest occupational level by 1979, a few moved up the ladder.

The concentration of Italian immigrants in Hamilton contains a "core" and "fringe" components with different emphasis at two stages of settlement. In the initial stage, the core attracted most of the immigrants and the breakdown by periods of immigration into Hamilton emphasizes this prominence. The neighbourhoods within the core were among the first to be developed. Most of the houses date from 1910 to

1914 though there are some which date from the late nineteenth century and some from the mid-twentieth century. Most of the arrivals being boarders or renters stayed with friends and relatives or had accommodation arranged for them by relatives and friends.

The pattern of residence in 1979 was derived from calculated moves. With more emphasis placed on the "fringe" where 55 per cent of the sample have relocated. The Mountain drew the majority of the movers. These areas were of recent development. Though a few houses were built before 1946 on the Mountain, most of the building took place after 1960, particularly south of Fennell Avenue. The majority of the houses north of Fennell and between Upper Sherman and West Fifth were built in the fifties.

Analysis of residential relocation by period of immigration, reveals that those who arrived before the Second World War and in the fifties were more dispersed in the fringe than those who arrived in the sixties and later. Therefore length of residence in the city plays a role in the relocation of the respondents.

Locational characteristics were significant in the initial distribution and later relocations of the sample. With respect to initial residence, the core area has qualities that would attract newcomers and help them get started in the new community, including the presence of other compatriots, proximity of Italian institutions and services, proximity to commercial activities and to place of work. In terms of the residential mobility patterns, the respondents first moved within those areas which were first developed in the city and then moved out to newer areas, particularly on the Mountain.

Besides locational characteristics and length of residence, another factor which seemed to affect the distribution of the respondents was the provincial origin of the respondents. Sicilians and Abruzzis, for example, were found in specific locations in the city.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN HAMILTON

#### Hypotheses

The literature review reveals inconsistent findings on the effect of life cycle, tenure status and occupation on the residential mobility, that is the number and type of move made by the general population. These factors may affect an immigrant group differently.

Based on the discussion and observations made in the preceding two chapters, the following hypotheses have been formulated.

- (i) Tenure status is related to the number of moves made.
- (ii) Immigrants who came as single adults moved more often than their married counterparts.
- (iii) Number of moves is directly related to number of job changes.
- (iv) Number of moves is directly related to occupational mobility.
- (v) Type of move is related to marital status at time of arrival.
- (vi) Type of move is related to number of job changes.
- (vii) Type of move is related to occupational mobility.

These hypotheses will serve to answer the fourth question outlined in the introduction:

"How did settlement and moves relate to such factors as marital status, tenure status, number of job changes and occupational mobility?"

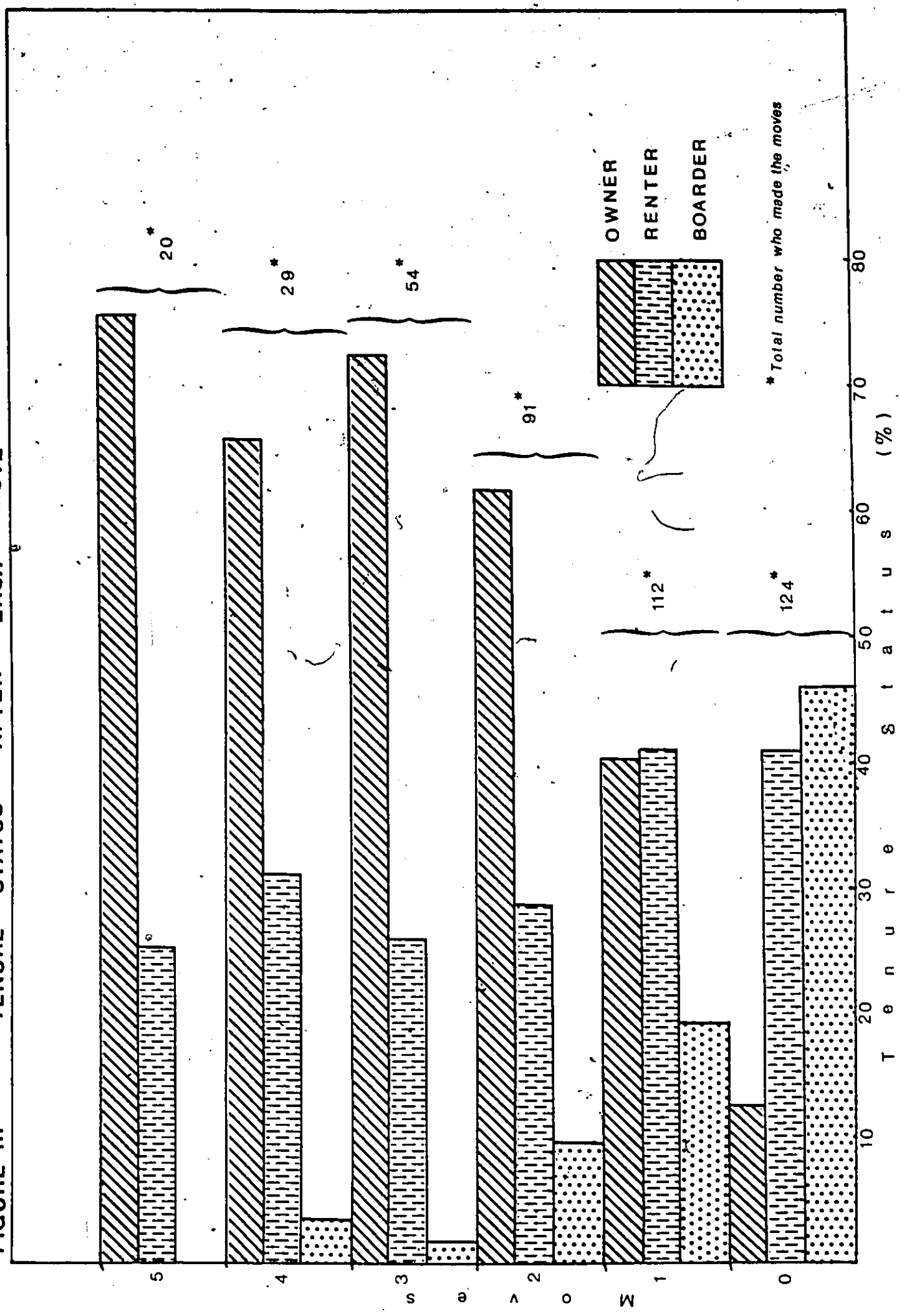
First the effect of the independent variables (marital status at time of arrival, number of job changes and occupational mobility) on the dependent variables (number of moves and type of move) are considered individually. Then the contribution of the independent variables considered together are tested by regression and discriminant analyses.

### Findings

#### *1. Tenure Status is Related to Number of Moves*

It is expected that after each move a higher proportion would become homeowners with less tendency to make subsequent moves. Figure III illustrates the tenure status of the respondents after each move. Most of them started as boarders and renters. Some boarders became renters first and then owners; other jumped from boarders to owners. One respondent was a boarder seven times and on his eighth move was an owner. In some isolated examples, tenure status was reversed from renter to boarder but never from owner to renter or boarder. This suggests that the main aim for moving has been to own a home. After each move not only did a higher percentage of the movers become home owners but fewer immigrants made subsequent moves, particularly in the case of the owners. This confirms the observations made by Rossi (1955), Pickvance (1974) among others, that homeownership breeds stability. Pickvance also noted that in the general population, some went back to renting after becoming owners. This was not so with the Italian immigrants.

FIGURE III TENURE STATUS AFTER EACH MOVE





## *2. Immigrants who Came as Single Adults Moved more often than Their Married Counterparts*

It is expected that the single adults would move more often because they did not have family constraints. Figure IV relates frequency of moves and life cycle stage at time of arrival and shows the pattern with the single and married immigrants. In both cases, the majority made two moves. The number of single immigrants making subsequent moves declined quite sharply at first, then increased after the fourth move; with the married immigrants the decline was a steady one. Even when age was controlled for, the finding suggests that, except in the case of those who made no move at all, comparatively more of the single immigrants moved once or twice; with the married ones, more moved three or four times. The graph shows that number of moves was not related to marital status at time of arrival, and this observation is corroborated by a T-Test. The hypothesis is therefore rejected.

## *3. Number of moves is directly related to number of job changes.*

It is expected that those who changed jobs several times were the ones who moved the most within the city. Table XIV summarizes the pattern of mobility in relation to frequency of job changes. Over 50 per cent of the respondents changed jobs in Hamilton and of those the majority moved between two and four times. Correlation of these two variables shows that the number of moves was strongly related to the number of times they changed jobs ( $P = .001$ ). The respondents have been highly mobile geographically and have changed jobs frequently.

FIGURE IV

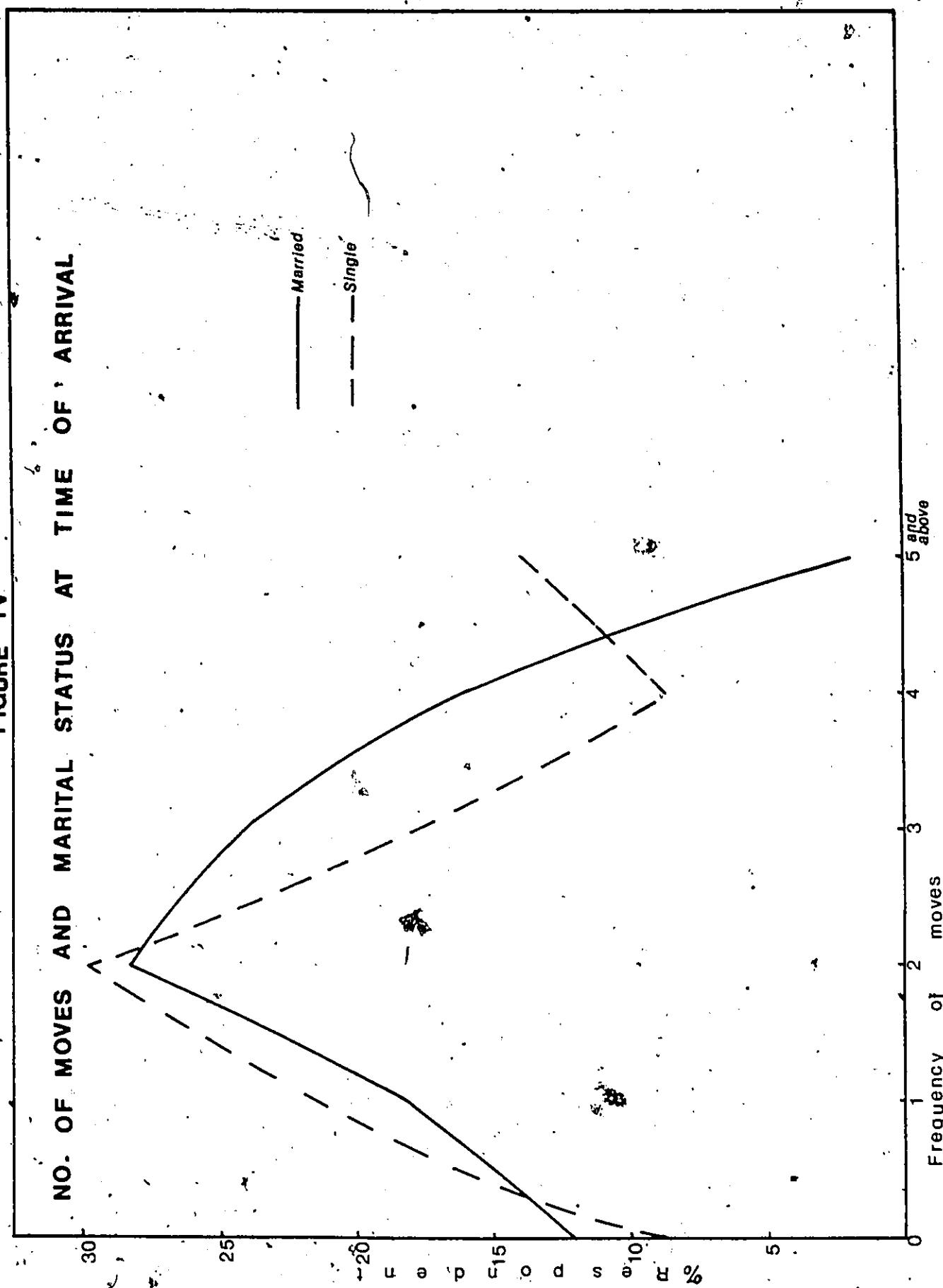


TABLE XIV

## RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY BY FREQUENCY OF JOB CHANGES

No. of times changed jobs	No. of moves						TOTAL
	0	1	2	3	4	5 & >	
0	5	16	11	9	4	1	46 (35.9)
1	6	4	9	6	4	4	33 (25.8)
2	1	1	10	4	5	2	23 (18)
3		1	2	4	4	2	13 (10.2)
4 and above	1	3	1	3	1	4	13 (10.2)
TOTAL	13 (10.2)	25 (19.5)	33 (25.8)	26 (20.3)	18 (14.1)	13 (10.2)	128

Figures in brackets are percentages

Pearson's R .31755

Significance level .001

#### *4. Number of Moves is Directly Related to Occupational Mobility*

Those who moved up occupationally were expected to be more mobile than those who did not. Table XV which combines residential mobility with occupational mobility shows that only 44.1 per cent of the respondents moved up. Ninety-five per cent of this group moved as compared to 87 per cent of those whose status remained unchanged. Though both groups were quite mobile, the upwardly mobile shifted residence more often [with an average of 2.7 moves and the majority moving between two and three times] than the "unchanged" [average 2.1 moves and the majority moved once and twice]. That number of moves was related to upward occupational mobility, is confirmed by a Pearson's correlation [R value 0.23194,  $P = < .01$ ]. Chudacoff (1972), too, found that those who were occupationally mobile moved more often than those who were not. Also, like the case with his study group, there was no discernable pattern concerning the sequence of occupational and residential mobility.

#### *5. Type of Move is Related to Marital Status at Time of Arrival*

Those who came as single immigrants were expected to move out of the area of original settlement whereas those who came as married ones to stay within. Table XVI shows that in both categories, the majority moved out of the area of original settlement, but the proportion which was single was lower (46.4 per cent) than that which was married (53.6 per cent). Even when age was controlled, a chi-square showed that the hypothesis could not be accepted.

TABLE XV

## OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Number of Moves	Occupational Mobility			
	Down	Unchanged	Up	Total
0	1	9	3	13 (10.2)
1	-	18	6	24 (18.9)
2	-	16	17	33 (26.0)
3	-	12	14	26 (20.5)
4	-	11	7	18 (14.2)
5 and above	-	4	9	13 (10.2)
TOTAL	1 (.8)	70 (55.1)	56 (44.1)	127

Pearson's R .23194

Significance level &lt; .01

TABLE XVI

TYPE OF MOVE AND MARITAL STATUS  
AT TIME OF ARRIVAL

Type of move	Marital Status		Total
	Single	Married	
No Move	7	5	12 (11.3)
Moved Within Only	20	17	37 (34.9)
Moved Out at First Move	12	12	24 (22.6)
Moved Within First Then Out	15	14	29 (27.4)
Moved Back	3	1	4 (3.8)
TOTAL	57 (53.8)	49 (46.2)	106

Figures in brackets are percentages

Chi-Square 3.09230

Not significant at .05 level

#### *6. Type of Move is Related to Number of Job Changes*

It was expected that those who moved out of the area of original settlement would change jobs more often than those who did not. Table XVII presents the patterns of job changes by type of move. Contrary to expectation, the majority of those who moved out of the area of original settlement did not change jobs; those who stayed within changed jobs at least once. A Chi-square test shows that the hypothesis is rejected at 0.05 level of significance.

#### *7. Type of Move is Related to Occupational Mobility*

It is expected that those who moved out of the area of original settlement would be upwardly mobile while the status of those who stayed within the core would remain unchanged. Table XVIII shows just the opposite. Over half of those who moved solely within the core experienced upward occupational mobility, whereas the status of the majority of those who moved out of the core remained unchanged. A Chi-square test shows that the two variables were related ( $P = .01$ ) but the direction is contrary to what was expected. What reasons may be given for this phenomenon? Firstly the occupations of these people may have dependent upon a clientele in their areas as in the case of barbers, tailors and grocers. These people may have started working for somebody else, gradually built up their own business, moving up occupationally in the same line of business. In some cases place of work and residence were the same.

Secondly, movement out of the core reflected a movement to areas of newer housing. But one did not have to be upwardly mobile to

TABLE XVII

## TYPE OF MOVE AND FREQUENCY OF JOB CHANGES

Type of move	Frequency of Job Changes					Total
	0	1	2	3	4 & >	
No Move	5	6	1	0	1	13 (10.3)
Moved Within	12	14	6	4	7	43 (34.1)
Moved Out at First Move	14	4	4	4	3	29 (23.0)
Moved Within First Then Out	14	7	8	4	2	35 (27.8)
Moved Back	1	1	3	1	-	6 (4.8)
TOTAL	46 (36.5)	32 (25.4)	22 (17.5)	13 (10.3)	13 (10.3)	126

Figures in brackets are percentages

Chi-Square 19.3686

Not significant at .05 level



TABLE XVIII

## TYPE OF MOVE AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Type of move	Occupational Mobility			Total
	Down	Unchanged	up	
No Move	1	7	5	13 (10.5)
Moved Within Only	-	15	28	43 (34.7)
Moved Out At First Move	-	18	10	28 (22.6)
Moved Within First Then Out	-	24	11	35 (28.2)
Moved Back	-	3	2	5 (4.0)
TOTAL	1 (.8)	67 (54.0)	56 (45.2)	124

Figures in brackets are percentages

Chi-Square 24.38321

Not significant at .05 level

move out of the core. Half of the upwardly mobile shifted residence strictly within the core. It may be that prestige did not derive from upward mobility, but from better housing. Perhaps some measure of income might offer some explanation for this. Lastly, some immigrants preferred living among their compatriots to moving out of the area of original concentration.

The independent variables considered individually with the dependent variables, indicated that number of job changes and occupational mobility were related to number of moves and that occupational mobility was inversely related to type of move. Next, the independent variables were considered in combination with the dependent variables. A set of regression and discriminant analyses were carried out. Age was considered as a controlling factor in the relationships between marital status at time of arrival and number of moves and type of move. In the linear equations, it was considered as an independent variable.

#### Regression Analysis.

Multiple regression show the linear relationship between the set of independent variables (age, number of job changes, occupational mobility and marital status) and the dependent variable (number of moves), while taking into account the interrelationship among the independent variables. The report on Table XIX shows the equations (with adjusted values) which resulted from the stepwise regression analysis.  $R^2$  values range from .12 to .18 representing a low level of explanation allowing for small number of cases. Each equation is significant overall beyond the 95 per cent confidence level. The constant is significant throughout

TABLE XIX

## RESULT OF STEPWISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

	Step 1	Step 2	Last Step
Age at Time of Arrival	[-.58]***	[-.52]***	[-.51]***
Number of Job Changes	(.28)	[.28]**	[.23]*
Marital Status at Time of Arrival	(.04)	(.03)	[.05]
Occupational Mobility	(.21)	(.06)	[.21]
Constant	3.88***	3.34***	2.25***
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.12	.18	.16

\*\*\* Significant at .001 level

\*\* Significant at .01 level

\* Significant at .05 level

Figures in square brackets are regression coefficients.

Figures in parentheses are partial correlation coefficients of the variables which are not included in the model.

and this indicates that there are variations in the independent variables which have not been included here. Only two of the independent variables make significant contributions to the equation: Age at time of arrival and number of job changes.

### Discriminant Analysis

Discriminant analysis was used with respect to type of move, a nominal dependent variable. The independent variables were age at time of arrival, marital status at time of arrival, number of job changes and occupational mobility. A stepwise procedure, using a Wilks Lambda method, was done to select the single best discriminating variable. Table XX shows that the F-ratio of one way analysis of variance and the discriminating coefficients of the independent variables were all insignificant. Age at time of arrival was the only factor which had some discriminating power, but with only one group of the sample: those who did not move at all. However, the number of cases in that group was too small (10) to be considered as statistically significant.

### Summary

The hypotheses related such factors as marital status at time of arrival, tenure status, frequency of job changes and occupational mobility to residential mobility of the Italian immigrants. Number of moves were significantly related to number of job changes and occupational mobility, but type of move to occupational mobility only and that too in a different direction from what was expected.

TABLE XX

## RESULT OF DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

---

	<u>F-ratio of</u> <u>One Way ANOVA</u>	<u>Discriminant Function</u> <u>Coefficient</u>
Age at Time of Arrival	2.15	1.00
Occupational Mobility	.54	- .18
Number of Job Changes	.78	- .14
Marital Status at Time of Arrival	.59	- .21

---

Wilks Lambda .93  
 Chi-Square 8.35  
 Significance Level .072

The regression analysis shows that age and number of job changes had significant effect on number of moves; but the  $R^2$  value suggested a low level of explanation. In the case of type of move, the discriminant analysis shows that only age had some discriminatory power, but it could not be accepted because it affected an insignificant segment of the sample.

Attention is drawn to the distinction between frequency of moves and type of move. These two seem to operate independently. Chudacoff (1972) noted in Omaha, that those who moved most often moved out of the inner city to newer neighbourhoods. In this study, both groups were mobile. Those who moved within the core shifted residence as often as those who moved out of it.

## CHAPTER V

### THE IMMIGRANT'S VIEWPOINT

This chapter puts in perspective the Italians' emigration, settlement and adjustment. It is based on the oral interviews conducted with a selected subgroup of the sample. The information, non-quantitative in nature, serves to emphasize the behaviour and motives of the immigrants and the thinking behind the moves already analysed.

First some aspects of the immigration to Hamilton (reasons for emigrating and for choosing Hamilton) will be presented by way of introducing the Italian immigrants into the city. Secondly, their reasons for moving and for changing jobs will be discussed. Their experience in Hamilton, giving them a set of attitude and perception of the city and of themselves, will also be presented.

Statements are drawn from what the interviewees said and remarks, from selected interviews are cited. Generalisation are made from the remarks and other materials which have not been cited.

#### Reasons for Emigrating

*Mr. A. had lived in a small town in Aquila, Abruzzi, for forty-one years. He was a farmer and owned his own land; but he was not doing too well. He wanted to better himself. He had a friend in Hamilton who arranged for a prospective job for him with a farmer in Aldershot.*

*This was only on paper so that he could get an immigrant permit to come to Canada. Leaving behind his wife and two children, he emigrated in 1949 and came directly to Hamilton. He never went to the farm. With the help of his friend, he obtained a job as a labourer at Stelco.*

*Mr. B. emigrated in 1963 from a small town in Chieti, Abruzzi, at the age of eighteen. He left Italy because after eight years of schooling he could not find work there. His uncle who was in Hamilton sponsored him and he came directly to Hamilton.*

The general motive for emigrating was to look for employment; satisfactory jobs were not available in Italy; even those working were not satisfied with what they were doing and did not earn enough money. They looked for a better economic future in Canada. Implied in this betterment was a strong desire to own property. The interviewees felt that with the situation as it was in Italy, they would never own a piece of land or a house. So they came to Canada "where opportunities were plenty for hardworking people".

There were also some particular motives for emigrating. One came because his girlfriend was here. She had emigrated two years earlier with her family. Another said that he did not want to come to Canada but his son who wanted to, could not be sponsored by his uncle who was in Hamilton. So the son convinced him, the father, to leave Italy as the latter could be sponsored by his brother. Consequently both father and son came to Hamilton. Others were merely ambitious to leave Italy, were adventurous or wanted a change of environment. One gentleman said that he did not emigrate for economic reasons as he was already an army policeman in Italy. He just wanted a change. Other



reasons given included to avoid going to the army. One young man had just turned eighteen and did not like the idea of joining the army. His mother wrote to her sister who was already in Hamilton and within a few weeks the lad was on his way to Hamilton. Finally, some sought an identity. One interviewee said that he had lived in Isola di Istria, near northeastern Italy. It belonged to Italy but after the Second World War it became part of Yugoslavia. His parents did not know where they belonged; so they decided to leave the place and came to Canada to start afresh.

#### Reasons for Choosing Hamilton

Like the case of Mr.B, most immigrants were sponsored by relatives in Hamilton. Some followed the suggestions of relatives to come to Canada. One immigrant wanted to go to Venezuela but was advised to come to Hamilton instead. Others who had emigrated to other parts of Canada such as Timmins or Sudbury found these places too cold; they knew Italians who were living in Hamilton, who advised them to come here. One said he had tried to go to the United States, but could not get a visa, so came to Hamilton. One interviewee left Italy and went to Belgium to work in the mines there. He got tired of working underground and his brother from Hamilton sent for him. In the case of those who came as independent immigrants, the situation was different. One had come as a visitor to Canada in 1969; he liked the place and stayed. Another said that he went to England first. When he came to Canada, he did not know where he wanted to go. When he embarked at Liverpool, England, the immigration officer suggested that he come to Hamilton.

### Reasons for Moving

Mr. C., who immigrated in 1952, was a boarder for five years. He then bought his first home in the neighbourhood of Central. After that, he moved three times and each time he owned a home. He moved to different parts of the city: West Hamilton, East Hamilton and finally to West Mountain. He moved to better accommodation and as he was getting better off financially he could afford it. He built his last home himself after buying the lot. He has been living there for the past six years and has no intention of moving again.

Mr. D. moved six times within Hamilton. Except for his last move, he shifted residence within the core area itself. Each of his four moves as a renter was to a slightly better or bigger apartment than the previous one. He bought his first home in 1959 on Francis Street. "It was not a very big house," he said, "but at least I owned it." In 1965, he built his present house on a lot which he bought in the East End. He was very satisfied with the area where he lived. It had all the facilities for schooling for his children, shopping, etc.

Mr. A (mentioned earlier) was a boarder at first in the neighbourhood of Beasley. A year later, when he called his wife and two children, he moved to a rented dwelling. He changed houses four times moving only within the core, the first two times, as a renter, at other times as an owner. His first move as an owner resulted from the city expropriating houses in his block. He has been living at his present house in Crown Point West neighbourhood since 1973. He has no intention of moving again. His married daughter lives quite close to his house.

Mr. E. was a boarder at his uncle's house in the Corktown.

neighbourhood. He changed residence three times in Hamilton, twice within Corktown itself where he moved to another boarding house (he did not want to live with his uncle any more) and the other time to a house he bought on Walnut Avenue. On his third move he bought a house on the Mountain in Centre Mount neighbourhood. He has no intention of changing house again or moving to another city. He likes his present house which is more spacious than his previous one; he likes the area. Many Italians live here besides some Polish and other Canadians.<sup>1</sup>

The majority were boarders when they first arrived in Hamilton; a few were renters and fewer still were owners. Most of the boarders and renters were sponsored immigrants. Those who came as independent immigrants and had nowhere to stay were met at the station by the unemployment insurance officer. He arranged a place for them to stay. Those who were in Hamilton as owners had lived in other parts of Canada before. One immigrant had lived in Toronto for some time and when he moved to Hamilton, bought a house rightaway.

The reasons for moving were varied. Some moved from one boarding house to an other because the rent was cheaper, the food was better, or to be with Italian friends. Others moved because they got married, needed more space, or had a house or land and wanted better housing. One respondent who lived in the core said that he had to move somewhere else within the core because the city had expropriated the houses in his block. Some wanted to be close to their kin:

"We like this zone...because my brother lives close to me."

"I wanted to be close to my son."

"We are old people; my daughter lives in front of my house. We wanted to be close to our grandchildren. My grandson visits me almost everyday."

Some reasons for moving to the fringe, particularly the Mountain were related to the physical attraction of the area and to the housing quality. Some wanted to be away from factories or were attracted to cleaner and fresher air on the Mountain. Others wanted to be in a less crowded and quieter residential area, with better housing:

"... looking for better accommodation. Housing were too small or kitchens too small in the old area [meaning the core]"


"... housing more spacious in this zone than in the previous one [core]"

Still others were attracted by the availability of land and possibility of building their own houses.

The main reason for moving within the core first and then out to the fringe was that it was cheaper to buy a house in the older part of the city. Immigrants moved out of it since they could afford to do so. The move to the newer area, on the Mountain particularly, was occasioned by those who decided to buy a lot or found the right lot and built their own home:

"Fourteen years ago, this lot (the site of his present house on the Mountain) was for sale. I like the area; it is a nice district; it is close to the shops, to the school ... I had some cash. I bought the land and one year later built my home on it."

Those who did not want or could not afford to build their own house, bought houses already built on the Mountain or the East End. In some cases, the immigrants had no intention of moving at first until they saw the house. One interviewee said that he had never thought of moving from the North End until:



"One day, I saw that this house (his present house on the Mountain) was for sale. Previously I had no intention to buy another house; but I saw this ad ... I changed my mind. I had some cash so I decided to buy it."

Another one said that he saw the house by chance:

"One day we were driving around this neighbourhood (on the west Mountain) we saw this house was for sale ... we called the real estate ... We saw the inside of the house ... We liked it ... made an offer ... and we bought it."

Another moved on the Mountain where he bought the house from a friend who was returning to Italy. Seventeen years ago it was a newly built house almost on the edge of the escarpment. This reflects some kind of a stepping stone process where the immigrants waited for or found the right opportunity to move when they could afford to do so.

Though some would like to move further south on the Mountain, not every body thinks the same way. One who lived all his life in the "receiving area" likes it very much, declaring he would never move out of that place for anything in the world. He would rather move closer to the downtown at the intersection of King and James streets.

All the interviewees like Hamilton and have no intention of moving to another city. They are well established here. They find Hamilton to be neither too big nor too small. They perceive Italians in general as people who do not move from one place to another. In a strange city where the Italians are starting all over again, it takes them a while to be able to afford the kind of place they want. Once this goal is achieved, they are quite happy and would not leave the city.

### Obtaining Employment

The majority of the immigrants came as sponsored relatives, mostly without a job. The kinship ties were a major factor in helping the immigrants find a job. They did not get much help from the services nor the church. Neither did all immigrants get a job right away. One immigrant who was sponsored by his father-in-law could not find a job. The employment officer had told him that because he was sponsored he did not have to work for one year:

"When I came to Hamilton, I tried to find some job but it was very hard to find a job because of the sponsorship of my father-in-law. Everywhere I went they said: 'You don't have to look for a job because your father-in-law must provide for you' ".

After one year he found his first job through the Employment Insurance Office.

Some of the independent immigrants stated that they came with a job offer, believing that they had to have a job offered to them in Canada so that they could get the permit to emigrate from Italy. Thus their relatives or friends in Hamilton (as in the case of Mr. A) had some farmers in the nearby area offer jobs to their relatives who would be emigrating. The immigrants arrived, worked for the farmers for a month or two and then moved to Hamilton to work in the factories. The immigrants, as revealed by others<sup>2</sup>, come from a rural background, were not looking for farm work in Canada for they preferred more remunerative work in the factories.

Of those who worked in non-farm related jobs before they emigrated, very few took the same kind of job in Canada. Of the twenty-five interviewed,

only three, a barber, carpenter and cabinet-maker, got similar jobs in Canada. They started off by working for someone else and later opened their own businesses. Two others, a truck driver and a welder in Italy, were factory labourers here when they started. One of them has now become a jeweller and the other a crane driver. The remainder, who in Italy, were farm labourers working on their own or on rented farms are now working in totally different jobs as tile setter, moulder, construction worker, pipelayer, plasterer and other manual jobs.

#### Reasons for Changing Jobs

Mr. T. changed jobs three times. After working as a labourer at Stelco, he moved to International Harvester and then back to Stelco. He did not like the work at Stelco at first; he had to work near the furnace all the time. He left when he got a job as a moulder at the International Harvester. After eleven years, he found the job too tiring for him as it was "piece work" and he was getting old. He tried Stelco again and he got a job in the stock department. He quite likes his present job.

Mr. N., too, had different types of jobs and worked at different places in Hamilton. He was a construction worker, blacksmith and welder. In his last job he worked in the engineering department at the International Harvester. He had to attend technical school to be trained for this job. And he is quite happy with it.

Mr. M. has been a welder since he has been in Hamilton. But he changed employer three times because he either did not like the job or he was looking for more money. He is quite satisfied with his present job.

*Mr. P. started as a labourer at Stelco. Later he became a crane driver after he was trained for a week. He has been a crane driver for seventeen years.*

Interviewees changed jobs and/or employers several times. Some changed employers because they were laid off and had to look for work elsewhere; others moved to a different job because they did not like their former one or to make more money. Some had to attend night school and get special training to obtain the kind of job they wanted to do. Others were promoted in the same place. All were generally quite satisfied with their jobs except for a few who liked the pay but not the shift work in the factories. But they agreed that nothing could be done about this. A few had the opportunity to open their own business as plasterers, painters, cabinet makers, barbers, etc.... But not everybody was successful in his business. One respondent changed jobs five times alternating from barber to real estate agent when he finally settled for real estate agent for health reason.

#### Attitudes and Perceptions

*Mr. P. who lives on West Mountain knows all the people in his block. The neighbours are friendly. Some are Canadians,<sup>3</sup> others Italians. He visits two of the Italian families who live close to his home. He rarely visits Italians who live in other parts of the city; but he meets quite a few of his compatriots at the Intro d'Aquese club where he plays cards.*

*Though he feels nostalgic about Italy, he feels more Canadian than Italian. He found out, on a visit to Italy in 1972, that Italy*



has changed enormously. He feels that he has met all his goals in Canada. He has a job, he built his own home; his children have benefited much more than they would have if they were in Italy. He also believes that he would never have achieved as much in Italy as he did in Canada.

In March 1979, Mr. S. moved into his new home on the Mountain. He does not think of ever moving again. There are many Italians living in the neighbourhood beside Polish and other Canadians. They all seem quite friendly to him. He talks to the Italians in his block and he often meets other Italians who live in different parts of the city.

He feels quite strongly about Italy. "Lack of work in Italy is the only problem I can see," he said, "I still like to live in Italy." He and his wife, who was born in Canada but of Italian background, are quite attached to Italian traditions. Financially he is satisfied with Canada. He has met his goals. He feels that if he were in Italy, he would not have been as well off as he is here. His two children have better schooling here; he earns more money; and he has had a chance to travel quite a bit.

Mr. R. lives on the Mountain among some Italians as well as people of other ethnic background. His neighbours are Italian and English. He talks a lot with his Italian neighbour. He is friendly with the people in his block but he does not keep a close relationship with them. He visits his other Italian friends and relatives who live in different parts of the city.

Though he is "comfortable" in Canada, he feels very much Italian and is proud to be one. He has achieved a lot while he has been here and he is quite happy. "I am well satisfied with my life so far", he

says and does not think that he or his children would have progressed as far as they have had they been living in Italy.

In the East End where Mr. T. lives, there are people of other ethnic background besides Italians. Because he can speak some English, he finds that the people in his block are more friendly. He meets with the other Italians in the block and in the city but he does not keep very close relationship with them.

Like Mr. P., he also feels quite nostalgic about Italy; he would like to return but could not because all his family are here. But he has achieved his goals in Canada. He has a job, a house and is proud that his wife has never had to work. "It means status," he said, "in Italian tradition; when the husband makes enough (money) there is no need for the wife to go to work. I have everything."

He feels that his children have benefited in Canada though he thinks they would still have made it in Italy because Italy has changed a lot since he left, especially with regards to educational facilities.

The length of residence of the interviewees at their actual addresses ranged from 1 1/2 months to 26 years but their attitude and perception of their block is generally the same. They all mentioned that there were members of other ethnic communities living in the block like Polish, Irish, Ukrainian, German etc. and others whom they did not know they termed Canadian. There were also other Italian families. Like the people in the block, their immediate neighbours were also of different nationalities. One interviewee who lives in the North End

has his brother-in-law living beside his house, his brother at the back and an Irish family on the other side. Neighbours may not exchange visits or even speak to one another, but their proximity forces them to observe and perhaps accept one another.

Though they do not talk regularly with the people except for the usual "Hi" and "How are you?", they all feel part of their block except for one. He moved from the North End to Westdale and has been living at the same house for twenty-six years. When he first moved to the house in 1953, he felt that the people, mostly Anglo Saxon, resented him and his family, would not talk to them because they were Italians. They were the first Italians to move to that area. This attitude gradually changed as younger families moved in and the former ones moved out; these younger families were friendlier, more tolerant and had a different outlook. The interviewee knows all the people on the block and is on friendly terms with everybody, but does not feel part of the block. He keeps to himself and mixes with the other Italians in other parts of the city.

Though some said that they visited non-Italian families, the majority visit the Italian families living in their block. In most cases, they are close relatives such as children or parents living on the same street or very close friends. They also visit other Italians who live in different parts of the city (who are mostly the "paesani" or people from the same town in Italy) and meet many of their compatriots at special functions such as weddings, dances and picnics. The older people visit their immediate families as their sons and daughters and grand children living in different parts of the city. As one said:

"We have so many of our own children and grandchildren, that we do not have time to visit other people."

The wives of the interviewees generally shop at the supermarkets closest to their houses, but also regularly visit the Italian stores and supermarkets such as Fortinos, Di Pietro and Roma which cater to them.

Though most of the interviewees are Canadian citizens now, they still feel Italian. Some have lived in Hamilton for over thirty years but they still retain their mother tongue. In fact, only five of the twenty-five interviewees agreed to be interviewed in English. The remainder preferred to speak Italian. They are proud of being Italian and feel that Italians have contributed to the development of Hamilton.

They all feel that there is a wealth of opportunity in Hamilton and, except for two, they feel that they have accomplished their goals by coming here. They have a home; they have a job; they have been on holidays and seen other places at least once since they left Italy. They also feel that their children have benefited a lot with more facilities and better education here. There is more scope for their children. The two who felt negatively about Hamilton said that they are still not making as much money as they had expected and do not seem to be secure in their jobs. They also feel that their children would have been better educated in Italy -- in other words, their relatives would have helped them to discipline the children. Here they dropped out of school early and do not have good jobs.

The immigrants think of Canada as a land of promise where opportunities are plenty. Being poor or without job in their mother

country, they sought welfare here. They willingly accepted the struggle of the first few years in the new country and the hardship of finding a proper, steady and satisfying job and a place to live. They all strove hard towards owning a house and they have all succeeded; some sooner than others. They have all achieved their goals and though some still felt nostalgic about Italy, the majority would never go back permanently.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the study was to examine the residential mobility of first generation Italian immigrants in Hamilton and the factors affecting it. An attempt was also made to link residential mobility with occupational mobility. At the onset four research questions were outlined: three dealing with the spatial aspect of residential mobility and the fourth one dealing with the factors.

#### Spatial Characteristics

Spatial aspects were described in relation to initial and final residences, mobility patterns and type of move.

The pattern of initial settlement of the first generation Italian immigrants in Hamilton confirms the observations made by others on immigrants. On arrival, they tended to live in older parts of the city where their compatriots lived (Ward, 1971; Cressey, 1930; Ford, 1951; Nelli, 1970; Gans, 1968). The proximity and existence of the community services and institutions in such areas greatly facilitated the "paesani" (peasant) functions which were so important to first generation Italian immigrants (Gambino, 1974; Firey, 1947; Moqui and Van Doren, 1972; Sturino, 1978). It served two purposes: besides perpetuating old world traits and patterns, the Italian immigrant

receiving area also provided vital entry to the main stream of a totally different life style and to make the transition from rural agrarian to urban industrial life (Nelli, 1970; Yans-Maclaughlin, 1971; Velikonja, 1972).

The attraction of the core to newcomers is accentuated when it was analysed with reference to regional origins. Immigrants from specific regions settled in different neighbourhoods of the core, except for a few from the northeast who settled in eastern Hamilton, in Parkview West neighbourhood. Foster (1965) claimed that southern Italians (by which he meant Sicilians) were found in the larger cluster by the intersection of MacNab and Barton streets and northern (or rather northeastern) Italians in the smaller cluster at the intersection of Sherman and Barton. In this study, Sicilians were found in the neighbourhoods of Central and Beasley, which corresponded to the larger cluster Foster described; but within the smaller cluster there were more from Abruzzi and other southern regions of Italy. Northern Italians were quite scattered in the core.

This pattern suggests that the Italians in the core kept very close ties with their relatives and friends in Italy; they acted as sponsors to those emigrating from Italy and looked after them when they first arrived not only by providing them with a place to stay and even supporting them financially, but also helping them to find a job and get started in the new community. In fact the main reason given for choosing Hamilton was the presence of friends and relatives.

Whether they stayed within the core or moved out of it, the respondents were found to be highly mobile; most of them moved between two and four times. By 1979, about one quarter still resided in the

core and were quite happy there, among other "paesan" (fellow villagers). Besides some improvement programs were implemented by the City Planning Department to maintain and enhance the residential quality of certain neighbourhoods, particularly Landsdale, Stipeley, and Gibson. The immigrants were looking for better and affordable housing and found it in the eastern part of the core. This may be the reason for this eastward shift in the relocation within the core.

Those who moved out of the core settled more randomly on the different parts of the fringe, including the Mountain and the East End. Region of origin did not affect their redistribution nor did the kind of jobs they held at that time. Most of them were still working at the same places they had before they moved.

As described in the typology of moves, the patterns of mobility varied with the majority either moving strictly within the core or shifting residence within the core first and then moving out to the fringe. Nelli (1970) made similar observations in Chicago. He found that those who were modestly successfully very quickly sought better housing condition and more pleasant surroundings in neighbourhoods farther away from the downtown. Often these moves took them to neighbourhoods containing a sizeable number of Italians. In this study, though some of the "modestly successful" moved out, a sizeable proportion stayed behind. But they did move to areas where the proportion of Italians was considerable (Rahman, 1977).



### Determinants of Residential Mobility

Two measures of residential mobility were examined: number of moves and type of move. The factors considered were tenure status, marital status, number of job changes and occupational mobility. The effect of tenure status on number of moves was based on observation and the remaining three were statistically tested. While number of job changes was related to number of moves, occupational mobility was significantly related to both aspects of mobility. In the case of frequency of moves both those whose status remained unchanged occupationally and those who moved up were mobile but the latter group was only slightly more mobile than the former. Chudacoff (1972) made a similar observation among the Omahans of the nineteenth century. With the type of move, the results suggest a different relationship. Those who remained in the core moved up occupationally whereas the status of the majority of those who moved out of the core, remained unchanged.

The main motivating factor affecting mobility appears to have been the desire to own a home or property. The majority were boarders and renters at first but by 1979, they were all owners. Homeowners' motives for moving were different -- to move to a better house or a custom made one on the outskirts of the city.

Other determinants that could have been considered are place of work and distance. There has been controversy as to the relative importance of journey to work as a factor affecting mobility. Most studies have rejected job location as an important variable (Simmons, 1968): for example, Rossi (1955) found that complaints about journey to work were only slightly related to current mobility rates. This

view was supported by the findings of Goldstein and Mayer (1964), and Vance (1966). They noted that while people tend to live near their place of work, a great deal of intra-urban migration occurs without a change in work place location. Instead, residential change appears to be highly voluntary, triggered by discontent with the present neighbourhood or home (Boyce, 1966) and the character of the movers themselves (Maisel, 1966).

In this study place of work did not change enough to warrant statistical testing. Forty-six per cent of the immigrants did not change jobs at all and for those who did, there was no effect on their places of residence. For example, one respondent worked for Cooper Constructions first and then was employed by the Canadian National Railway. In both cases he was bricklayer and he worked within the industrial sector; another one worked for Kent Tile and then moved to Stelco.

Not only did distance between place of work and place of residence not change much, but distance per se is an insignificant factor in Hamilton. This is because of the layout and the physiography of the city. Areawise, Hamilton is not extensive. The city extends roughly eight miles eastwest and one can very conveniently move from the eastern to the western limit of the city along the lake plain. Though the Mountain is closer to the city centre than the East End, both places were developed around the same time. The escarpment acted as barrier to land development on a large scale on the Mountain. The effect of the escarpment is reflected in the mobility patterns of the immigrants. A greater proportion of those who moved to the East did so at their first move whereas on the Mountain most of the came after their second or other moves.

### Oral Interview

The oral interview exposes certain aspects which could not be obtained from the mailed out questionnaire; such as reasons for emigrating, for moving, for changing jobs and attitude and perception of the immigrants. In short, it helped to explain the behaviour of the immigrants. It is highly suggestive and indicates certain points that might be examined further particularly on the perception and attitude of the Italians. It provided first hand information on the behaviour of the immigrants and their attitude to their neighbourhoods and to the city of Hamilton in general.

From the oral interviews, it becomes obvious that the reasons for moving were different from the factors analysed. Instead of being affected only by personal and socio-economic factors, mobility was also affected by the way the immigrants perceive the city in terms of presence of other Italians, desire to own an affordable house or to build one's own. The Italian immigrants were looking for better houses, wanted to be away from factories or to be close to relatives and fellow-villagers. In the majority of the cases, the core represented a stepping stone for the immigrants in the process of owning a home. It was cheaper to buy a house at first in the core, which also represents the older part of the city. Later, some moved to the Mountain only when they could afford to buy or build a house.

In chapter two, two theories on immigrant residential mobility were discussed: "Wave Theory" (Kosa, 1956), and "Localised Social Solidarity" (Firey, 1947). In this study, two major trends in residential mobility were displayed by the immigrants: movement within and movement

out of the core. The former, quite mobile residentially and occupationally, lived within an area with a high concentration of Italians, an example, of "Localised Social Solidarity". How much of the "Wave Theory" is applicable to the second group is open to question. They moved out of the core, some at the first move while others moved within the core first and then out to the fringe. They settled in two clusters on the fringe, on both sides of Mohawk Road on the Mountain and in the southern and southwestern corner of the East End. A great number in this group did not change jobs and consequently their occupational status remained unchanged. The areas where they settled were slightly more residentially mixed but the proportion of Italian there was still comparatively high.

In conclusion, this thesis has answered the questions related to residential mobility of the first generation Italian immigrants in Hamilton. The immigrants initially settled in the core and gradually some relocated in two parts of the fringe. Though the immigrants were quite mobile, the majority relocated within the core; the next larger group moved within the core first and then to the fringe. The factors that were important in affecting frequency of moves were number of job changes and occupational mobility. But contrary to what was expected, occupational mobility was not significant in affecting relocation on the fringe. However, the oral interviews reveal some other reasons for moving: they were related to the attitude and perception of the immigrants. As boarders and renters they moved because they were looking for cheaper places. As owners, they either wanted to be close to their fellow villagers or more so were looking for better houses in prestigious areas particularly on the Mountain. In general, the Italians show a great

deal of solidarity, be it social or localised.

#### Fields for Further Research

The findings of this research point to several areas where further research is desirable.

First, this research has presented some interesting aspects on the patterns of mobility of the Italian immigrants. An analysis of how other immigrant groups behaved would allow comparison to be drawn between them and the Italians.

Secondly, an independent variable that was not considered here was some measure of income. Conceivably it could have had the most notable influence on a man's horizontal mobility and could have provided an added dimension to the movement of the Italian immigrants.

Thirdly, the direction of residential movement by the Italians raises some questions about the housing barriers in certain sections of the city. The examination of the housing market coupled with house prices and discrimination in the process of residential choice is needed.

Lastly, it was found that housing characteristics in the neighbourhoods was important in affecting mobility of the immigrants. Research on how the mobility behaviour was affected by other specific neighbourhood factors such as crime, violence, perception of deterioration, value of housing and neighbourhood quality would be useful.

## FOOTNOTES

### Introduction

1. Questionnaires were pretested before they were administered to the sample. The questionnaires that were sent out contained a self-addressed envelope and a covering letter assuring the confidentiality of the information given. They were mailed out in the beginning of November 1978.
2. The oral interviews were done in March-April of 1979. See Appendix A for copies of the questionnaires.
3. Appendix A also explains in greater details how these information were obtained.

### Chapter I

1. The literature on Italian immigrants to the United States emphasises the Southern Italians and Sicilians who emigrated in large numbers; for example, W. Firey (1947) and H. Gans (1968) looked at the Italians in Boston; Yans MacLaughlin (1971) studied the Italians in Buffalo; Nelli (1972) in Chicago; Barton (1971) in Cleveland. The same is true for Canada: Sydlofsky (1971), Ziegler (1971), Richmond (1967), Troper (1978), Jansen (1968) looked at Italians in Toronto; Boissevain (1970) and Younge (1944) in Montreal, Foster (1965) in Hamilton.
2. An Italian village is defined as having a population of up to 5,000. (Ziegler, 1971, p. 26).
3. R. Gambino (1974), "Blood of my Blood", Chapter I, "The Family System", where Gambino explains the social and economic aspect of southern Italian contadini.
4. The reasons for this increase include (i) the Quota system applied by the U.S. government on immigrants and (ii) the unsettled political and financial conditions in Brazil and Argentina which made the countries no longer attractive to Italians. In 1959, Canada received 39.6% of Italian transatlantic emigrants. By 1963, the percentage had risen to 47.6%. (Jansen, 1968, Tables 1:2)
5. Sources of information - Census Canada.
6. By northern Italians, Foster meant Venetians from the north eastern region of Italy, which represents the poorer parts of northern Italy.

## Chapter II

1. Caplow, (1949) reviews early studies in some detail, revealing the wide variations in mobility rates derived from different cities, at different times and using different sources. See also Simmons (1968) and Quigley and Weinberg (1976) who reviewed over 100 empirical studies and found grossly inconsistent findings on the correlates of residential mobility in urban areas.
2. It has been acknowledged that the decision to move is mainly due to the dissatisfaction with the actual dwelling. Moore (1972) explains the decision to move and the search process of a household. Similarly, Speare et al. (1974) distinguish 3 stages in the moving processes: (i) the development of a desire to consider moving, (ii) the selection of an alternate location and (iii) the decision to move or stay.
3. Abu-lughod and Foley (1960), Brown and Kain (1972), Butler et al., (1964), Speare et al. (1974).
4. See Porter (1965), Richmond (1967, 1974), Blishen (1970). Porter defines the first job of the immigrant as an "entrance status" job and upward occupational mobility is an indication of the progress made by the immigrant.
5. See Chudacoff, (1972), Chapter 6 where he links occupational mobility and residential mobility.

## Chapter III

1. Ziegler (1971) whose survey questionnaires were hand delivered had a return rate of 22.5%. She referred to Sellitz (1959) who suggested that mailed out questionnaires receive return rate of between 10% and 50%.
2. The parents of the remaining 9 second generation respondents never lived in Hamilton and so were discarded.
3. See Appendix B for a detailed breakdown of the origin of the sample. See also Gambino (1974), Ziegler (1971), Yans-MacLaughlin (1971). Zeigler (1971) found in her survey of over 800 Italian born Torontonians that 64% were from the Mezzogiorno.
4. Weaver (1977) made a similar observation stating that the Italians in Hamilton were mainly from Gagliano Aterno (Abruzzi) and Racalmuto (Sicily). See also newspaper clipping file, Hamilton Reference Library.
5. The occupational categories in which the sample was divided were taken from Blishen's Socio-Economic index where he ranked occupation based on the combined score of education and income. (See Blishen, 1967).

Richmond (1967) who used Blishen's 1958 occupational rank based on 1951 Census data found it satisfactory and applied it effectively. The 1966 scale used here was based on 1961 Census data.

6. The core of Italian concentration should be distinguished from the core of the city itself which is found within the CBD at the intersection of King and James Streets. In the text "core" would mean the core of the Italian concentration , unless otherwise stated or specified

#### Chapter V

1. Those whose ethnic background was not known to the immigrants were termed "Canadians".
2. For example Yans-MacLaughlin, 1971; Barton 1971; Nelli, 1970.
3. Ibid. footnote 1.



## APPENDIX A

## QUESTIONNAIRE

The original aim of the research was to compare the first generation with others. The questionnaire had two parts. The first part, designed for first generation Italians, was originally written in English and then translated into Italian. It was read by a second Italian reader who suggested a few colloquisms. The second part of the questionnaire, which was all in English and was for the second generation Italians who would give background information about themselves and their residential and occupational changes as well as those of their parents who were born in Italy.

The items in the mailed out questionnaires were so arranged as it would be easy for the respondents to fill them out. The questions flow in a logical manner. The tougher questions on residential changes and occupations were asked last of all. It involved some "digging" in the memory especially when exact addresses were asked and the year each address was changed.

The questions related to the research were asked in a subtle way so that the necessary information could be easily worked out. For example, instead of asking for their age, it was thought simpler to ask for the year they were born. Also instead of asking whether they came straight to Canada and to Hamilton, they were asked for the year they left Italy and whether they came straight to Canada and to Hamilton. If not, they were asked to state where they went

first and when they came to this country. In this way we would know if there was any stepwise process in the immigrant's geographical mobility.

Question about income, which is an important indicator of social status, was left out purposely because it was thought to be too delicate to ask such personal question. Also, it was thought it might affect the return rate which depended on the willingness of the Italians to co-operate.

#### CODING

Very little translation of the responses to the questionnaire survey was necessary as they were mainly quantitative. The information was coded and punched into computer cards.

The addresses were checked on the neighbourhood maps of Hamilton and were grouped according to the neighbourhoods. The occupations were coded according to B. Blishen's (1967) social index scale<sup>1</sup> but only the first two digits were noted.

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<sup>1</sup>See B. Blishen (1958), (1967), (1976). The 1967 socio economic index was adopted where Blishen used the 1961 census data to construct the scale. First of all, the average income and average number of years of schooling were determined and the scores of these two measures were computed and combined. The 320 occupations were then ranked according to this combined score. B. Blishen also composed a recent one (1976) using the 1971 census data. But still the 1967 one was preferred because (i) comparing the two scales (i.e. 1967 with 1976) we find that there is not much difference in the bottom 4 categories. Besides I did not expect to find many Italians in the top 2 categories; (ii) some of my sample has been in Hamilton since 1920 and retired since 1960. It was thought that it would be unfair to code their occupation according to the latest scale. So the 1967 scale was chosen.

#### ORAL INTERVIEWS

The oral interviews served as a check on the information obtained from the questionnaire survey. It was largely qualitative and designed to obtain answers for those questions that could not be asked in the mailed out questionnaires.

Questions for the oral interview were also translated into Italian since it was anticipated that the questions might have to be asked in Italian in most cases. To conduct the interviews, six female interviewers (most of them with some experience in interviewing) of Italian background were chosen. I accompanied the interviewers to all the sessions in case the interviewees preferred to be interviewed in English. When we arrived for the interview we asked for permission to use a tape recorder and explained why we were doing it. Everyone of the 25 respondents, except for two, willingly agreed that we tape recorded the interviews.

After the interviews were completed, the ones in Italian were translated into English by a first generation Italian immigrant who has a good knowledge of English. The responses were studied and arranged into categories.

APPENDIX B*Origins of Sample*Southern Regions

## SICILY

Racalmuto 15  
 Messina 1  
 Castoreale 1  
 Ragusa 1  
 Caltanissetta 1  
 Capizzi 1  
 Favara 1  
 Palermo 3  
 Aragona 1

Total 25 (18.1%)

## MOLISE

Rotello 1  
 Providenti 1  
 Cascalenda 1  
 Rionero Sanitico 1  
 Fionero 2

Total 6 (4.3%)

## APULIA

Foggia 2  
 Teramo 1  
 Bari 3  
 Rosetto Valforte 1  
 Santeramo 1  
 Capurso 1

Total 9 (6.5%)

## CAMPANIA

Avelino 2  
 Molinara 1 Cervinara 1  
 Marzano 1

Total 5 (3.6%)

## ABRUZZI

Colarmele 1  
 Villa Passo 2  
 Aqua Santa 3  
 Gagliano Aterno 5  
 Gorian Socoli 1  
 Cerchio 1  
 Intro d'Aqua 3  
 Chieti 5  
 Sanvite Chietino 1  
 Vittorito 3  
 Pettorano Sulgizi 2  
 Valleta Barea 1  
 Vasto 1  
 Patrola 1  
 Sulmona 1  
 Collipietro 2  
 Ormango 1  
 Corfino 1  
 Rapino Teramo 1  
 Pescara Roacamalice 1

Total 37 (26.8%)

## CALABRIA

San Georgio Morgetto 1  
 Cosoleto 1  
 Cosenza 5  
 San Fernando 1  
 Fiumara 1  
 Nicastro 3  
 Polistena 1  
 Cerenza 1

Total 14 (10.1%)

Central Regions

## MARCHE

Civitanova 1  
 Offida 1  
 Ascoli Piceno 5  
 Pescara Impolito 1  
 Fermo 1  
 Porto San Giorgio 1  
 Pescara Fano 1  
 San Michele 1

Total 12(8.7%)

## LAZIO

San Rocco di Magliano 1  
 San Padre 1  
 Fondi 1

Total 3(2.2%)

## UMBRIA

Perugia 1 (.7%)

Northeastern Regions

Fiume 2  
 Azono 1  
 Castel Franco 1  
 Reocaro 2  
 Treviso 2  
 Sanviditto 1  
 San Querino 1  
 San Giorgio 1  
 Taredo 1  
 Goricizza 1  
 Padua 3  
 Codroipo 1  
 Varmo 1  
 Isola di Istria 1

Total 19(13.8 %)

Origin not given 6(4.3 %)

## ROMA

Lanuvio 1 (.7%)

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October 23, 1978.


Gentile Amico:

Si sa bene che le gente italiana di Hamilton ha dato un contributo fondamentale alla vita economica e culturale della città e dintorni. All 'Università McMaster siamo ansiosi di studiare questo contributo e il modo in cui è avvenuto. Il nostro interesse è rivolto sia ai nuovi arrivati che a quelli che sono vissuto qui da parecchie generazioni.

Questa è una lettera di presentazione per la signorina Devianne Caussy, laureata in geografia. Ella ha preparato un questionario a cui speriamo sinceramente che lei voglia rispondere. La preghiamo di restituirlo compilato al più presto possibile nella busta che includiamo. No c'è bisogno di francobollo. Risponda a tutte le domande. Le sue risposte sono necessarie per dimostrare l'avvenuto ambientamento e adattamento degli italiani alla realtà cittadina.

La ringraziamo infinitamente per la sua cortesia e per la sua cooperazione nell'aderire a questa richiesta. Le sue risposte ci permetteranno di capire meglio il contributo degli Italiani di Hamilton. L'assicuriamo che tutte le risposte saranno trattate con il più assoluto riserbo e non saranno mostrate altri senza il suo permesso.

Cordialmente,

  
(Dr. ) R. Louis Gentilcore  
Professore di Geografia

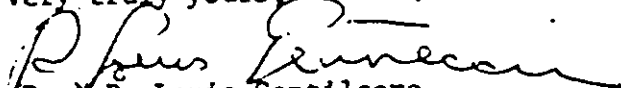
Dear Friend:

It is well known that the Italian people in Hamilton have made a tremendous contribution to the economic and cultural life of the city and its surrounding area. At McMaster University, we are anxious to study this contribution and the way in which it came about. We are interested in both newcomers and those have lived here for several generations.

This letter introduces Devianne Caussy, a graduate student in the Department of Geography. She has prepared a set of questions which we hope you will answer and send back to us as soon as possible. A stamped self-addressed return envelope is provided. Be sure to answer every question. Your answers are needed in order to show the successful adaptation of the Italian people in the city.

We thank you "infinitamente" for your courtesy in receiving this request and for your co-operation. Your answers will enable us to better understand the contributions made by Italians in Hamilton. We assure you that all answers will be treated most confidentially and will not be shown to anyone else without your permission.

Very truly yours,

  
(Dr.) R. Louis Gentilcore  
Professor of Geography

Si prega d'indicare la risposta con un ☒ nella casella appropriata e di scrivere le risposte nello spazio provisto.

1{ Were you born in Italy? Yes ☐ No ☐

È nato in Italia? Sì ☐ No ☐

2{ If answer is no, please go to page 5.

Se la risposta è no, si prega di voltare a pagina 5.

3{ Se la risposta è sì, si prega di specificare il nome del

(i) villaggio, paese o città, e la regione dov'è nato

\_\_\_\_\_.

(ii) l'anno in cui è nato \_\_\_\_\_.

4. Quanti anni ha vissuto in Italia:

(i) in campagna \_\_\_\_\_.

(ii) in un villaggio oppure in un piccolo paese (meno di 5,000 persone) \_\_\_\_\_.

(iii) in un paese (5,000-50,000 persone) \_\_\_\_\_.

(iv) in una città (sopra 50,000 persone) \_\_\_\_\_.

5. In quale anno è emigrato dall' Italia? \_\_\_\_\_.

6. È venuto in Canada direttamente? Sì ☐ No ☐

7. Se la risposta è no, in quale anno è arrivato in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_.

8. È venuto in Canada:

(i) con una offerta di lavoro ☐

(ii) senza una offerta di lavoro ☐

9. In quali circostanze è emigrato in Canada?

(i) tramite atto di richiamo da parte di familiari ☐

(ii) come ragazzi venuti con i genitori ☐

(iii) come emigrante per conto proprio ☐



10. È venuto in Canada con l'intenzione di ritornare in Italia a vivere?  
Si ☐ No ☐ Forse ☐

11. Spera ancora di ritornare a vivere in Italia?  
Si ☐ No ☐ Forse ☐

12. Quanti anni di scuola ha fatto in Italia? \_\_\_\_\_

13. Quanti anni di scuola ha fatto in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

14. Come giudico la sua attuale conoscenza dell'inglese guarito a  
seguenti aspetti?

	nulla	molto scarsa	scarsa	discreta	buona	molto buona
Comprendere						
Parlare						
Leggere						
Scrivere						

15. La sua conoscenza dell'inglese ha influito sulla scelta di  
un lavoro? Si ☐ No ☐

16. Lavorava in Italia prima di emigrare? Si ☐ No ☐

17. Se la risposta è sì, che tipo di lavoro faceva? \_\_\_\_\_

18. Se la risposta alla domanda precedente è agricoltore, era  
proprietario di terre o affittuario? \_\_\_\_\_

19. È sposato? Si ☐ No ☐

20. Se la risposta è sì, in quale anno si è sposato? \_\_\_\_\_

21. Dove'è nata sua moglie? Italia ☐ Canada ☐

Altra ☐ (Si prega di scrivere il nome  
della nazione \_\_\_\_\_)

22. Se sua moglie non è nata in Italia, è di origine italiana?  
Si ☐ No ☐

23. Hanno bambini? Si ☐ No ☐

24. Se la risposta è sì, si prega di indicare il numero di bambini e l'anno della loro nascita

<u>Numero di bambini</u>	<u>Anno di nascita</u>

(Se ci fosse bisogno ancora di spazio, scrivete sul retro)

25. È venuto a Hamilton direttamente dall' Italia? Sì ☐ No ☐

26. Se la risposta è no, dove ha abitato quando è arrivato in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_.

27. In quale anno è venuto a Hamilton? \_\_\_\_\_.

28. Si prega di indicare qui sotto, se possibile, i diversi indirizzi dove è risduto nella città di Hamilton, l'anno in cui ha cambiato casa, e se era pensionante, affittuario o proprietario di casa.

<u>Indirizzo</u>	<u>Anno</u>	<u>Pensionante</u>	<u>Affittuario</u>	<u>Proprietario</u>

(Se ci fosse bisogno ancora di spazio, scrivete sul retro)



Please answer the questions by putting a tick in the appropriate boxes ☒ and by filling in the blank spaces wherever applicable.

1. Were you born in Hamilton? Yes ☐ No ☐
2. If no, please state the name of the village, town or city and country where you were born. \_\_\_\_\_.
3. In which year were you born? \_\_\_\_\_.
4. How long have you lived in Hamilton? \_\_\_\_\_.
5. How many years of schooling have you completed? \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Are you married? Yes ☐ No ☐
7. If yes, in which year did you get married? \_\_\_\_\_.
8. Where did you get married? Italy ☐ Canada ☐  
Other ☐ (Please specify \_\_\_\_\_).
9. Where was your wife born? Italy ☐ Canada ☐  
Other ☐ (Please specify \_\_\_\_\_).
10. If she was not born in Italy, is she of Italian background? Yes ☐ No. ☐
11. Do you have any children? Yes ☐ No ☐
12. If yes, please indicate the number of children you have and the year each one was born.

<u>Children</u>	<u>Year Born</u>

(Please use back of sheet if more space is needed)

13. Please list down the different addresses you moved to in Hamilton after you completed your education and whether you were a boarder, renter or owner.

[illegible]

(Please use back of sheet if more space is needed)

14. Please indicate below the different jobs you had after you completed your education and when you changed jobs.

[illegible]

(Please use back of sheet if more space is needed)

15. Was your father born in Italy? Yes ☐ No ☐
16. If answer is no, please indicate which one of your ancestors was born in Italy . \_\_\_\_\_.
17. If answer is yes, in which year was he born? \_\_\_\_\_.
18. Please state the name of the village, town or city and the province where he was born.. \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_.
19. In Italy how many years did he live in
- (i) a farm \_\_\_\_\_
  - (ii) a village or small town (less than 5,000) \_\_\_\_\_
  - (iii) a town (5,000 to 50,000) \_\_\_\_\_
  - (iv) a city (over 50,000) \_\_\_\_\_
20. In which year did he emigrate from Italy? \_\_\_\_\_.
21. Did he come to Canada directly? Yes ☐ No ☐
22. If answer is no, in which year did he move to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_.
23. Did he come to Canada
- (i) with a job offer? ☐
  - or (ii) without a job offer? ☐
24. Under what circumstance did he emigrate?
- (i) as sponsored relative ☐
  - (ii) as children accompanying parent ☐
  - (iii) as independent immigrant ☐
25. Did he come to Canada with the intention of returning to live in Italy?
- Yes ☐ No ☐ Maybe ☐ Don't Know ☐
26. Does/did he hope to return to live in Italy permanently?
- Yes ☐ No ☐ Maybe ☐ Don't Know ☐
27. How many years of schooling did he have in Italy? \_\_\_\_\_
28. How many years of schooling did he have in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
29. How would you rate his knowledge of English at present (or if he is dead, before he died) as far as the following are concerned:

	None	Very Poor	Poor	Fair	Good	Very Good
Understanding						
Reading						
Writing						
Speaking						

30. Did his knowledge of English influence what job he obtained? Yes ☐ No ☐

31. Was he working in Italy before he emigrated? Yes ☐ No ☐

32. If yes, what kind of work did he do? \_\_\_\_\_.

33. If a farmer, was he a landowner or a tenant? \_\_\_\_\_.

34. In which year did he get married? \_\_\_\_\_.

35. Was his wife born in

Italy? ☐ Canada? ☐ other? ☐ (Please specify \_\_\_\_\_).

36. If she was not born in Italy, was she of Italian background? Yes ☐ No ☐

37. Please indicate the number of children he had and the year each one was born.

<u>Children</u>	<u>Year Born</u>

(Please use back of sheet if more space is needed)

38. Did he come to Hamilton directly? Yes ☐ No ☐

39. If no, where did he live when he first arrived in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_.

40. In which year did he move to Hamilton? \_\_\_\_\_.

41. Please indicate, as far as you know, the different places he moved in Hamilton, the year in which he moved, whether he was a boarder, renter or owner.

<u>Address</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Boarder</u>	<u>Renter</u>	<u>Owner</u>

(Please use back of sheet if more space is needed)

42. Please indicate below as far as you can remember the different jobs he had since he came to Hamilton, the places where he worked and when he changed jobs.

<u>Job</u>	<u>Place of Work</u>	<u>Year</u>

(Please use back of sheet if more space is needed)



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McMaster University  
Department of Geography  
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada

Gentile Amico:

Qualche giorno fa le abbiamo inviato copia di un questionario pertinente agli italiani della città di Hamilton. Vogliamo sperare che nel frattempo lei abbia avuto modo di compilarlo e rispedirlo. Qualora non fosse stato in grado di farlo, le dispiacerebbe per favore concederci qualche minuto e soddisfare alla nostra richiesta compilandolo e rispedendolo oggi stesso? Si tratta di un progetto di studio di grande importanza per noi e il suo aiuto è essenziale. Ci scusi per il disturbo e grazie di cuore.

Dear Friend:

A few days ago we mailed you a copy of the Italians in Hamilton survey. Of course, we hope you have completed it and returned it to us by mail. If you haven't, will you take a few minutes and fill it out and send it to us right now?

Thank you for your help in this study. We appreciate it very much.

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## "ITALIANS IN HAMILTON"

### SURVEY

#### DEPTH INTERVIEW

##### Emigration

1. You emigrated from Italy in \_\_\_\_\_ .
2. Why exactly did you leave Italy?
3. Why did you come to Canada rather than to the U.S.A., South America or Australia?
4. What made you choose Hamilton particularly?
5. When you reached Hamilton what happened?

*(How were you helped to find a job and/or a place to live?)*

##### Residential Mobility

1. You moved \_\_\_\_\_ times within Hamilton. Do you remember why you made these moves?
2. Do you intend to move again?  
*(If yes)* Where in Hamilton would you wish to finally settle down?  
*(If no)* What do you find attractive in this area?
3. Do you ever think of leaving Hamilton to go to other places? Why?

##### Occupational Mobility

1. Tell us about your first job in Canada?  
How did you get it? How different was it from the one you had before you emigrated?
2. You have changed jobs and/or employers \_\_\_\_\_ times. What were your reasons for doing so?
3. How do you feel about your present job?  
Did you have to undergo any training for it?  
What kind of job would you like to have?

### Attitude and Perception

1. How long have you lived at this address?  
How did you find this place?
2. How many people do you know on this block?
3. How many do you regularly talk to?
4. How many do you regularly visit?
5. Are they Italians? If not what are they?
6. What kind of relationship do you have with your neighbours?

*Whether work at the same place or do same kind of work?  
or belong to the same political party?  
or talk to them or visit them occasionally?*

7. Do you feel a part of this block?
8. Do you find that there has been a change in the attitude of the neighbours since you have been living here?  
  
*(If yes, what is it?)*
9. Where do you and/or your wife do your grocery shopping? Why?
10. How do you spend leisure time? Sundays?  
What do you most like to do?
11. Which clubs do you belong to?
12. Which church do you attend? Why?
13. Do you meet with the other Italians who live in different parts of the city?  
When? And how often?
14. How do you feel about Hamilton, now that you have lived here for so long? Are you quite happy here? Would you think of yourself as being a Hamiltonian 1st?
15. How do you feel about being a member of the Italian community in Hamilton?
16. How do you feel about your old country, Italy?
17. Do you feel that by coming to Canada and to Hamilton, you have achieved your goals? In what ways?
18. How about your children's progress: do you feel that they have done or are doing better here than they would have if they were in Italy?

## "ITALIANS IN HAMILTON"

### SURVEY

#### DEPTH INTERVIEW

Le domande sono piuttosto generale, facili a rispondere. Desideriamo avere i suoi piu candidi pensieri. Esprima li suoi pensieri come pensa necessario.

#### Emigrazione

1. In quale anno é emigrato dall'Italia?
2. Esattamente, perché ha lasciato l'Italia?
3. Perché é emigrato in Canada e non negli Stati Uniti o Sud America?
4. Cosa ha influenzato, particolarmente, la sua scelta della città di Hamilton?
5. Quando é arrivato in Hamilton, cosa é successo? In altre parole, come ha trovato un posto d'alloggio (i.e. una abitazione), o un lavoro?

#### Mobilità Residenziale

1. Quante volte ha cambiato casa nella città di Hamilton?
2. Ha intenzione di cambiare di nuovo? Perché?  
*(Se la risposta é si)* Dove in Hamilton preferirebbe stabilirsi? Perché?  
*(Se la risposta é No)* Cosa trova d'attraente in questa zona?
3. Ha mai pensato di lasciare Hamilton per andare a vivere in altre città? Perché?

#### Mobilità D'impieghi

1. Ci dica qualche cosa del suo primo lavoro in Canada?  
Come l' ha preso?  
Era differente dal suo lavoro prima di emigrare? In quale maniera?
2. Quante volte ha cambiato il tipo di lavoro (mestieri), oppure i datori di lavoro? Per quali motivi?
3. Cosa pensa del suo lavoro adesso? É stato necessario di una preparazione tecnica per il suo lavoro?
4. Che tipo di lavoro preferirebbe avere?

2

Attitudine e Percezione

1. Da quando che abita in questa casa?
2. Come avete trovato questo posto?
3. Quante persone conosce in questo "block" (distretto, dintorno, zona)
4. Con quante persone parla regolarmente?
5. Quante persone visita regolarmente in queston "block"?
6. Sono italiani? *(Se la risposta é No)* Qual' é la loro nazionalità?
7. Che tipo di relazione ha con i suoi vicinanti?  

e.g. sia che - dal lavoro  
                  - essendo membro dello stesso partito politico  
                  - oppure socialmente
8. Si senta parte di questo "block"?
9. Pensa che c'e stato un cambiamento di attitudine nei vicinanti da quando abita in que-ta zona, "block"?  

*(Se la risposta é Si)* In che maniera?
10. Dove fa la spesa sua moglie? Perché?
11. Cosa fa nel tempo libero, e le domeniche? Cosa preferisce di piu?
12. Di quale club é membro?
13. Quale chiesa attenda? Perché?
14. S' incontra con altri italiani che abitano in altre parti della città?  
Quante volte? Spesso?
15. Cosa ne pensa di Hamilton ora che ha vissuto per parecchi anni?  
Sei contento qui? Come si senta di essere un membro della comunità italiana in Hamilton?
16. Creda che essendo in Canada, in Hamilton, ha raggiunto i suoi desideri (le sue mete)? In che maniera?
17. Pensa che i suoi figli hanno beneficiato oppure beneficiano stando in Canada piuttosto che in Italia?