

NOTE TO USERS

The original manuscript received by UMI contains pages with indistinct and light print. Pages were microfilmed as received.

This reproduction is the best copy available

UMI

WINNIPEG'S LITTLE ITALY:

A DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL

BY

JOHN SPINA

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

**Department of Geography
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

(C) September, 1998



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-32959-3

Canada

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION PAGE**

**WINNIPEG'S LITTLE ITALY:
A DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL**

BY

JOHN SPINA

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of**

MASTER OF ARTS

John Spina ©1998

**Permission has been granted to the Library of The University of Manitoba to lend or sell
copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis
and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to Dissertations Abstracts International to publish
an abstract of this thesis/practicum.**

**The author reserves other publication rights, and neither this thesis/practicum nor
extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's
written permission.**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the assistance of many individuals. I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. John C. Lehr for not only his role in the production of this thesis but also his guidance and sound advice throughout my years at both the University of Winnipeg and University of Manitoba. I would like to thank my second reader, Dr. Richard H. Foster and external committee member, Dr. David H. Stymeist for being a part of my thesis committee. Special recognition must be given to Mr. Weldon Hiebert for his assistance with the construction of the maps and the Italian community of Winnipeg and residents of Winnipeg who were very generous with their time during the research phase of this thesis.

Most importantly, thanks must be extended to my parents, Rose and Vincent Spina without whose support this thesis and my education would not have been possible and my sister Luisa for her endless technical assistance throughout the production of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

Since the late 1980s, three blocks of Winnipeg's Corydon Avenue, often known as "Little Italy", have emerged as a shopping and recreation destination for Winnipeggers and a tourist destination for visitors to the city. This thesis examines the nature of Corydon Avenue as a local tourist and business attraction based on environmental, physical, social and cultural considerations and proposes a five-stage model to account for the commercial development of a local destination based on the commercialization of ethnicity. Winnipeg's Little Italy is then examined in terms of this model.

This study relies heavily upon qualitative data. Data sources include in-depth, open-ended interviews with members of Winnipeg's Italian community and with members of various groups who have been affected by, or have played varying roles in, the development, growth and promotion of Corydon Avenue. Research into the history and process of Italian immigration to Winnipeg was an integral part of this thesis as were direct observations of the Corydon Avenue streetscape.

It is argued that action must be taken to preserve the commercial integrity of Italian culture in the city so that Little Italy survives. The most significant problem is the lack of a "community approach" by the Italian population towards the preservation, development, promotion and

cementation of Italian culture on Corydon Avenue. Until such issues are addressed, the relevance of the title Little Italy and continued commercial presence of the Italian community on Corydon Avenue is uncertain.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Purpose and Objectives	4
1.2 Justification	6
1.3 Parameters	11
1.4 Background of the Researcher	12
1.5 Definition of Terms	12
1.6 Organization of the Thesis	15
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	17
2.1 Spatial Considerations in Tourism	18
2.2 Evolutionary Considerations in Tourism	19
2.3 Behavioral Considerations in Tourism	21
2.4 Tourist Destinations	22
2.5 Marketing Tourist Destinations	25
2.6 Tourism and Ethnicity	26
2.7 Discussion and Summary	28
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY, OBJECTIVES AND DATA SOURCES	29
3.1 Theoretical Literature of Selected Methods	30
3.1.1 Selection of Interviewees	31

3.1.2	Interviews	31
3.1.3	Qualitative Research Constraints	34
3.2	Overview of Corydon Avenue	35
3.3	The Product Life-cycle Concept	36
3.4	Discussion and Summary	37
CHAPTER FOUR: THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY IN WINNIPEG: A BIOGRAPHY		39
4.1	Emigration and Italian Society	39
4.2	The First Wave: Pre World War I	43
4.2.1	The <i>Padrone</i> Structure in Winnipeg	44
4.2.2	Boarding Houses in Winnipeg	46
4.2.3	Social Life	46
4.3	The Second Wave: The 1920s	48
4.4	The Third Wave: The Second World War and After	49
4.5	Regional Clustering	50
4.6	Ethnic Associations	51
4.7	Recent Trends in the Italian Community	56
4.8	Cultural Perspectives on Winnipeg's Little Italy	58
4.9	Discussion and Summary	61
CHAPTER FIVE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LITTLE ITALY STREETScape		63
5.1	Rural Ethnic Settlements in Manitoba	63
5.2	In-Migration	65
5.3	The Development and Structure of Winnipeg's Little Italy	67

5.4	The Functions of Winnipeg's Little Italy	80
5.5	Discussion and Summary	82
CHAPTER SIX: ENVIRONMENTAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF CORYDON AVENUE		84
6.1	The Tourism Environment	85
6.2	The Physical Environment	87
6.3	Business Improvement Zones	90
6.4	Tourism Winnipeg	92
6.5	Rural Festivals and Exhibitions	98
6.6	Winnipeg's Ethnic/Community Festivals	99
6.7	<i>Festa Italiana</i>	100
6.8	Discussion and Summary	104
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE EVOLUTIONARY CYCLE OF A COMMERCIAL ETHNIC ENCLAVE		106
7.1	The Models	106
7.2	A Model of Ethnic Commercialization	112
7.3	Italian Expression/Commercialization in Winnipeg	116
7.4	Discussion and Summary	122
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION		124
8.1	Summary of Research Findings	124
8.2	Implications for Future Research	127
WORKS CITED		134

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
1. Location of Corydon Avenue, Winnipeg	2
2. Hypothetical Evolution of a Tourist Area	7
3. The Regions of Italy	41
4. Regional Origins of Italians: Winnipeg	52
5. Distribution of Italians from Calabria in Winnipeg 1996 based upon a 20 percent sample	53
6. Distribution of Italians in Winnipeg 1996 based upon a 20 percent sample	57
7. Bar Due Milla	68
8. Ciao Caffè	68
9. Colicoseo Ristorante Italiano	69
10. Colloseo Ristorante Italiano	69
11. Bar Italia	70
12. Corydon Villa	70
13. Corydon Avenue Street Sign	72
14. Cockburn Street Sign	72
15. Residential and Commercial Elements on Corydon Avenue	73
16. Italian Oriented Commercial Establishments on Corydon Avenue	74
17. Promotion of Corydon Avenue in Tourism Winnipeg Neighborhood Brochures	94
18. Business Improvement Zones in Winnipeg	95
19. Promotion of Corydon Avenue on the World Wide Web	97

20.	Application of a Hypothetical Model of Ethnic Commercialization to Winnipeg's Italian Community	113
-----	--	-----

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
1. A Commercial Inventory of Little Italy: 1998	76

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1980s, three blocks of Winnipeg's Corydon Avenue, locally often known as Little Italy, have emerged as a shopping and recreation destination for Winnipeggers and a tourist destination for visitors to the city. Corydon Avenue is located in the southern sector of the city (Figure 1). A Mediterranean ambiance prevails along this shopping street, where Italians have opened antique shops, gift boutiques and restaurants, displaying the richness of their culture to all those who visit for *Gelati* (ice cream), *Cappuccino* and Italian cuisine.

Ethnic communities are found in most large cities in Canada and the United States. In many of these cities, ethnic shopping districts have emerged, such as the Chinese Chinatown or the Italian Little Italy. Though these ethnic communities today cannot be described as slums, occupied by ethnic group members because of social or economic pressure, or as ethnic enclaves, residential concentrations of these groups once did, or still do, appear in these areas. Today, these ethnic shopping districts proudly display many facets of old-country life, although the preservation of their ethnic heritage has not always been easy.

Throughout the 1950s, the federal and provincial

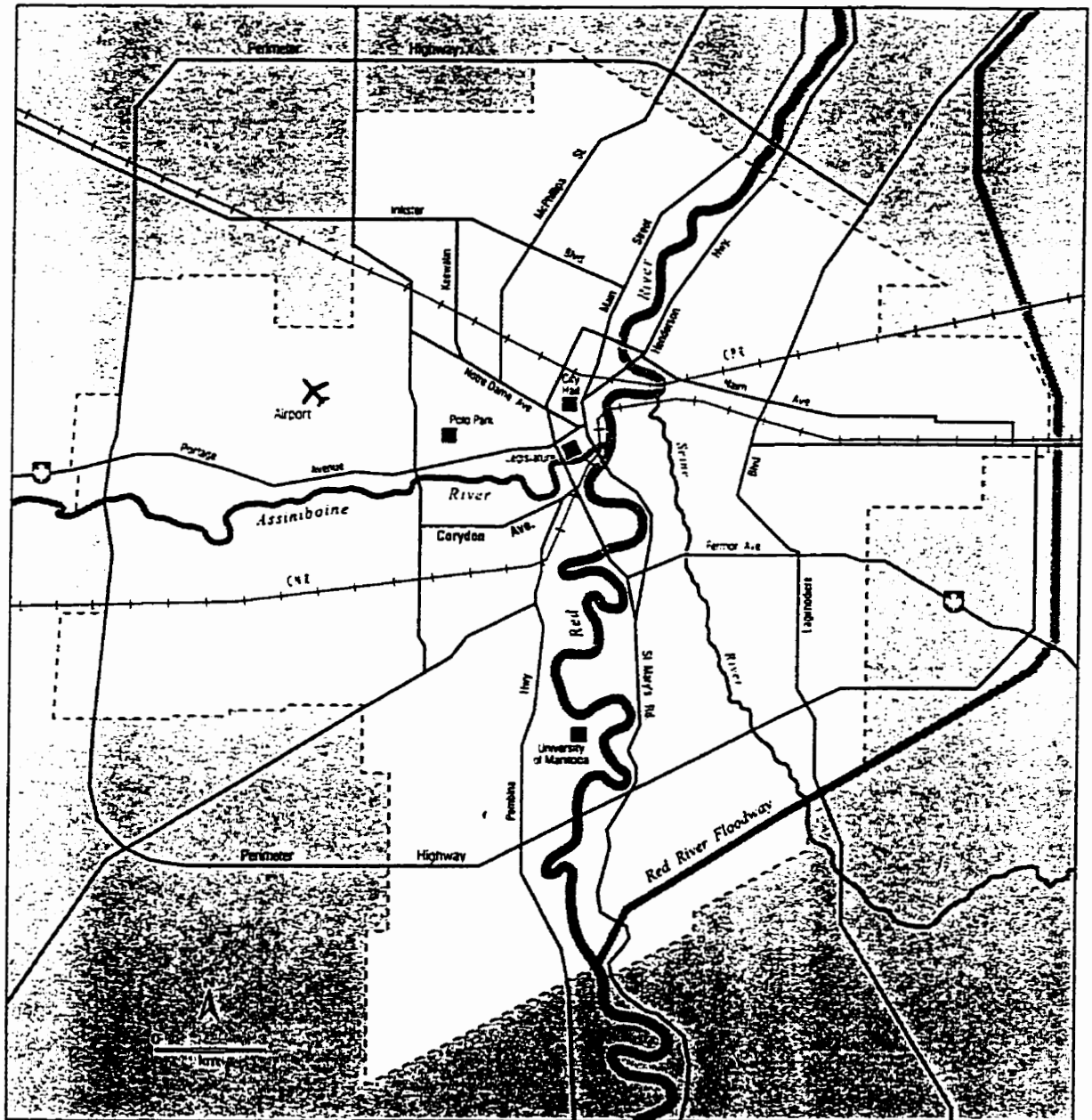


Figure 1. Location of Corydon Avenue, Winnipeg

Source: Modified from Welsted, Everitt and Stadel
1996, 140.

governments in Canada promoted the rapid assimilation of ethnic groups into the mainstream of Canadian society. They frowned upon the overt expression of ethnic identity, seeing it as unpatriotic and un-Canadian. Immigrant groups responded to the disapproval of the host society by turning inward. They attempted to preserve at least part of their ethnic heritage, to feel more comfortable, especially with regard to language, by locating near one another, encouraging group self-fulfillment through mutual dependence and establishing ethnic associations during the adjustment phase. These actions often strengthened pre-exodus village or regional alliances but acted as barriers to living outside of immigrant concentration areas.

Through the 1960s, public interest in the rights of minorities in Canada and, indeed, throughout the western world, grew continually. Many minority groups sought governmental intervention to help them preserve and enhance at least part of their ethnic heritage. The Canadian government and other public agencies at provincial and municipal levels launched programs favoring the retention of national cultures within the framework of multiculturalism. Generally this coincided with a greater tolerance to, and heightened interest in, ethnic diversity by Canadian society at large.

Many ethnic communities drew on their own resources to assert their cultural distinction and to develop trade and tourism in urban areas. Associated with this development has been a growing awareness of the economic importance of local tourists, those who are making new uses of their local settings. Interest in attracting residents to shop and recreate in their own town or district, however, goes beyond economic considerations to include a host of less easily quantifiable factors, including a growing sense of pride in local heritage and amenities. Thus, it is desirable that an investigation into the evolution of ethnic shopping districts and their relationship to local tourist flows incorporates a variety of components.

1.1 Purpose and Objectives

Ethnic shopping districts play a major role in the lives of immigrant groups, encompassing a broad agenda of issues. Some of these issues include the preservation and enhancement of old world customs and ethnic traditions in a multi-cultural society and the continued strengthening of village and regional alliances through interaction with members of the same ethnic background. Further, ethnic shopping districts allow immigrant groups to pursue a common objective of attempting to recreate a cultural milieu in which traditions and a sense of identity are preserved and social environments

may be replicated.

It is desirable that an investigation into the evolution of ethnic shopping districts and their relationship to local tourist flows incorporates a variety of components. In the present study, an examination of Winnipeg's Corydon Avenue extends beyond a consideration of environmental, physical, social, and cultural aspects of the area. This analysis also focuses on Corydon Avenue as a tourist product or destination, moving through distinct stages, each dependent upon different factors that determine the waxing and waning of the area's popularity, thus determining its competitive position in the marketplace.

This thesis attempts to (1) examine the nature of Corydon Avenue as a local tourist and business attraction based on environmental, physical, social and cultural considerations and (2) proposes a five-stage model to account for the commercial development of a destination at the local scale based on the commercialization of ethnicity, attempting to address pertinent issues in the development, growth and promotion of these areas. Winnipeg's Little Italy on Corydon Avenue is then examined in terms of this model.

Many models have been formulated to conceptualize the process of development, including the development of tourist destinations. In this latter regard the model that has

attracted the most attention and incorporates the most factors is the six stage model developed by Butler (1980) (Figure 2). Butler argues that sales of a product proceed slowly at first, experience a rapid rate of growth, stabilize and subsequently decline, in other words, a basic asynoptic curve is followed (Butler 1980, 6). This model suggests that a product, service or destination moves through distinct stages and the stage of development in which a product or destination finds itself has profound marketing implications (Mill and Morrison 1985, 365). Butler's model, however, does not consider the scale and unique characteristics involved in the commercialization of a local destination based on ethnicity. Therefore, a five-stage model of ethnic commercialization is proposed in this thesis.

It is important to recognize that even if the Italian community in Winnipeg were to become completely acculturated and assimilated there would still be commercial interest in keeping the image of Little Italy alive and supporting the belief of tourists in the authenticity of their experiences although partially staged (MacCannell 1973). Therefore, this study will add further understanding to the commercial importance of ethnic shopping districts in the North American city and propose various strategies to preserve and promote these districts into the 21st Century.

A TOURISM AREA CYCLE OF EVOLUTION

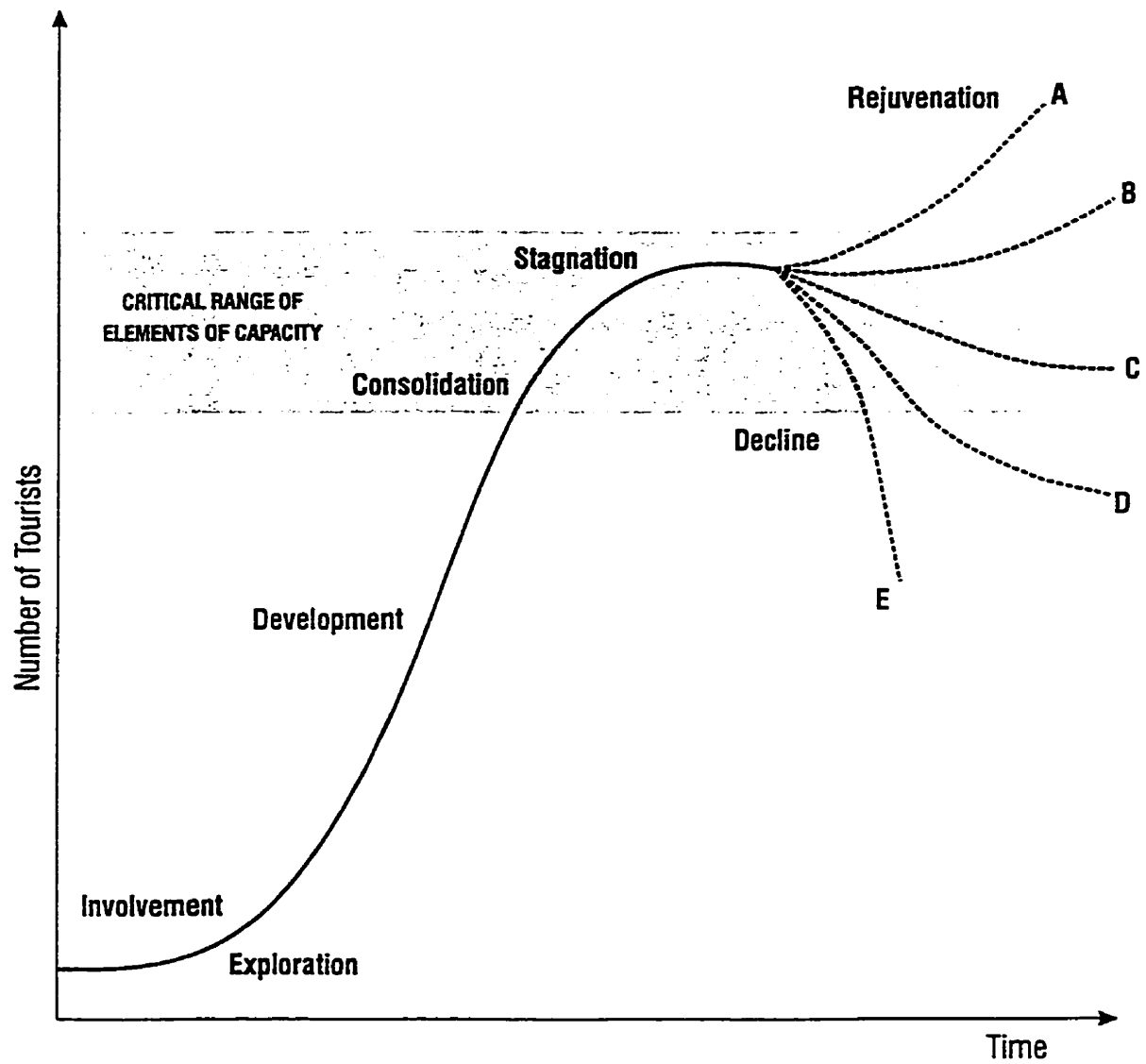


Figure 2. Hypothetical Evolution of a Tourist Area
Source: Butler, 1980

1.2 Justification

Despite the presence of ethnic populations within urban areas, the existence and increasing visibility of ethnic shopping districts and the increasingly recognized importance of preserving ethnic landscapes in a multi-cultural society, research into ethnic shopping areas has been minimal. For example, a number of comprehensive studies, mostly surveys of the Italian experience in selected American cities, have been presented by Pozzetta (1981), Juliani (1981) and Scarpaci (1981), further by Pizzo (1981), Mormino (1981), Iorizzo (1981) and Lopreato (1970) but none seriously considers the development and significance of the ethnic shopping area.

Since most Italians who emigrated to Canada chose to seek work in the major towns and cities, rather than to strike off to the agricultural frontier and seek livelihoods as pioneer farmers, their society in Canada has been predominantly urban. Hence, Canada's larger metropolitan centres have been the focus of research into Italians in Canada. As an example, the history of the Italians in Toronto has been discussed by Simone (1981), Harney (1981,1983), Zucchi (1988) and Sturino (1978,1990). The Italian experience in Montreal has been presented by Boissevain (1970), and, more recently by Ramirez and Delbalzo (1981).

Although no less significant, the Italian experience in

smaller Canadian centres has only recently received attention. Wilkins (1991) has discussed Italians in Schreiber, Ontario. Italians in Thunder Bay, Ontario, were the focus of Pucci's (1991) study, Powell River, British Columbia was studied by Scardellato (1985,1989), and Winnipeg has been examined by Loschiavo (1986), Cosentino (1986) and Carbone(1992). More general geographic studies addressing ethnic group concentrations within the City of Winnipeg have been provided by Fromson (1965) and Carlyle (1974). The dispersal of ethnic groups from areas of initial concentration has been studied by Matwijiw (1979) and Thraves (1986). These studies only show general patterns of population distribution and are based on census data.

With an increasing number of local people acting as tourists in their own area in the 1990s, many ethnic communities have drawn on their own resources to assert their cultural distinctiveness and to encourage tourism and develop local attractions in their sector of the city. The Italian community of Winnipeg has drawn on its own cultural resources since the middle of the 1980s and has established a successful shopping street along three blocks of Corydon Avenue. Along with expressions of Italian culture in the business landscape, an Italian-flavored street festival named "*Festa Italiana*", which reflected the development of a collective marketing and

promotional campaign carried out to further reinforce the image of the area and to promote specific attractions within the commercial district, was a very successful celebration and display of Italian culture in the city for several years, and was well received by local residents. On the surface, then, it would seem that the Italian community of Winnipeg has made significant progress both in preserving its heritage, and marking, and marketing its presence in Winnipeg.

Although Corydon Avenue continues to thrive, the "*Festa Italiana*" is no longer an annual event. The 1990s saw a progressively smaller version of the festival appear on Corydon Avenue. Reasons for the collapse of the festival include a reluctance among members of the Italian community to practice a co-operative community approach to running the festival, and Corydon Avenue's Little Italy. Together, these make Corydon Avenue's growth and development more difficult. Other factors contributing to an increasingly competitive marketplace include the popularity of other districts, such as Osborne Village. The proposed development of new districts with an ethnic flavor such as the Main Street redevelopment project based on the Aboriginal theme "Neeginan", Cree for "our place", indicate that competition will remain strong. An appraisal of Corydon Avenue in 1997 is, therefore, necessary to direct Corydon Avenue to future prosperity.

1.3 Parameters

There is a current transformation of cultural geography taking place as a result of its dialogue with social geography and cultural theory. The term culture is now being used to signify contexts for actions or sets of arrangements between people at various levels of aggregation, in which different individuals and groups, depending upon their access to power and other resources, are differentially able to arrange and modify these different contexts. Some groups have an immediate impact upon the context of their neighborhood whereas the rich and the powerful may leave their mark at the national scale (Duncan 1980, 197).

This "new" cultural geography conceives of landscapes as "repositories of human values - embodiments of the attitudes, ideals and beliefs of their creators, infused with cultural meaning, symbolism, imagery and ideology" (Rogers et. al.1992, 215). This study is set within the parameters of cultural geography, "a dominantly North American subject dealing with the interrelationships between cultural groups and the environments..."(Johnston 1983, 8). This research is also set within the product life-cycle concept portraying Corydon Avenue as a tourist product or destination moving through distinct stages.

Most of the data for this study were collected through

interviews with members of the Italian community, organizations and groups which have had an impact on the development and promotion of Corydon Avenue. It does not include archeological surveys or in-depth archival research but a brief history of Corydon Avenue and the surrounding areas is provided as background.

1.4 Background of the Researcher

Many of the attitudes of the researcher have been determined by experiences as a person of Italian heritage. Being outside of the Italian "business loop", the researcher has the advantage of an insider's insights but with academic impartiality. Further, the researcher's Italian heritage sometimes opened doors as informants were understandably ready to talk openly with one of their own, whereas they may have been more suspicious of an outsider's motives. Thus, being of Italian decent has been beneficial to the data gathering process of this project.

1.5 Definition of Terms

A number of terms require definition at this point. The term "tourist" is derived from the word "tour" meaning, according to Webster's dictionary, "a comprehensive trip or journey, usually taken for pleasure or education , with visits to places of interest"(Webster's 1990, 1742). This definition indicates there are several motives for travel each requiring

its own facilities and having a different impact.

Such a broad definition has led government agencies in search of a comprehensive definition of tourist, and one which will facilitate the measurement of this activity, to resort to the more general term of "visitor" using the definition produced by the 1963 United Nations Conference on Travel and Tourism in Rome, which was adopted by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) in 1968. It states that a visitor is "any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited" (Murphy 1985, 5). Thus, tourism is concerned with all travelers visiting foreign places, whether it be for pleasure, business or a combination of the two.

Visitors have been subdivided further into two categories: (1) Tourists, who are visitors making at least one overnight stop in a country or region and staying for at least 24 hours; (2) Excursionists, who are visitors who do not make an overnight stop, but pass through the country or region. An excursionist stays for less than 24 hours and includes day trippers and people on cruises (Murphy 1985, 5).

According to the above definitions an area must attract non-local visitors, people who have traveled some distance from their home town to see the attractions or use the

facilities, to be considered a destination. However, with an increasing number of local residents in cities making new uses of their local settings, the above definitions warrant refinement for the purposes of this research because Corydon Avenue has become a destination for local visitors. Local residents from Winnipeg and the surrounding municipalities can take advantage of Corydon Avenue on any day of the week, not just weekends, because of the easy accessibility of the area. Thus, this implication of time and travel affects the demand for travel and structure of the industry.

The author proposes two new terms to guide the discussion of this dissertation. "Authenticity Tourism" is the travel of individuals who are seeking experiences of a genuine rather than staged nature, although the experience may be partially staged (MacCannell 1973), for recreational purposes in order to celebrate local heritage, whether cultural or physical, and not requiring an overnight stop anywhere or a stay for at least 24 hours. The author also proposes the term "Intra-urban Authenticity Tourism", to describe tourism focused on a local destination. Corydon Avenue has spawned such tourism within the Winnipeg market.

The author hopes that by proposing these definitions an account will be made for a growing trend in the late Twentieth Century toward the post-modern landscape, a trend which Relph

argues, has evolved from a much larger evolutionary process. Since 1900, the modernist and post-modernist movements have caused geographical and social changes in villages, urban neighborhoods and towns, altering their appearance and meaning. In the pre-modern world, place identity grew from the location and its traditions, and this revealed itself in geographical diversity between places. Modernism attempted to remove tradition, convention, decoration and local culture and reinvent society and art along lines that reflected new technologies, leading to a standardization of buildings and products, creating a sense of placelessness. The post-modern logic of places is that places can look like anywhere developers and designers want them to, a function of market research about what will attract consumers and what will sell. Therefore, in order to understand the meaning and function of Winnipeg's Little Italy, the area must be deconstructed, a central concept in post-modern analysis (Relph 1997).

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized as follows: Chapter One has provided an introduction to the study. Chapter Two reviews the pertinent tourism literature and considers the various supply and demand components of the tourism industry. The objectives, methodology and data sources of this study are outlined in Chapter Three. Chapter Four focuses on the history, process

and geographical patterns of Italian migration to Winnipeg, giving a short overview of the Italian community. Chapter Five describes the ethnic context within which Winnipeg's Little Italy has emerged. The environmental and cultural aspects of the district, examining the rise and fall of an Italian street festival are the focus of Chapter Six. Chapter Seven proposes an original model to account for the commercialization of a district based on ethnicity. Chapter Eight presents a summary of the research findings, reviews the salient points, and assesses the implications of these findings for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Geographers have a long history of research experience relating to the tourist industry and tourist destination choice (for reviews see Carlson 1980, Hall 1981, 1988; and Singh 1992 as cited in Golledge 1997)). The range and scope of the geography of tourism has been examined by Pearce (1979, 1987) and the contributions made by geographers to this area of study assessed by Mitchell (1979). The contributions of geographers to the analysis of environmental, regional, spatial, and evolutionary considerations of tourism have been analyzed by Mitchell and Murphy (1991) and an outline of the different factors involved in tourist development considered (Pearce 1989).

Within tourism, geographers have focused on topics such as the morphology of resorts (Stansfield 1969, Miossec 1976 as cited by Golledge 1997), and Pearce (1978), the evolution of such resorts (Christaller 1963, Butler 1980, Hovinen 1982, Haywood 1986, Getz 1986, Ioannides 1992, Tooman 1997 and Douglas 1997 and the economic contributions of tourism to urban economic health (Britton and Clarke 1987, Daly, Stinson and Jenkins 1996 and Mathieson and Wall 1982). The focus on the behavioral and cognitive psychological aspects of the tourist in geographic research has been much more recent (Hall

1988 as cited by Golledge 1997) and the need for further enquiry into this field of geography has been stressed by Pearce (1979) and Mitchell and Murphy (1991).

2.1 Spatial Considerations in Tourism

Geography is the study of where things are located on the earth's surface and the reason for their location (Rubenstein 1989, v). Tourism, on the other hand, involves travel. The spatial implications of tourism are very important to geography, a discipline which has established its own principles of spatial interaction. For example, in 1956, Ullman proposed that the degree of trade or interaction between any two regions would depend on their degree of complementarity, the existence of any intervening opportunities, and the cost of making the transfer (Ullman 1956).

The gravity model of spatial interaction has become the single most widely used mathematical model in geography. It considers variables such as population, income and distance to explain data variance. In the urban travel field, the gravity model has been a major focus of research, but in the fields of recreation and tourism travel research, the model has not been applied because intervening variables, such as cultural and climatic characteristics, which can account for certain travel patterns, do not conform to the distance decay function of the

gravity model (Stough 1983; Williams and Zelinsky 1970 as cited in Mitchell and Murphy 1991). An early emphasis on transport linkages and spatial interaction has been synthesized in general models of tourist space (Miossec 1977; Yokeno 1974 as cited in Mitchell and Murphy 1991)) but in the fields of recreation and tourist travel research, few efforts have been made to improve and refine the gravity model (Baxter and Ewing 1986).

Intervening variables which may determine the level of visitation to Winnipeg's Little Italy can be very difficult to determine. There are many unknowns: the costs to individuals, the degree to which visitors are attracted by the outdoor ambiance and European flavor of Corydon Avenue, or whether visitors are simply recreating outdoors. Determining the importance of intervening opportunities upon visitors and non-visitors to Corydon Avenue would make a worthwhile contribution to the study of ethnic shopping districts. However, such an analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.2 Evolutionary Considerations in Tourism

This thesis focuses on Corydon Avenue as a tourist product or destination which has moved through distinct stages in an evolutionary process. The concept of a recognizable cycle in the evolution of tourist areas has been applied to several case studies since 1980, when the concept of a tourist

area cycle of evolution was advanced by Butler. He put forward a pattern based upon the product cycle concept, whereby sales of a product proceed slowly at first, experience a rapid rate of growth, stabilize and subsequently decline. Butler's model is comprised of 6 stages: an exploration stage, an involvement stage, a development stage, a consolidation stage, a stagnation stage and either a stage of decline or one of rejuvenation stage (Figure 2).

Butler's model has been tested in different locations and at different scales to determine whether such a cycle is a valid and/or a useful framework for long-term tourism planning. These studies include examinations of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Hovinen 1982), the Montreal Laurentians (Lundgren 1983) and Canada's North West Territories (Keller 1987). More recent works include Douglas' application of the life-cycle model to the development of a history of Melanesia (Douglas 1997) and Tooman's application of the model to the Great Smoky Mountain region of eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina in order to better understand the economic effects of the tourism industry over time (Tooman 1997). Some results indicate that the observed cycle can vary significantly from the suggested norm and be difficult to classify in terms of specific stages. Therefore, if the life-cycle concept is to be useful it must be made operational by

considering the role of economic, political and other forces in shaping the evolution of tourist areas (Haywood 1985).

Although the concept of a recognizable cycle in the evolution of tourist areas has been applied to several tourist destinations since the early 1980s, the application of this model to ethnic shopping districts has been neglected. Ethnic shopping districts are areas that have been created to maintain the historical identity of a place, often a place that has helped greatly reproduce the old ways. The production of a distinctly recognizable image of these places has led to the cultural exoticism of that image becoming the principal attraction for the tourist. This thesis aims to propose a new model to understand the evolution and commercial development of an Italian Little Italy in Winnipeg. It is believed that Butler's model is not really applicable to the scale and unique characteristics of Winnipeg's Little Italy.

2.3 Behavioral Considerations in Tourism

There is a vast literature on the reasons why people select certain destinations for tourist or migratory purposes (Proshansky, Ittelson, and Rivlin 1970; Walmsley and Lewis 1993; Golledge and Stinson 1987, 1997; Easton 1985; Hall 1981 as cited in Golledge 1997). The various goals inherent in recreation behavior, the "images" presented by outdoor recreation sites, the logic used by the recreationist in

choosing the site, and the factors influencing the distance traveled for recreation have been addressed by Mercer (1971) Clarke (1982) and Crompton (1979). Other topics of investigation have included the *modus operandi* involved in the spatial search of a new area (Murphy and Rosenblood, 1974), the relationship between length of visit and social class (Cooper 1981 from Mitchell and Murphy 1991), whether tourists came independently or as part of an organized group (Chadefaud 1981 as cited by Mitchell and Murphy 1991) and resident perceptions of tourism impact and potential (Liu, Sheldon and Var 1987).

In order to provide a better theoretical and behavioral understanding of tourism there is a need for more research into tourists' wants, desires, needs, the motivation for travel, and the influence of perception on actual travel choice, components that need to be integrated into existing models (Pearce 1979; Mitchell and Murphy 1991).

2.4 Tourist Destinations

The one ingredient that distinguishes destinations is the regional character of a location. Regional diversity in the landscape is an important motive for travelers, despite the standardization and homogenization of the tourist industry and of many landscapes throughout the world. Tourists seek out distinctive settings, or places that are very different from

their own homes, but which enable them to enjoy the facilities likely to be found at the home base, allowing them to feel the safety and security of home with the controlled excitement of an exotic locale.

Many ethnic communities have drawn on their own resources to assert their cultural distinctiveness and develop tourism in which ethnic shopping districts display many facets of old country life. Such developments have been referred to as a "network landscape" in which images of key places in that landscape are sometimes encoded as "ethnoscapes", and are becoming part of the built environment of many large cities (e.g. the Chinatowns, Little Italies, German towns, Little Mexico's etc.) McGee (1995) as cited by Golledge 1997). Other researchers (e.g. Appaduari, 1990 as cited by Golledge 1997) have suggested the term "ideoscapes" for these ethno-cultural areas, which often are attempts to maintain the historical identity of a place and by doing so, produce a distinctly recognizable image. This diversity is one reason why the regional character and heritage of areas is studied by geographers (Mitchell and Murphy 1991, 61-2).

This trend is a wider reflection of a major demand in the emerging information/service age for the "experience." The demand for experience is insatiable, because the purchase of an experience does not necessarily lead to an accumulation of

possessions. The only apparent limits lie in our imagination (Ogilvy 1986). Therefore, experience brokers will locate the specific experience that the consumer wants (Kotler 1984). The interpretation of heritage, therefore, will facilitate the preservation of heritage identities, the development of community and appropriate tourism programs and the delivery of heritage experiences to tourist, based on real and authenticated, first-hand sensory interaction with the resources of that area. As such, once properly conceived and mobilized, heritage interpretation programs can facilitate heritage experiences in localities all over the world (Cherem 1988, 37).

The role of built heritage in post-modern tourism is at the heart of cultural tourism. A definition of post-modern tourism is similar to that of post-modern landscapes (see Chapter One) in which instead of destroying the past and replacing it with the new, there is a new awareness and desire to communicate with the past which is not possible through mass tourism. Heritage tourism offers opportunities to portray the past in the present in which tourists construct their own sense of historic places to create their individual journeys of self-discovery with the help of ornamentation, style and symbols (Nuryanti 1996, 250-51).

However, the relationship between tourism and heritage

is very complex and is reflected in the tensions between tradition and modernity. Four challenging issues linking heritage and tourism are interpretation, marketing built heritage, planning for heritage, and the interdependencies between heritage tourism and the local community. Differences in approaches to the four issues indicate that heritage tourism raises more than planning and management issues for developing countries and are fundamentally the problems of development (Nuryanti 1996).

2.5 Marketing Tourist Destinations

The perceptions of potential visitors to a tourist-recreation region may weigh very heavily upon the development and eventual success of that region (Hunt 1975) and, therefore, the incorporation of cultural criteria into strategic marketing processes is necessary (Richardson and Crompton 1988). Often the main sources of information are secondary or indirect as through trade, cultural exchange, videos and movies, warfare, athletic events, newsworthy events or widely diffused information about a given national group. The role of tourist advertising, namely, international tourist brochures, as playing a significantly greater role in forming images of overseas destinations than they do for domestic resorts was addressed by Dilley (1986).

Marketing products and services to tourists has become a

significant activity in many tourist areas, as a destination's popularity contributes to its competitive position in the marketplace. A common assumption made in marketing is that imagery pervades the entire consumption experience of tourists. Depending on the imagery material that is available, expectations can be either parallel to reality or significantly manipulated to expect and anticipate more than is actually there. Nevertheless, the aim is the same, to encourage repetition of specific destination choices.

The image of destination regions has been examined by Goodall and Ashworth 1990 (cited by Mitchell and Murphy 1991) and Whyne-Hammond (cited by Golledge 1997), and the dynamics of tourism place marketing examined by Goodall and Ashworth 1990 (cited by Mitchell and Murphy 1991). The presentation of a broad context for the development of a strategic marketing planning framework for regional tourism and the marketing of a tourist product has been provided (Heath and Wall 1982 and Mill and Morrison 1985). Although marketing is an important aspect in the tourist industry, it is inadequate as the primary research emphasis for geographical research. Attention is needed, in particular, in the area of planning and policy analysis (Smith 1989).

2.6 Tourism and Ethnicity

Where the cultural heritage of the host population is the

principal attraction for the tourist, cultural tourism exists. The marketing of ethnicity and culture embraces the role of the state in the development of ethnic tourism, the modification and recreation of ethnic attributes and consciousness, the transformation of art forms by the tourist trade; the role of the tourist agent; and the formation of ethnic stereotypes in tourist interactions (Van den Bergh and Keyes 1995).

An example of the transformation of art forms through the tourist trade is the ethnic festival, usually intended to attract customers and reinforce the image and physical appearance of an area. Ethnic festivals encompass an entire range of ethnic issues, from the preservation of ethnic communities to the formulation of ethnic identities to the development of ethnic values. Ethnicity has been viewed as a creative response to social and personal problems and this creativity can be derived from such traditional forms of expression as festivals (Auerbach 1991). For most ethnic group members, ethnicity is more dynamic and personal, reflecting the richness and diversity of the ethnic experience. Members of ethnic groups absorb, invigorate, modify and transmit folk expressions in a multi-cultural pluralistic society (Stern and Cicala (1991).

2.7 Discussion and Summary

This chapter has discussed some of the major themes of published research on the geography of tourism. These have included the spatial, evolutionary, behavioral, demand and supply components of tourism. This chapter has also dealt with the marketing of products, services, ethnicity and culture to tourists. The concept of a recognizable cycle in the evolution of tourist areas has been applied to several tourist destinations since the early 1980s. The application of this model to ethnic shopping districts, areas that have been created in order to maintain the historical identity of a place, producing a distinctly recognizable image and leading to the cultural exoticism of that image becoming the principal attraction for the tourist, has been neglected in the literature.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY, OBJECTIVES AND DATA SOURCES

Ethnic shopping districts such as Chinatowns or Little Italies are found in most large cities in Canada and the United States. This study, dealing with Winnipeg's Corydon Avenue, the city's Little Italy, approaches the area as a tourist product or destination that moves through distinct stages, each dependent upon different factors that determine the waxing and waning of the area's popularity, thus influencing its competitive position in the marketplace. Themes deal with environmental, physical, social, cultural, business and economic aspects of the area.

This chapter first offers a discussion of the theoretical literature of the methodologies used in this thesis. The spatial aspects of the social organization of the Italians in Winnipeg, which are necessary to understand the significance of the location of Winnipeg's Little Italy, is the focus of the next chapter. In part two of this chapter, the approach taken towards providing a systematic description of Corydon Avenue is discussed, while Butler's product life-cycle model, a model used as a foundation for the development of a new model to account for the commercial development of a destination at the local scale based on the commercialization of ethnicity, is discussed in section three. This chapter

concludes with a discussion and summary of the methods, objectives and data sources of this thesis.

3.1 Theoretical Literature of Selected Methods

This thesis relies heavily upon qualitative research methods to obtain data. Qualitative methods consist of three kinds of data collection: (1) in-depth, open-ended interviews; (2) direct observation; and (3) written documents (Patton, 1987). All three methods are used in this study. Qualitative research is a useful and important way of doing geographical research and also has a long and respectable tradition in sociology and anthropology. Within geography, qualitative research methods are most closely associated with so-called humanistic approaches and the new cultural geography (see Chapter One). Both are committed to an emphasis on people as creative human beings who act in the world on the basis of their subjective understanding of the society and structures within which they live out their lives (Burgess 1992, 207).

Qualitative methods permit the evaluator to study selected issues, cases, or events in depth and detail, producing a wealth of data about a small number of people and cases. In contrast, the quantitative approach measures the reactions of a larger number of people to a limited set of questions, facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. The quantitative approach does not capture

people's subjective understanding of the society and structures within which they live out their lives and, hence, the researcher is often separated from informants as in questionnaire surveys (Burgess 1992, 207).

3.1.1 Selection of Interviewees

The selection of interviewees for this dissertation was determined theoretically by the nature of this project and practically by the relationships the author has been able to establish within the field. On a theoretical level, different individuals within the Italian community have been differentially affected by the development of Corydon Avenue. Members of those different groups needed to be interviewed. The reactions of individuals and organizations external to the community and their role in the development, growth and promotion of Corydon Avenue also required determination, hence, interviews with this largely non-Italian group were also conducted. Throughout this process the author adopted strategies of stratified random theoretical sampling, interviewing individuals from those different groups of interests, and random sampling from the whole population (Burgess 1992, 209).

3.1.2 Interviews

An interview consists of one person asking another person questions and recording the respondent's answers (Reaves

1992). Interviews or surveys can be administered in person or over the phone, by asking questions and recording answers, or by mail allowing the respondents to record their own answers. For this research the interviews were conducted either in person or over the telephone¹.

In several instances, initial contacts were able to provide further introductions to others that they considered to be knowledgeable about the issues of concern. This kind of research technique is often described as snowballing (Burgess 1992, 209) and was extremely valuable in conducting research for this dissertation.

Interviews may be structured or unstructured in format. Structured interviews involve a fairly specific set of questions which are asked in a certain order. Unstructured interviews specify only a general area of interest and allow the interviewer to explore that area in the most effective way accommodating to the respondent's interests and areas of expertise. A researcher will frequently begin studying an issue with unstructured interviews and shift to more

¹
Potential interviewees were contacted by telephone. I would introduce myself and the research topic. I indicated why I was interested in interviewing them and then attempted to make an appointment to meet with them depending on the nature of the discussion. Interviewees were reassured that any information that they provided in any conversation would remain confidential.

structured interviews as a clearer understanding of the issue and the respondent's biases and knowledge is gained (Reaves 1992).

Unstructured interviews are similar to formal interviews in which topics are usually written down beforehand, not as questions, but as important topics to be discussed. The sequence of topics covered in the interview is determined through the interaction of the researcher and the informant. This type of interview allows the respondents to deviate from the order of given questions and/or record experiences that are not directly related to the questions. This is one advantage of qualitative vis-a-vis quantitative data; qualitative data are open-ended in order to find out what people's lives, experiences, and interactions mean to them in their own terms and in their natural settings (Patton 1987, 22).

Commonly both closed and open questions are asked during the interview process. Closed questions ask what, where, when, how often, how much, who and why, and require that the informant give pieces of information and often leave the questioner to take the initiative. Open questions ask the respondent to tell about his/her experiences and feelings regarding situations and are invitations to disclosure. They encourage communication. Open-ended questions allow

respondents to give answers of any length and in any content. Certain sets of questions were asked first while attempting to make sure that, by the end of the interview, all objectives have been met (Burgess 1992, 210-211). In all interviews the author tried to use both kinds of questions and was generally successful. Relatively non-controversial questions were asked before relatively probing questions as the latter set might have been potentially upsetting to interviewees and could have influenced the outcome of the interview.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted at any convenient location for the participants, and lasted from a half hour to a maximum of two hours. Interviews were terminated once the researcher felt the range of stories that people had to tell about their experiences had been heard, as indicated by the range of experiences discussed. Whichever interview method used, all responses were recorded exactly as they were given, without interpretation or bias².

3.1.3 Qualitative Research Constraints

Access and time are the major constraints in the application of qualitative research methods. It is often very difficult to gain access to the people with whom the

²

The interviewer attempted to make the most favorable impression possible on the respondents by being polite, friendly, making the participants as comfortable as possible.

researcher may want to talk. Although the author did encounter some prospective informants who were reluctant to be interviewed, they were few. In part this may be due to the author's Italian heritage, which sometimes opened doors as informants were understandably more ready to talk openly with one of their own whereas they may have been more suspicious of an outsider's motives (see Chapter One). Time also played a very important role in the research for this thesis in that the author often moved backwards and forwards from the field to the interpretation of data and back into the field for further interviews, newly informed by the experiences of what had gone on before, and with further questions prompted by past interviews (Burgess 1992, 208). Transcribing and interpreting interview data were also very time consuming.

3.2 Overview of Corydon Avenue

It is desirable that an investigation into the evolution of ethnic shopping districts and their relationship to local tourist flows incorporate a variety of components. In this thesis, an examination of Winnipeg's Corydon Avenue begins with a consideration of environmental, physical, social and cultural aspects of the area, guided by the conceptual framework outlined by Murphy (1985). This analysis provided a systematic description of Corydon Avenue useful to propose a five-stage model to account for the commercial development of

a destination at the local scale based on the commercialization of ethnicity. In order to provide this systematic description of Corydon Avenue, in-depth open-ended interviews were conducted with a broad range of individuals who have been differentially affected by the development of Corydon Avenue or have played a role in the promotion of the area.

3.3 The Product Life-cycle Concept

The concept of a product life cycle argues that sales of a product proceed slowly at first, experience a rapid rate of growth, stabilize and subsequently decline. The model that has received the most attention which applies this concept to tourist destinations was proposed by Butler (1980) and is comprised of six stages: an exploration stage, an involvement stage, a development stage, a consolidation stage, a stagnation stage and either a decline stage or rejuvenation stage. The product life-cycle concept is useful to underscore the proper placement of tourism products on the market and to suggest the appropriate marketing policy and strategies resulting from that decision (Butler 1980).

However, Butler's model does not consider the scale or unique characteristics involved in the commercialization of a local destination based on ethnicity. Therefore, a five-stage model of ethnic commercialization is proposed in this thesis.

The model attempts to address pertinent issues in the development, growth and promotion of these areas and will provide a framework to establish the relationship between local tourist flows and ethnic shopping districts. It is envisioned that the present study will contribute to an understanding of the dynamics between tourists and the industry of culture.

3.4 Discussion and Summary

In this chapter, the methodology, objectives and data sources of this study have been discussed. Research topics deal with the spatial aspects of the social organization of the Italians in Winnipeg and a systematic description of Corydon Avenue, which is necessary to analyze the area within a five-stage model of ethnic commercialization proposed in this thesis. Methods used to reach the author's objectives include qualitative research methods such as in-depth open-ended interviews, written documents and direct observations. Theoretical and random sampling procedures were utilized incorporating structured and unstructured interviews, and open and closed questions. Data sources include telephone discussions with a sample of Winnipeg's Italian community, research on the history and process of Italian immigration to Winnipeg and extensive interviews with members of various groups that who have been differentially affected or have

played varying roles in the development, growth and promotion of Corydon Avenue.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY IN WINNIPEG: A BIOGRAPHY

North American Italian communities are often seen as homogenous groups by the community at large, which seldom recognizes the strong regional and local identities that have traditionally characterized Italian society. These regional loyalties, however, have remained important in the process of immigration and community development, particularly in Winnipeg. Recognizing the spatial aspects of the social organization of the Italians in Winnipeg not only enhances appreciation of Italian heritage but also helps explain why Winnipeg's Little Italy emerged on Corydon Avenue.

4.1 Emigration and Italian Society

Following the unification of Italy in 1861, the transition towards industrial capitalism emphasized the differences between commercially advanced northern regions in Italy and the southern regions, which lagged behind in terms of social progress, education, economic resources and infrastructure. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, a modern entrepreneurial class arose in northern Italy, which was favored by its rich agriculture and the presence of raw materials and energy sources. It also had significant advantages of location, not the least of which was its close proximity to the major European commercial markets.

These factors created favorable conditions for industrial take-off in the northern regions.

In rural areas surrounding northern industrial centers, peasant farmers found themselves pushed aside by the expansion of commercial, mechanized, extensive agriculture. At first, the majority of emigration came from rural areas surrounding northern industrial centers. As the effects of industrial capitalism penetrated the Italian south towards the end of the nineteenth century, a substantial migration from the south occurred (Figure 3). Many artisans, whose traditional trades were no longer in demand, and small merchants, whose local markets had either disappeared, or were fading into obscurity, left Italy in search of new lives and renewed economic opportunity. These Italian emigrants radiated toward three geographical areas: Western Europe, because of the region's geographical proximity; South America, particularly Brazil and Argentina; and the United States (Ramirez 1989, 3-4).

The process of industrialization was well established in North America by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Industrial and commercial growth in North American cities stimulated Italian immigration from a southern Italian economy which was no longer economically viable. Thus, most Italians who immigrated to Canada chose to seek work in the major towns and cities, rather than striking off to the



Figure 3. The Regions of Italy
Source: Spina, 1996

agricultural regions and seek livelihoods as pioneer farmers.

Later, chain migration led to the development of concentrations of Italians in specific residential areas within Canadian cities. Most of these consisted primarily of southern Italians, often migrants from the same village or province. These concentrations later grew, not only from continued immigration but also by natural increase as the initial immigrants put down roots and raised their families. Italian society in Canada has been predominantly urban and is not the product of a single migration but was built up over time in response to both homeland and North American factors. Many Italians came to Winnipeg in three waves, each wave unique in that it was attracted to Winnipeg by different factors.

The author has previously hypothesized (Spina 1996; Spina and Lehr 1997) that in the case of Winnipeg the majority of Italians, both immigrants and Canadian-born, will have ties to southern Italy and that residential concentrations of Italians from regions of southern Italy will be encountered. In order to test these hypotheses, it was necessary to determine the role that the *padrone* structure and boarding houses had on the location of the Italians in the first stage of Italian settlement in Winnipeg. It was also necessary to determine the regional origin or affiliation of a sample of Winnipeg's

Italian population. This means ascertaining the place of origin of Italian immigrants to Winnipeg and also determining the place of origin of the parents or grandparents of the Canadian-born. Further, it was necessary to determine if there were concentrations of Italians in specific residential areas within Winnipeg. For a complete discussion of the methodologies used and results of these objectives one should consult previous work by the author (Spina 1996; Spina and Lehr 1997).

4.2 The First Wave: Pre World War I

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, North America was rapidly industrializing. Canadian centers such as Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and to a lesser extent Vancouver, grew rapidly. The growth of these centers and the development of the recently settled west created a strong demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Jobs were available in the construction and maintenance of city roads, sewer systems and railroads. Jobs were also available in forestry and mining (Ramirez 1989, 11; Scardellato 1985, 159; and Wilkins 1991, 35).

Many southern Italians came to Canadian cities such as Winnipeg in search of jobs. Before 1914, the dominant group of Italians in Winnipeg was composed of Sicilians, most of whom were from *Termini Imerese*. These Sicilians asserted their

entrepreneurial skills in the city's wholesale and retail fruit business sector and by the early 1920s, they were vying with Jews for control of this sector (Carbone 1991, 33-34).

Between 1900 and 1914, however, there was a large influx of men from the town of Amato in the Italian province of Calabria who were almost exclusively working class. The majority found employment with the Grand Trunk Pacific railway in either Transcona or Fort Rouge. Others found employment with various railway company work gangs, laying track in western Canada during the summer and fall and then returning to Winnipeg for the winter once they were laid off. The creation of Italian concentrations in work areas such as Transcona and Fort Rouge was influenced by a number of factors including the operation of the *padrone* structure and the location of boarding houses in this first wave of Italian settlement in Winnipeg.

4.2.1 The *Padrone* Structure in Winnipeg

Padroni were established immigrants who acted as intermediaries in the migration process by recruiting workers directly from Italy, financing their passage and providing them with employment, lodging and other services. The *padroni* system generally kept immigrants isolated and dependent and kept those from the same point of origin together, as it took the place of the traditional family and kinship system

(Macdonald and Macdonald 1964, 86-87). The *padrone* gave his workers a sense of community by establishing boarding houses for them, which in turn led to the formation of small Italian neighborhoods adjacent to major workplaces (Simone 1981, 19-20).

The *padrone* profited either by taking a percentage of the immigrants' wages or receiving a commission from employers. The *padrone* was part of the economic structure and was essential for those who came to North America as temporary immigrants aiming to earn money to improve their fortunes in the old country (Harney 1978, 8-37; 1979, 57-84).

The first Italian immigration into Winnipeg was initiated by two *padroni*, Giovanni and Vincenzo Veltri from the town of Grimaldi in Calabria. They arrived in Canada as laborers but before the turn of the century had become minor railway contractors in Winnipeg. Both recruited workers from their home town to work on the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The recruits from Grimaldi were linked together by ties to their *padrone*, by their isolation in a non-Italian milieu, by their common cultural heritage, and, as often as not, by kinship. Mostly these immigrants were males who either wanted to return to Italy with some capital or wanted to save enough for their families' passage to Winnipeg (Cosentino 1986, 71).

4.2.2 Boarding Houses in Winnipeg

Boarding houses met the immigrants need for cheap lodging close to their work. Although several boarding houses serving the Italian community appeared in Winnipeg early in the twentieth century (Carbone 1992, 49 and Losciavo 1986, 64), detailed information exists only for one boarding house located in Transcona before 1914. Angelo Scerbo, the proprietor, arrived in Transcona from Amato, Calabria in 1910. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was under construction and Angelo started a fruit and grocery store and later converted the upstairs into rooms for young *Amatense* men who were beginning to come to Transcona seeking jobs in the shops and cheap accommodation (Loschiavo 1986, 62).

Angelo's boarding house housed one boy of school age and eight adults in 1912 (Transcona 1912). By 1916, there was one boy and one girl of school age and eight adults (Transcona 1916). Although Angelo was not a *padrone*, he, and others like him influenced the creation of a small Italian community.

4.2.3 Social Life

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Canada was dominated by Canadians of British background. Canadian nativists held a world view grounded in social Darwinism, believing that the Anglo-Protestant culture was superior to all others and that the Protestant ethnic as

practiced by those of British origins, was the most suitable means of producing economic growth (Carbone 1992, 26). Further, Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1905, attempted to populate the Canadian West with agriculturalists from Northern, Central and Eastern Europe. Sifton viewed southern Europeans, particularly the Italians, as a less than adequate addition to Canadian society (Francis, Jones and Smith 1992, 127).

Despite opposition to the entry of non-British immigrants, such as the Italians, to Canada at the turn of the century, the importance of cheap immigrant labor was recognized (Carbone 1992, 30). Winnipeg profited enormously from immigrant labor, achieving economic growth as a result of its development into a major center for grain production and distribution (Carbone 1992, 8). Thus, the Italians entered the unskilled labor force, unfamiliar with the English language, lacking specific skills or training, facing discrimination and cut off from the mainstream of society, a situation common to many ethnic groups in similar situations. The Italians formed strong bonds among themselves by boarding, working, worshiping and socializing together (Loschiavo 1986, 65).

Opposition towards the Italian community was facilitated by the outbreak of World War I, as many Italians felt a need to return to their homeland to fight in the Italian army, thus

raising the question of their commitment to Canada even through Italy and Canada were allies. Thus, the early social and economic life of the Italians in Winnipeg was hindered by discrimination and a poor public image in Canadian society.

4.3 The Second Wave: The 1920s

The first large wave of Italian immigration into Winnipeg consisted mostly of males who either wanted to return to Italy with enough money to improve the living standards of their families or wanted to make enough money to pay for their families to travel to Winnipeg and be able to support them thereafter. Before the 1920s, however, immigrants in general had access only to jobs which paid poorly. Living expenses were also high and living conditions were unsuitable for families whose husbands and fathers were in work gangs constantly on the move (Loschiavo 1986, 61).

In the 1920s, conditions improved after a period of economic depression during which the Canadian government nationalized and amalgamated several bankrupt railroads to form the Canadian National Railway (Cosentino 1986, 71). With steady employment in the C.N. Transcona and Fort Rouge shops, many Italian immigrants were able to send for their families (Loschiavo 1986, 65). Chain migration and delayed family migration were common features of the second wave of Italian immigration to Winnipeg at this time. Chain migration

represented an alternative system of attraction and recruitment which led to the eventual disappearance of the *padroni* structure (Ramirez 1981, 40).

4.4 The Third Wave: The Second World War and After

Immigration to Canada from Italy declined during the 1930s under restrictive Canadian immigration policies as a result of the poor economic conditions of the Great Depression. Furthermore, when Italy declared war on Canada on June 10, 1940, activities such as teaching the Italian language in the basement of the Holy Rosary Church were declared illegal. Further, Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King ordered the internment of hundreds of Italian Canadians who were unfairly identified by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as enemy aliens. Hundreds of Italian-Canadians were interned at Camp Petawawa in the Ottawa River Valley. No Winnipeg Italians were interned, but they had to report to the R.C.M.P. on a monthly basis (Carbone 1992, 73). This dual identification of the Italians with Facism and Nazism because of their diverse loyalties had a negative impact on the social life and development of the Italian community in the city as great animosity emerged towards them by Canadian society.

After World War II, immigration from Italy again increased. *Padroni* still recruited labor and Italians already settled in Winnipeg sponsored friends and family from Italy.

Chain migration and delayed family migration, responsible for the settlement of large numbers of *Calabrese* in Winnipeg in the 1920s, were resumed after World War II, creating a third wave of Italian migration.

4.5 Regional Clustering

The tendency of immigrants from the same village or province to locate near one another in foreign environments often results in residential clustering. In the 1920s, employment with the C.N.R. in Transcona and Fort Rouge influenced the settlement of Italians in Winnipeg. The resultant concentrations grew by continued immigration and natural increase.

Previous research (Spina 1996; Spina and Lehr 1997) has shown that the majority of Italians in Winnipeg still have southern roots¹. Calabria (39 per cent of the sample), Sicily (17 per cent), and the Abruzzi region (11 per cent) accounted for over 67 per cent of Italians in Winnipeg. Eleven other regions collectively contributed the other 33 per cent, while

¹

To determine the effect of the immigration process on the present residential geography of Italians in Winnipeg a random sample of 20 per cent (720) of the 3,356 Winnipeg telephone listings in the 1993-1994 Italian Telephone Directory of Manitoba was made. Regional origin, or in the case of the Canadian-born, regional heritage was determined by telephone interviews. The sample was grouped into one of the 20 regions which comprise northern, central and southern Italy (Figure 3).

six were not represented at all (Figure 4). The concentration of Italians from the region of Calabria in Transcona and Fort Rouge is clearly evident in Figure 5. The Calabrese concentration is attributable to the location of "Italian" boarding houses and the *Padroni* system at the time of initial settlement, subsequent chain migration, and a later increase of Italian home ownership in Winnipeg.

4.6 Ethnic Associations

In the late 1800s and early 1900s many immigrants considered their stay in Canada to be temporary and they did not organize into formally structured groups. As they came to look upon Canada as their permanent home and began to raise their families here they started forming regional socio-cultural clubs composed of members from the same region of Italy (Loschiavo 1986, 68). Over time, larger community institutions developed and association life became richer and increasingly differentiated. Associations allowed immigrants to maintain cultural ties with their homeland, strengthen their village or regional alliances, socialize with relatives and friends, and pursue common objectives, attempting to recreate a cultural milieu in which traditions and a sense of identity are preserved and social environments may be replicated.



Figure 4. Regional Origins of Italians: Winnipeg
Source: Spina, 1996

CALABRIA

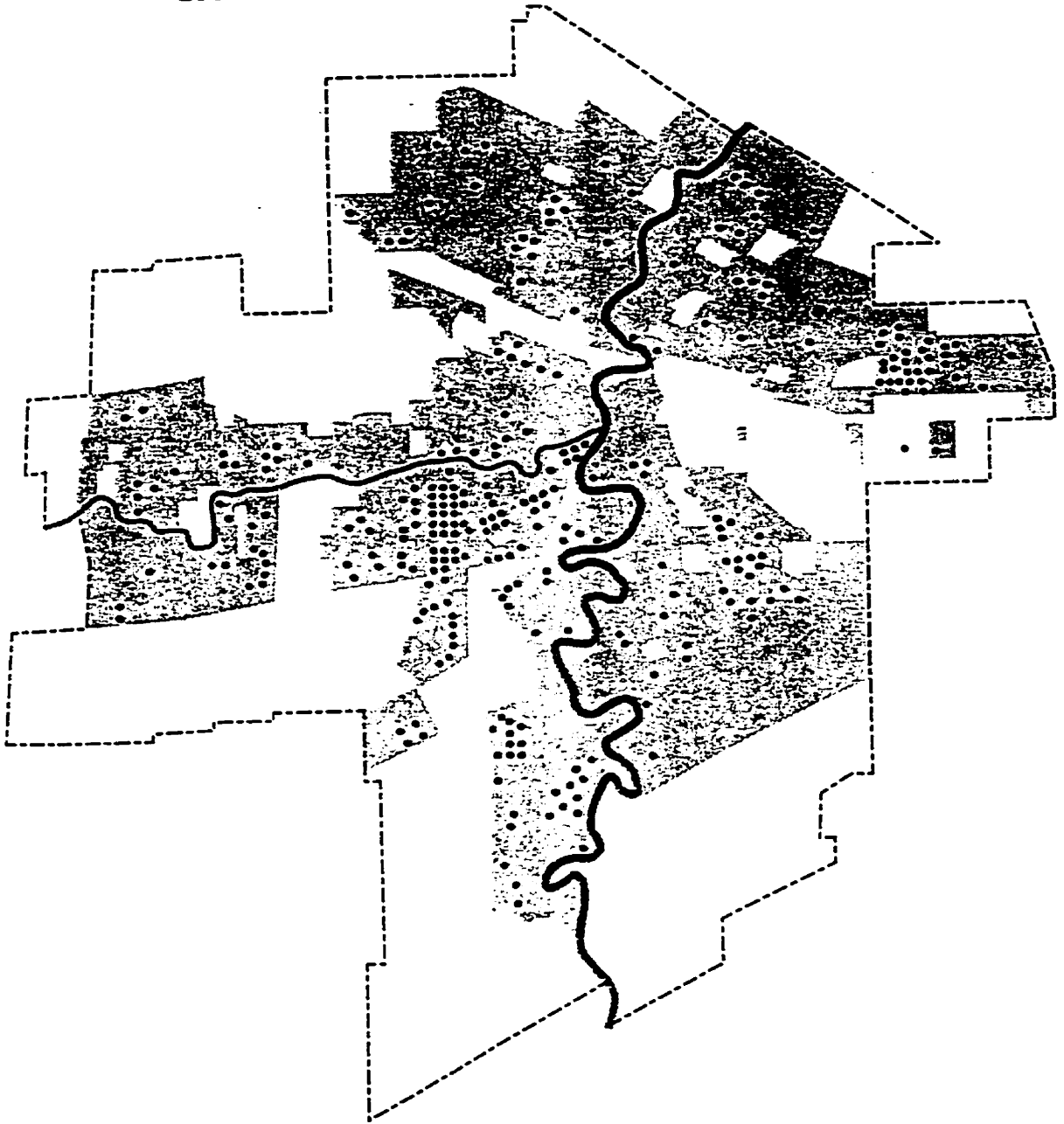


Figure 5. Distribution of Italians from Calabria in Winnipeg
1996 based upon a 20 percent sample
Source: Spina, 1996

It was possible for these clubs and associations to form and develop because Italians turned to them in an alien environment. Upon their arrival in Canada, the Italians did not have to form groups in order to worship in an alien environment or bring religious authorities from their homeland to Winnipeg because as Roman Catholics, they could worship at the pre-existing Roman Catholic churches founded by Winnipeg's French-Canadian population. In comparison, the French, English and Polish groups were not so homogeneous and subsequently built churches to fulfill their fragmented religious affiliations. In Montreal, conflict between the Italian and French populations led to the establishment of an Italian church (Boissevain 1970). Subsequently, a church that would serve Winnipeg Italians was established.

In Winnipeg, the Holy Rosary Church, established in 1923 at the corner of Sherbrooke and Bannatyne, allowed Italian immigrants to worship and participate in several different religious functions along with numerous social and leisure activities. The *Roma Benevolent Society*, one of the first Italian associations in Winnipeg, emerged in 1911. Its founding coincided with the first large wave of Italian immigration to Winnipeg early in the Century. However, it was only after the second World War, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, that a proliferation of village or regionally based

clubs and associations emerged in Winnipeg. Several were short-lived, others have only recently been formed, while clubs like the *Roma Benevolent Society* and the *Fratellanza Amatese* of Winnipeg, formed in 1946, are still in operation. Their intention is to help their members financially and socially. They offer economic assistance and provide a venue for social and recreational gatherings.

In 1964, an umbrella organization, named the *Italian-Canadian League of Manitoba*, was formed to represent various Italian community organizations. One of the primary objectives of the League was to acquire a center to serve as the focal point and meeting place of the community. Although a building located on Notre Dame Avenue was purchased in 1980 to house a cultural center, the *Casa D'Italia*. A new cultural center on a seven acre site fronting the north side of Wilkes Avenue between Kenaston boulevard and Waverley Street has recently been opened.

With the opening of this 27,000 square foot, \$4.2 million complex on 7.2 acres of land, members of the Italian community and the community at large will come and share in the promotion of Italian culture and the advancement of the Italian-Canadian community of Manitoba through programs the center will offer. The entire facility, with its cultural, recreational, and sporting/fitness activities, is known as the

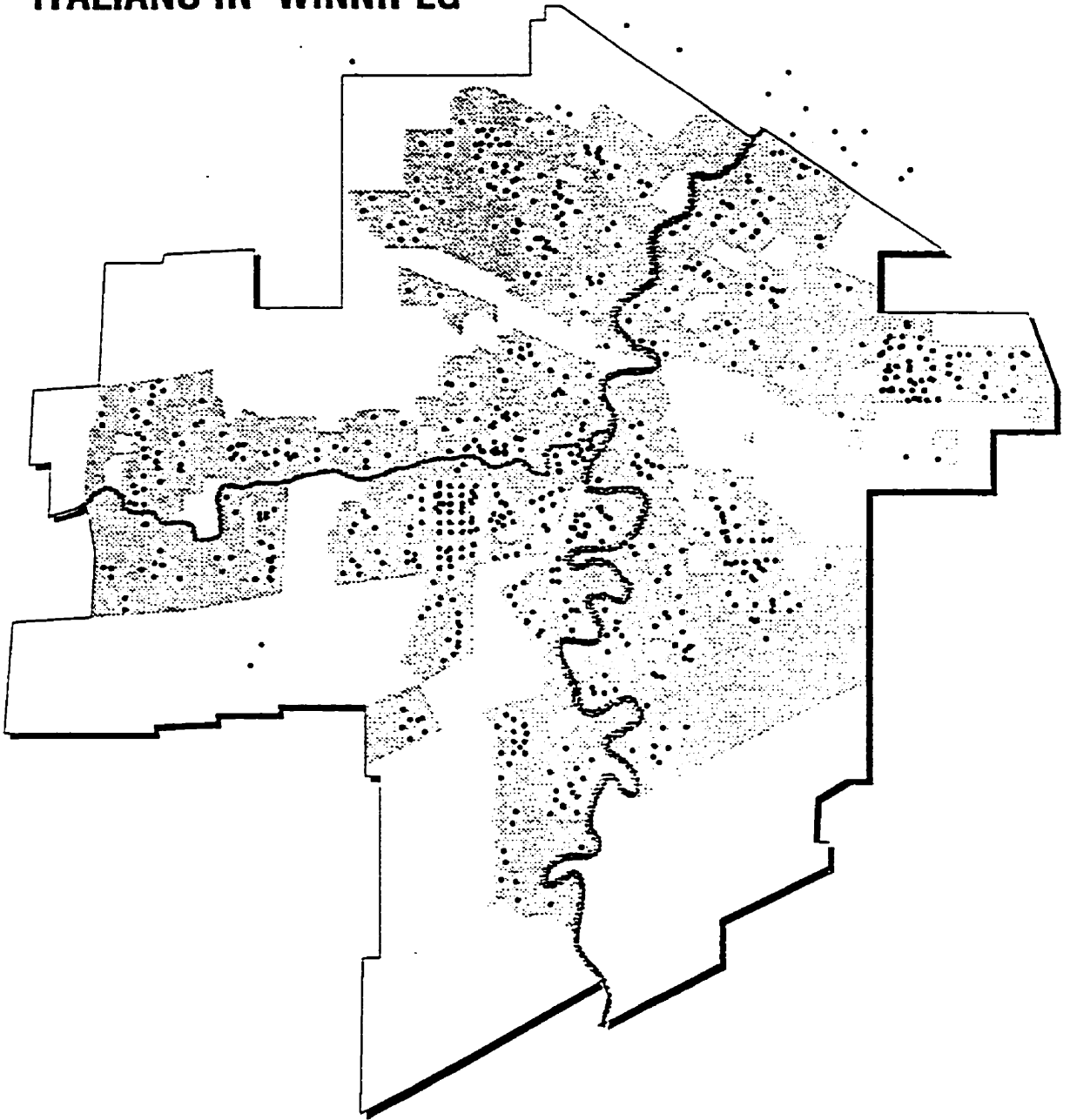
Centro Caboto Centre and is expected to become a destination for all Manitobans and visitors across Western Canada.

The *Centro Caboto Centre* will also benefit the growth of Manitoba as a province, making its impact felt with the Manitoba Chamber of Commerce, helping local businesses benefit from more international trade links and generating sustainable economic growth. The opening of the *Centro Caboto Center* reflects a growing trend towards the development of cultural centers associated with different ethnic groups. It also marks a new era for the Italians in Manitoba.

4.7 Recent Trends in the Italian Community

The development of the *Centro Caboto Centre* reflects the economic and social success of the Italian community in Manitoba. Today, with more younger Italians in professional and technical occupations, many are choosing Winnipeg's suburbs as a place to live, as opposed to their parents and grandparents, many of whom selected Transcona and Fort Rouge as settlement areas. A proliferation of younger Italians in residential neighborhoods has been made possible by an increase in their educational, occupational, financial and residential-mobility levels. Evidence of this increasing suburbanization can be seen in Figure 6. The implications of this resettlement for ethnic core areas and Winnipeg's "Little Italy" will be discussed in the next chapter but at this point

ITALIANS IN WINNIPEG



**Figure 6. Distribution of Italians in Winnipeg 1996 based upon
a 20 percent Sample**
Source: Spina 1996

it is important to note that a dispersal and redistribution of Italians throughout the city is clearly evident, a trend also recognized among Montreal's Italian population (Boissevain 1970).

4.8 Cultural Perspectives on Winnipeg's Little Italy

It has previously been noted that new definitions of cultural geography conceive of landscapes as "repositories of human values - embodiments of the attitudes, ideals and beliefs of their creators, infused with cultural meaning, symbolism, imagery and ideology" (Rogers et. al.1992, 215). However, these contexts often have their origins in the distant past, making them seem remote to people who now accept them, often unquestioningly, as guidelines for action (Cosgrove 1984, 1). Corydon Avenue's Little Italy business district can be seen as the Italian community's expression of its sense of identity and group self-worth understood through an examination of the community in a historical context.

Following the unification of Italy in 1861, economic conditions deteriorated in southern Italy motivating Italians to search for new lives and renewed economic activity outside of the country. New challenges confronted them upon their arrival in North American urban centers. Italian immigrants entered a world constructed by a dominant group, in which the capitalist class or bourgeoisie controlled economic and

political power, and the Italian working class sold their labor for a wage, generating wealth through the creation of surplus which translated into profits for the capitalist class. The Italians enjoyed few economic benefits and had no real political power (Carbone, 8), the product of a power relationship. "The condition of the subaltern is that of experiencing and living within a world as constructed by a dominant group...the product of a power relationship" (Smith and Hannan 1994, 125).

This new world order which the Italians encountered impacted the social organization of Italian settlement areas, Little Italies, which have affected the individuality and character of areas in which they have developed. Their establishment and maintenance encompass a wide range of issues (Chapter One). Lynch argues that these areas formed so the Italians could come to terms with the confusion of the urban world, developing mental maps of important locations or "nodal points" in the city (Lynch 1960, 72-77).

The *padrone* structure also played a very important role in the creation of Little Italies. Material cultural studies and social history conceptualize built form in a range of social and economic conditions, including class relations and the status of dominant and modernizing cultures in a modernizing world. These contexts are explored in Don

Mitchell's case study of workers' housing in Johnstown, Pennsylvania and Pittsburg, California (Mitchell 1993, 110-127). Both towns were dominated by a large steel corporation and in return for greater control over the workers' interests and loyalties the company offered a range of public services including housing, a relationship somewhat similar to that of the *Padroni* and Italian immigrants in Winnipeg. The search for domination is evident in both Mitchell's study and the role of the *Padroni* for Italian immigrants (Duncan and Ley 1993, 14).

From their initial arrival in Winnipeg, the Italians also faced an extensive period of social and economic discrimination because of the ability of dominant social groups to exercise power in a downwards direction excluding Italians from resources over which the Anglophone elite exerted control and to which they had privileged access. Frank Parkin coined the term "exclusionary closure" to refer to "the attempt by one group to secure for itself a privileged position at the expense of some other group through a process of subordination" (Parkin 1979, 45). When teaching the Italian language in the basement of the Holy Rosary Church was declared illegal and hundreds of Italian-Canadians were interned at Camp Petawawa in the Ottawa River Valley during the Second World War, the dominant group commanded the full resources of the state, the courts, and other institutions of

law and order consistent with Parkin's definition.

Nevertheless, the acceptance of the Italians in Canada coincided with Canada's multi-culturalism policy created in 1971. The official federal policy views multi-culturalism as "a powerful bonding agent" that "helps unite us and identify us, while at the same time allowing every element of our society to retain its own character and cultural heritage" (Multiculturalism--Being Canadian 1987, 9). Since then government and public agencies at all levels have launched programs favoring the retention of national cultures coinciding with a greater public tolerance of, and heightened interest in, ethnic diversity. One impact of this has been the commercial development of ethnic settlement areas.

4.9 Discussion and Summary

This chapter has argued that the Italians in Winnipeg have been drawn mainly from Italy's southern regions of Calabria, Sicily and Abruzzi and that the residential concentrations of Italians with similar origins or heritage have emerged in two areas: Transcona and Fort Rouge. These patterns are attributed to the early location of boarding houses and the operation of the *padroni* system in the first stage of Italian settlement, to later chain migration and a latter increase of Italian home ownership in Winnipeg.

Further, in the face of discrimination that the Italians

faced upon their arrival in Canada at the turn of the century, the Italians formed strong bonds among themselves by boarding, worshipping, socializing and working together. Over time, socio-cultural clubs composed of members of the same region of Italy were formed. Today, cultural centers are a representation of the level of organization of the community in a multi-cultural society. Further, through an examination of the Italian community in Winnipeg in a historical context, Corydon Avenue's Little Italy business district can be seen as the Italian communities expression of its sense of identity and group self-worth. An increase in the educational, occupational, financial and residential-mobility levels of younger Italians has also led to their dispersal away from the ethnic cores established by their parents and grandparents. Thus, the social geography of the Italians in Winnipeg is clearly changing. Nevertheless, the development of Corydon Avenue into a commercial shopping district has occurred and this development will be the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LITTLE ITALY STREETScape

Winnipeg is the capital city of Manitoba, one of the most ethnically diverse cities in Canada, second only to Toronto. Located in Western Canada, 667,209 people made their home in Winnipeg in 1996, a one percent increase from the 660,450 who resided in Winnipeg in 1991 (Statistics Canada 1997, 12). The languages of people of diverse backgrounds are spoken in the city including English and French, the two official languages of Canada. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the settlement patterns of Manitoba's diverse ethnic populations, providing the context in which Corydon Avenue's Little Italy has emerged and the functions that the area performs today for the Italian community and the community at large.

5.1 Rural Ethnic Settlements in Manitoba

In 1867, the year of confederation, three of the four major groups that would make up Canada's multi-cultural society, the native peoples, the French and the British (along with Irish Catholics) were well established (Francis, Jones and Smith 1992, 1). After Manitoba's entry into confederation (Canada) in 1870, settlers from Ontario entered the province and came to dominate the political, economic and social life of Manitoba. These settlers also worked to eliminate the cultural rights of French-speaking Canadians. Today, the

distribution of people of British-Ontario stock throughout Winnipeg reflects their plurality, as they are found in all census tracts, including areas in which other ethnic populations are dominant, while the French population is concentrated on the east bank of the Red River around the nucleus of the St. Boniface cathedral.

In addition to the predominant Anglo-Saxon settlements throughout the prairie provinces, entire districts were settled by other groups including the Ukrainian, Mennonite, Icelandic and Hutterite populations who all left behind adverse social and/or economic conditions in their homeland (Warkentin 1959, 342, Richtik 1978, 1, Lehr 1975, 52, Ryan 1984, 3). Upon entry into Canadian society, these new immigrant groups were granted the opportunity to express, preserve and enhance their distinct characteristics that were most evident in house styles, farming practices, language, traditions and customs (Ryan 1984, 1, 10, Warkentin 1959, 352, Sommerville 1944-1945, 26, 32).

For example, the design and construction of Mennonite buildings were based on those they had known in Russia, the Icelandic pioneer log houses were modeled on their own patterns and the Hutterite village-type settlements dictated the style of construction of all living quarters and structures associated with the farm economy. Opportunities for

these groups to express themselves in these ways were made possible by the availability of empty land as the Canadian federal government was determined to populate the western provinces in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

5.2 In-Migration

The movement of populations from rural Manitoba, the rest of Canada, the United States, and other countries, has been a major factor in the development of Winnipeg's ethnic diversity. Migrations have occurred directly to Winnipeg from both town and country in the British Isles, North West Europe (Germany), Slavic Europe (Poland) and Mediterranean Europe (Italy). Asian sources include China, Korea, India, Vietnam and the Phillippines. The Mennonites from rural southern Manitoba and Dutch from the Netherlands, native Indians, Portugese, Icelanders and Scandinavians must not be forgotten (Carlyle 1991, 198-203).

These groups generally settled in working-class areas in Winnipeg, such as the North End. Early in the century James Woodsworth (1909) referred to Winnipeg as the storm center of incoming tides of immigrants of various nationalities and different degrees of civilizations. The North End has been specifically addressed in works by Paskievich (1978), Gutkin (1987) and Braun (1988), who addressed the mental images of

Winnipeg's North End.

In the North End, Winnipeg developers and real-estate agents purchased large tracts of land, subdivided, developed and sold them to newcomers as Winnipeg had no large stock of old housing to accommodate the thousands of foreign immigrants who entered the city in the years after 1896. In order to make large profits, the developers pinched on land. Lots were small, appearing cramped, the facades of businesses showed little diversity and a dull grid street pattern was used (Artibise 1972, 119 - 122). In contrast, developers thought of the South and West Ends of Winnipeg, home to the upper and middle classes, as "desirable" residential locations and thereby laid out wider streets, larger lots and frequently incorporated building restrictions (Artibise 1972, 125-128).

Thus, buildings in Winnipeg were usually constructed by contractors according to the standards of the majority culture and reflect designs widespread in North America. Large and spatially concentrated minority groups like the Italians and Chinese, utilizing contractor built structures, have expressed their traditions by modifications such as the design and decoration of facades (Schlichtmann 1977, 22). Ethnic traditions have also been expressed through distinctive styles in church design, from the domed Ukranian Orthodox to the German Lutheran "A" frame and the gothic British protestant

(Carlyle 1974, 32) while the Dynasty Building/Chinese Cultural Center located at 180 King Street in Winnipeg is a good example of Chinese architecture.

5.3 The Development and Structure of Winnipeg's Little Italy

Little Italies were initially settlement areas for Italian immigrants upon their arrival in North American cities. Concentrations of Italians in these areas later grew, not only from continued immigration, but by natural increase as initial immigrants put down roots and raised their families. These districts added the familiarity of one's homeland and allowed Italian immigrants to communicate in their native tongue with their compatriots in an otherwise unfamiliar industrially-driven world.

The development of the Corydon Avenue Italian streetscape through the redesign and decoration of facades began in the late 1980s. Individually, not collectively, businesses located along Corydon Avenue began exploiting Italian iconography, proclaiming their allegiance through the liberal employment of the Italian national colors and Italian language (Figures 7 - 10), stylized facades reflecting the products that are sold in the store (Figure 11) and distinctive design characteristics as shown in Figure 12 (Gale 1972, 15 Wilkins 1991, 35). The beautification of the area has included cobblestone streets and sidewalks, outdoor eating and drinking areas, baskets of



Figure. 7 Bar Due Milla, 1996 (Photo: Author)



Figure 8. Ciao Caffè, 1996 (Photo: Author)



Figure 9. Collosseo Ristorante Italiano, 1996 (Photo: Author)

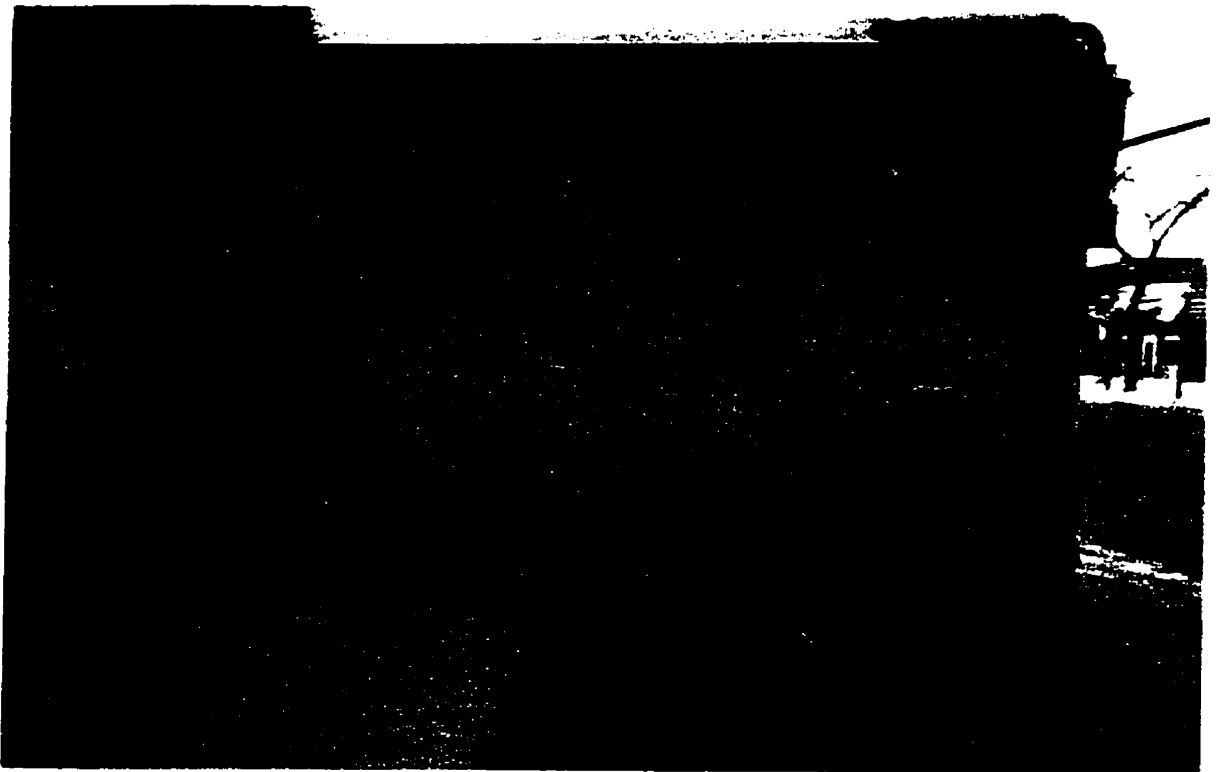


Figure 10. Collosseo Ristorante Italiano, 1996 (Photo: Author)



Figure 11. Bar Italia, 1996 (Photo: Author)

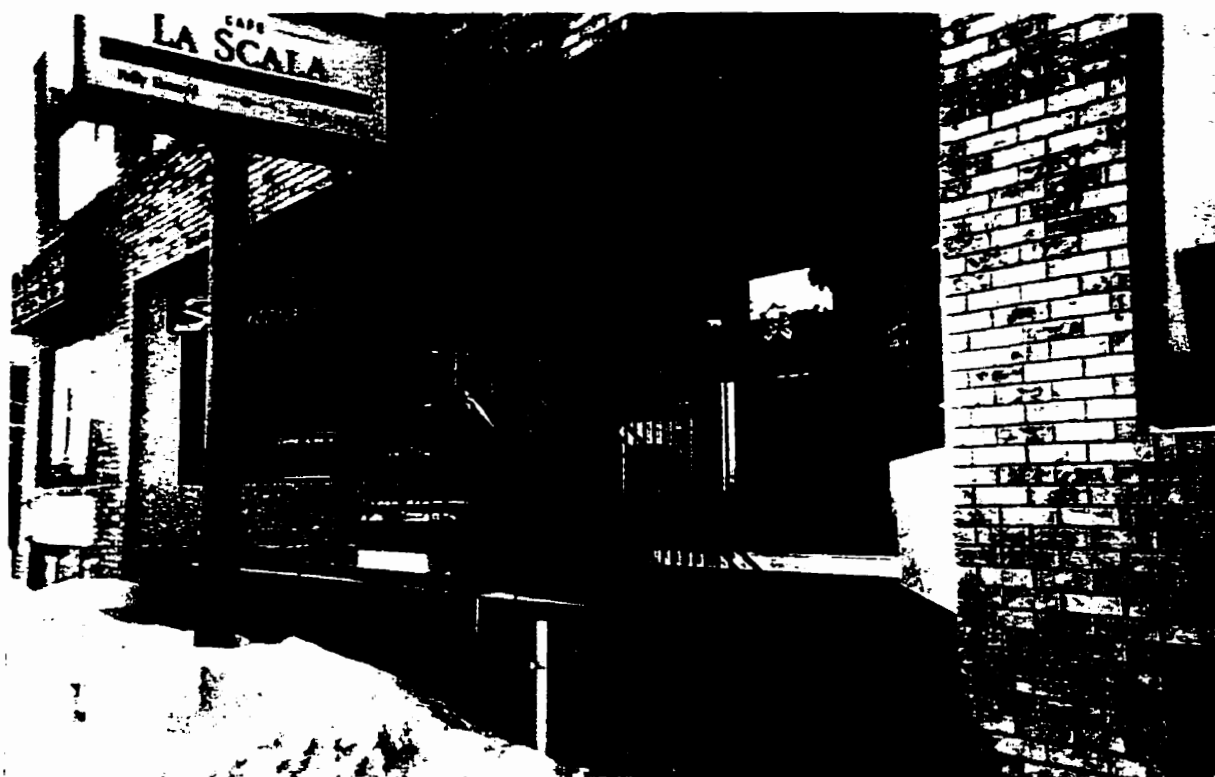
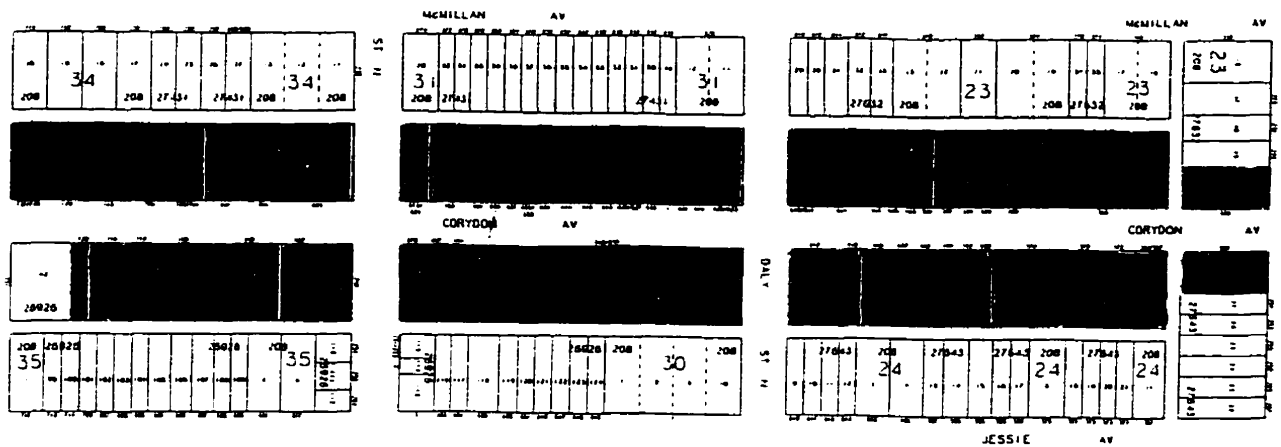


Figure 12. Corydon Villa, 1996 (Photo: Author)

flowers hanging from street-light poles in the summer and street signs decorated in the Italian national colors (Figure 13-14).

More recently, painted murals on the sides of buildings depicting various theme are appearing in increasing numbers throughout the city. These murals are a beautification initiative undertaken by Business Improvement Zones (See Chapter Six) to spruce up areas and make them more attractive to potential customers from across the city. Within Little Italy murals have sprung up portraying Italian, Mediterranean and European themes consistent with the commercial theme of the area.

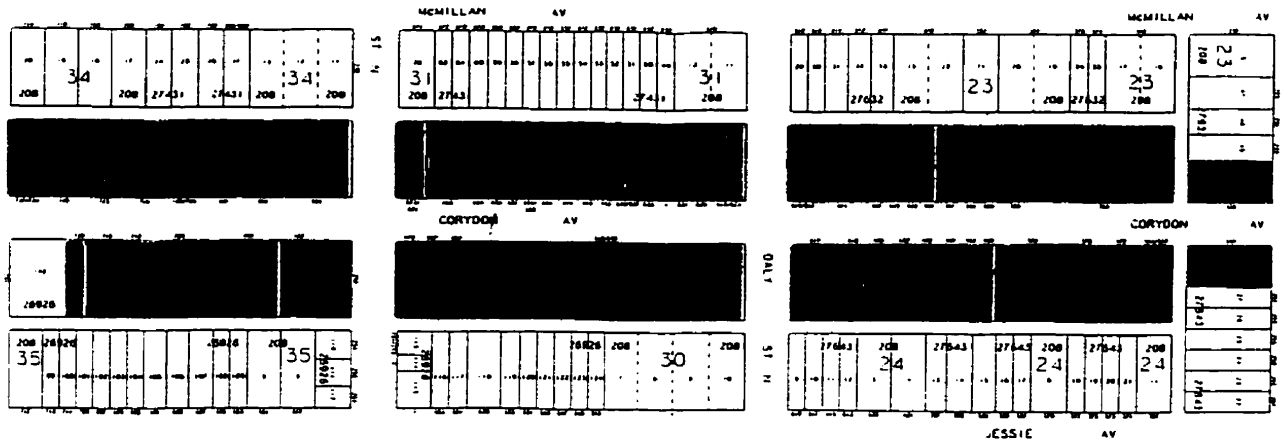
Figure 15 shows properties along the three blocks of Corydon Avenue between Nassau Avenue and Cockburn Street known as Little Italy. This map reveals that there is a combination of residential and commercial activities in the area, and virtually no vacant land. In Figure 16, commercial activities are subdivided into those establishments which sell a product or products that are Italian-oriented or create an Italian ambiance and establishments that do not. Figure 16 indicates that commercial establishments selling an Italian-oriented product or products do not dominate the cultural landscape of the area. Rather, they exist within a more general Italian, Canadian, Mediterranean and European theme. Several businesses



Residential Activities

Commercial Activities

Figure 15. Residential and Commercial Elements on Corydon Avenue



Residential Activities

Commercial Activities

Commercial Establishments selling a product or products that
are Italian Oriented or create an Italian ambiance

**Figure 16. Italian Oriented Commercial Establishments on
Corydon Avenue**

with no ethnic or cultural affiliation also appear in the area.

Although Italian iconography appears on Corydon Avenue's streetscape, the area has a variety of basic functions which have no connection to the Italian community or its heritage and do not reflect Italian heritage in any way. These functions include a major financial institution, post office, medical clinics, supermarkets, real estate agents, travel agencies and legal services (Table 1).

Interviews with employees of these businesses revealed a strong consensus that the community immediately surrounding Corydon Avenue is cosmopolitan in nature. Eastern Europeans, particularly Polish, Czechoslovakian and Yugoslavian immigrants, were cited as being very visible groups while Italians did not stand out as a significant component of their clientele. Few merchants, unless they are Italian themselves, speak the Italian language and none noticed the Italian language being spoken between or by their customers. Thus, among merchants within Little Italy, the Italians as a community make no distinct impact as patrons on businesses located in the area.

The author has previously shown that print advertisements by businesses providing basic functions to communities, including those businesses on Corydon Avenue,

Table 1. A Commercial Inventory of Little Italy: 1998

Note: Commercial establishments selling a product or products that are Italian oriented or create an Italian ambiance are indicated in bold print.

CORYDON AVENUE ADDRESS	ACTIVITY	COMMERCIAL BUSINESS NAME
550	RESIDENTIAL	-
555	RESIDENTIAL	-
562/564	RESIDENTIAL	-
565	RESIDENTIAL	-
572	RESIDENTIAL	-
578	RESIDENTIAL	-
584	RESIDENTIAL	-
585	RESIDENTIAL	-
589	RESIDENTIAL	-
590	COMMERCIAL	TWO A TEA
591	RESIDENTIAL	-
592	RESIDENTIAL	-
597	RESIDENTIAL	-
598	RESIDENTIAL	-
600	RESIDENTIAL	-
601	COMMERCIAL	FORT ROUGE MEDICAL CLINIC
602	RESIDENTIAL	-
603	COMMERCIAL	BAR DUE MILLA
605	COMMERCIAL	MR. LUIGI'S HAIRSTYLING
606	RESIDENTIAL	-
607	COMMERCIAL	FORT ROUGE SUPERMARKET
610	COMMERCIAL	UOMO CASUALE CLOTHING FOR MEN

611	COMMERCIAL	(PLAZA ITALIA) - LETTER CARRIER DEPOT 'C - MANITOBA ASSOCIATION OF URBAN MUNICIPALITIES - HARV MOCK AND ASSOCIATES (MARKETING AND COMMUNICATIONS) - HOFFER WILKINSON AND ASSOCIATES LTD. (REAL ESTATE APPRAISERS AND CONSULTANTS)
612	RESIDENTIAL	-
617/619	COMMERCIAL	DALY BURGERS
623/625	COMMERCIAL	SCOTIABANK
629	COMMERCIAL	DELLA SIL FANCY CHOCOLATES
630/640	COMMERCIAL	MTS BUILDING
631	COMMERCIAL	DA MAMMA MIA RISTORANTE
633	COMMERCIAL	ANNA CAPRI RISTORANTE
635	COMMERCIAL	SOFIA'S CAFFE
637/639	COMMERCIAL	- MONVISO RISTORANTE ITALIANO - GIOVANNI PIZZA RESTAURANT - V'S CAFE
643	COMMERCIAL	NUCCI'S GELATI
645	COMMERCIAL	SAKE'S ASIAN NOODLE SNACK HOUSE
649	COMMERCIAL	HART REALTY COMPANY
651	COMMERCIAL	PARSONS PLUMBING AND HEATING CO. LTD.
653/655	COMMERCIAL	THE GLOBAL VILLAGE MAP AND TRAVEL STORE INC.
657	COMMERCIAL	FASCINO MAGIA - ACADEMIA DEL CAPELLI
659	COMMERCIAL	- CAFFE NAPOLI - HEAVAN ART AND BOOK CAFE
661	COMMERCIAL	DREAM WEAVER CLOTHING
664	COMMERCIAL	SUNFLOWER COMMUNITY MARKET CO-OP
665	RESIDENTIAL	-

668	COMMERCIAL	- VILLAGE CLINIC - PHILLIPS, AIELLO BARRISTERS AND SOLICITORS
670	COMMERCIAL	COLOSSEO RISTORANTE ITALIANO
671/673	COMMERCIAL	MINI MART LTD. (ITALIAN AND CANADIAN GROCERIES)
681	COMMERCIAL	SAFFRONS RESTAURANT
682	RESIDENTIAL	-
691	COMMERCIAL	(PICOLA ITALIA) - YOGA - CIVITA
697	RESIDENTIAL	-
698	COMMERCIAL	- MANITOBA DENTAL ASSOCIATION - TRAVEL VISIONS - DECIBEL CREDIT UNION LTD. - MAN-SHEILD CONST. INC. - B & F MASONRY - GIBRALTER CONCRETE LTD. - DONEVE HOLDINGS LTD. - MANITOBA RESTAURANT AND FOOD SERVICES ASSOCIATION - J. W. McEVOY AND ASSOCIATES - HANSCOMB CONSULTANTS INC. - PINCHIN @ ASSOCIATES LTD. - JAVA JACKS EXPRESSO - CAPPUCCINO COFFIE MACHINE CO. - R.J. GARRONI FREIGHT - TRANSPORT SERVICES LTD. - DELGRAN REAL ESTATE
700	RESIDENTIAL	-
701/705	COMMERCIAL	- STELLA'S BRIDAL SALON - MARSHALL'S WEDDING AND PARTY SUPPLIES - G.G. GELATI
709	COMMERCIAL	- ORLANDO'S SEA FOOD AND GRILL - SKATES - 42 ND STREET HAIR CO.
712	RESIDENTIAL	-
720	COMMERCIAL	KING KOIN LAUNDRY

725	COMMERCIAL	<p>(CORYDON VILLA)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SECOND SENSATIONS - MARIO'S CONCRETE - VILLAGE MASSAGE THERAPY - BILL'S BARBERING AND STYLING - AUTHENTIC SKIN AND HAIR STUDIO LTD. - GOWLER AGENCIES - MERRIDIAN HOLIDAY'S LTD. - CRUST FURRIERS AND TAILORS - CAFÉ LA SCALA PASTICCERIA - REVELATIONS NATURAL CRYSTALS
729	COMMERCIAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EMILY'S HOME CLEANING SERVICE - SKIN DIMENSIONS (TATOO STUDIO) - EXPERIENCE THE BEAUTY (BODY PIERCING) - TIAMO CAFFE - PLANET SATELITE
735/737	COMMERCIAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - BILLIARDS AND SPORTS BAR - BAR ITALIA

have employed many methods with the intent of appealing to the Italian community of Winnipeg. However, whether this community was perceived to be in the residential area surrounding Corydon Avenue cannot be determined through the advertisements alone (Spina 1996).

It would seem safe to say that the use of the term Little Italy is a surrogate commercial name used for three blocks of Corydon Avenue and has the purpose of attracting visitors to patronize the area which is actually more Mediterranean-flavored than purely Italian, despite the heritage of the Italian community in the area. The reasons for this will become apparent when the present-day functions of Little Italy for the Italian community and community at large are evaluated.

5.4 The Functions of Winnipeg's Little Italy

Today, Little Italies in major North American cities have lost many of the functions they once performed for Italian residents. As more Italians are employed in technical and professional occupations, and the Italian middle class grows, many are choosing the suburbs, not the Little Italies, as places to live. Formerly serving as a community center for the Italian population, the Little Italy has now become a more commercial area. The growth of the Italian population in many cities, however, provides a larger ethnic clientele for the

Italian businesses in Little Italies.

The major value of Little Italy to Italian businesses is its commercial appeal as a tourist attraction, which, from the point of view of marketing is a good strategy to promote ethnic goods and services. From the point of view of consumers, it offers an ethnic component that gives an added flavor and novelty to what would otherwise be another plain commercial block. In this sense Little Italy is more of a commercial district marketing ethnic goods and services and less of a cultural community. Consequently, the Little Italy as a commercial area appeals to those entrepreneurs who market ethnic food and products and thus benefit from the tourist image of Little Italy as an ethnic enclave. Similar observations have been made about the Chinese in Canada (Li 1988, 103-104).

Winnipeg's climate is very favorable for the take-off of a commercial district such as Little Italy. With a continental type climate and four distinct seasons Winnipeg's temperature ranges from highs of +35 degrees Celsius to lows of -40 degrees Celsius. Combined with more than 100 centimeters of snow per year Winnipeg's harsh climate makes encourages outdoor commercial areas such as Little Italy to flourish during the summer months. People may frequent Corydon Avenue, therefore, simply for the opportunity to be outdoors.

Determining the motivations of visitors to Corydon Avenue, however, is an analysis beyond the scope of this thesis (See Chapter Two).

Winnipeg's Little Italy has grown in popularity since alcohol may now be consumed on outdoor patios under patio licenses granted by the Manitoba Liquor Control Commission. One stipulation for granting this type of license is that the outdoor patio area must be roped or fenced in some way. This acts as a measure to prevent passers-by stopping, visiting with friends on the patio and consuming alcohol from the street. If there is a complaint about such an act or one is witnessed by a liquor control commission inspector, the inspector will approach the business and ask the owner to try and prevent this activity. In the case of a street festival, there must be an application for an occasional permit to allow liquor to be served at street level.

5.5 Discussion and Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to consider the settlement patterns of Manitoba's diverse ethnic populations providing the context within which Corydon Avenue's Little Italy has emerged and the functions the area performs for the Italian community and the community at large. Results indicate that the creation of Corydon Avenue's commercial Little Italy has been affected by the heritage of the Italian community in

the area. However, today, more Italians are choosing to live in the suburbs and this relocation has led to a change in the functions that Little Italy performs for both Italian and non-Italian residents in Winnipeg.

Another concentration of Italian businesses has also emerged along a two block stretch on Sargent Avenue but it is far from being considered a Little Italy. Reasons for this lack of recognition include an absence of Italian heritage in the area and the negative perception that many hold towards the area, regarding it as an unsafe place to live, especially when compared to the South and West ends of Winnipeg. Conditions were favorable for the development of a Little Italy on Corydon Avenue and these conditions will be discussed subsequently in this thesis.

CHAPTER SIX

ENVIRONMENTAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF CORYDON AVENUE

The environmental setting of tourist destinations can play a major role in their position in the marketplace. Important issues include not only the tourism environment but also spatial considerations, such as the accessibility of a destination to major tourist generating regions and the location of possible competitors that can intercept potential visitors, especially in the case of automobile travelers (Murphy 1985, 39, Ullman 1956). The physical appearance of a business district is also important in attracting and maintaining customers. The beautification of public land and private buildings may establish an image for an area and usually forms the basis for the development of collective marketing and promotional campaigns carried out to reinforce that image through the development of mass advertising campaigns or the initiation of neighborhood events and festivals (Department of Environmental Planning 1988, 3).

This chapter deals with recent trends in the tourism industry. It considers the ways in which Winnipeg's physical environment can have a significant impact on the desire and ability of people from Winnipeg's residential communities and surrounding municipalities to frequent Little Italy. It will also evaluate the role of different groups and agencies in the

development and promotion of an image for Corydon Avenue as an ethnic enclave, one which markets Italian food and products and has spawned an Italian street festival named "*Festa Italiana*".

6.1 The Tourism Environment

Tourism in Canada is a \$26 billion per year industry, comprising more than 60,000 tourism businesses and creating more than 622,000 direct jobs. As a foreign exchange earner, it ranks fourth at \$7.7 billion behind motor vehicles (\$24.4 billion), automobile parts (\$9.5 billion) and communications and electronic equipment (\$8.7 billion). Canada's top three foreign tourism markets are the United States, Europe and Asia (Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism 1993, 5).

The tourism industry has had a significant impact on the Manitoba economy. Over 7.5 million visitors are attracted to the province each year. It employs 20,000 people in Manitoba, and it generated total revenues of \$833 million in 1990 (3.2% of the Canadian total) which represents 3.5% of the province's gross provincial product (Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism 1993, 6). For the city of Winnipeg itself, tourism has had an equally dramatic impact on the economy. In 1997 over 2.4 million visitors traveled to Winnipeg and contributed over

\$563 million to the city's economy¹.

Growth in the tourism industry in Canada, however, fell behind that of the general economy in the early 1990s due to an economic recession and reduced discretionary income; weak growth in income levels; high consumer debt levels; increased competition from Canada's major markets; and changing demographics and travel patterns of the U.S. market (Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism 1993, 5).

As we approach a new millennium, however, anticipated economic growth, the growing trend toward more than one vacation a year, earlier retirements, two-income families, and the increasing emphasis that consumers are placing on travel as a part of leisure activities, are favoring growth in the industry. Consumer buying behavior has been affected by a demand for value, quality and service; lack of time; increasing health-consciousness; concern for the environment; and a concern for personal safety and security (Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism 1993, 2). Temporary lower airfares, the growth in new tourist attractions and

1

Data obtained from Tourism Winnipeg postcard distributed to 190,000 homes via the city of Winnipeg water bills. The card encourages the recipient to send the card to a relative or friend and invite them to visit Winnipeg. The card also features a tear-off portion ideal for a coupon offer from a local business, information as to the value of tourism to the economy and an entry form. These postcards are one example of a buy-in opportunity for industry partners (see page 93).

recreational facilities have also contributed to steady growth in leisure travel (Ad Hoc Committee of Council of Tourism 1988, 7).

This growth is reflected in the number of Canadians working in tourism related occupations. In 1993, 1,191,900 Canadians worked in tourism related occupations. This number is expected to grow at an annual rate of 2.9% between 1992 and 2001, resulting in 354,000 new jobs in Canada over that period, providing employment for 10% of the Canadian workforce (Canadian Tourism Human Resource Council 1995, 3).

During the early 1990s, the adverse economic impacts of the recession led to a heightened interest by people from Winnipeg and its surrounding municipalities for local, accessible, affordable and safe attractions. Corydon Avenue quickly became one of the most popular and fashionable places to go for intra-urban tourists seeking authenticity in the city. Conditions were favorable for this type of venture but these conditions were general to the city and not specific to Corydon Avenue. Favorable trends in the tourism industry, however, are not the only determinant of visitation to a destination such as Corydon Avenue; the physical environment within which the area has developed is also very important.

6.2 The Physical Environment

Although Corydon Avenue is a built attraction, there is

no guarantee that local intra-urban, authentic tourists will visit the area. Ullman (1956) noted that for interaction and trade to develop between two regions there must be demand in one and supply in the other, so that they possess complementarity. As new destinations and attractions enter the market, however, intervening opportunities are always developing which can truncate existing travel flows. There is also no guarantee of interaction between two regions if the distance, time or cost required to make the trip between two places is too great, thus making transferability impossible. The physical environment within which Corydon Avenue has developed can be examined using this framework.

In Winnipeg, the Italian community has drawn on its own resources to assert its cultural distinctiveness and to develop a local attraction. Although Corydon Avenue's Little Italy has performed a very important function for the Italian community, it was only during the late 1980s and early 1990s that those functions have been reformulated to serve the community at large. The development of Little Italy into a commercial area has coincided with a demand by local Winnipeggers for a distinctive setting that is very different from their own home but accessible and cheap. Thus, the supply and demand of Corydon Avenue's Little Italy exists. The location of competitors, however, is also very important to

the success of a destination.

Osborne Village, located on the south side of the Assiniboine River, is within a short walking distance of Corydon Avenue's Little Italy as well as downtown Winnipeg. Osborne Village became one of the most dynamic and eclectic urban shopping streets/districts in the city during the late 1960s. Today, Osborne Village has become the most densely populated and "Bohemian" area in Winnipeg, where the diversity of small businesses located in the village is matched by the diversity of people living and shopping in the area, representing all age and socio-economic groups.

Corydon Avenue, Osborne Village and South Osborne are actually three legs of old established neighborhoods which are popular residential and leisure destinations for Winnipeggers. Osborne Village is along one of the major routeway for north - south traffic in the city of Winnipeg and is, therefore, a strong interceptor of travelers to Corydon Avenue, particularly automobile travelers. Furthermore, whereas Corydon Avenue is primarily a restaurant district, Osborne Village permits residents and visitors to stroll through a greater diversity of small businesses, a diversity that will make it imperative for Corydon Avenue to promote and reinforce its distinctive image in an increasingly competitive marketplace.

Corydon Avenue is very accessible to Winnipeg's residential neighborhoods and surrounding municipalities. This was made possible by the development of three bridges across the Assiniboine River early in the century. These linkages not only made south Winnipeg accessible to the central sector of the city, but also accelerated the development of several residential communities in south Winnipeg. Although these physical aspects are a very important consideration when discussing any destination, groups and agencies such as Business Improvement Zones and Tourism Winnipeg play an equally significant role in attracting and maintaining customers through the development, promotion and reinforcement of the image of a district.

6.3 Business Improvement Zones

At the local scale business improvement zones play a very important role in defining the appearance and image of a business district. A business improvement zone is an association of business people who join together to promote and create a positive change within their common location in a defined commercial area (Department of Environmental Planning 1988, 1). The concept, which originated in Toronto in the 1970s, is based on the organizational model of shopping malls, which helps to increase each businesses' portion of the market share, allowing businesses to (1) join together to

market their business district; (2) sponsor programs and events which enhance the area; (3) make improvements to physical amenities; and (4) have a voice in the political sphere on issues of shared concern (Progress Report of the Downtown Winnipeg Business Improvement Zone 1997, 2).

Business Improvement Zones are financed through a special levy collected by the city in association with the business tax which is then redistributed to individual zones, providing the financial vehicle to exert control over the appearance and image of an area. Business Improvement Zones can effectively be used to re-establish previously vibrant commercial areas, or to create excitement around new districts (Department of Environmental Planning 1988, 1).

The Corydon Avenue Business Improvement Zone has been responsible for planting flowers lining Corydon Avenue, hanging baskets blooming on turn-of-the-century gaslights, and street signs incorporating the Italian national colors. On an individual basis, merchants located on Corydon Avenue have redesigned the facades of buildings, which they either own or occupy, with symbols of Italian culture, and are responsible for maintaining that image (see Chapter 5). The promotion and mass marketing of that image, however, is the responsibility of a larger agency, Tourism Winnipeg.

6.4 Tourism Winnipeg

Federal, provincial and local governments reap several millions in tax revenues from the tourism industry each year (Ad Hoc Committee of Council on Tourism 1988, 6). In recognizing this, governments have strengthened their tourism activities and programs in order to capture a greater share of the travel market. Canadian examples include the "Edmonton Tourism and Convention Authority" and the "Tourism Vancouver" agency of the 1980s.

In response to the success of these programs and others similar to them throughout Canada, Winnipeg City Council established Tourism Winnipeg in 1988 as a non-profit agency intended to coordinate the fragmented tourism advertising and promotional activities of the local tourism industry. Tourism Winnipeg's goal is to increase the economic benefit of tourism to Winnipeg by effectively marketing the city of Winnipeg as a destination for individuals and groups of visitors. Tourism Winnipeg focuses on the meeting and convention markets, group tours, leisure travel and the local market.

For its operations, Tourism Winnipeg has forecast revenues of \$1.5 million in 1998. The primary sources of revenue are the base operating budget of \$1.14 million dollars, half of which is provided by a funding agreement with the city of Winnipeg and an equal portion of \$570,000 from the

Provincial Video Lottery Terminal Economic Development Fund. Private sector sources, such as co-op marketing ventures and merchandise sales, will contribute approximately \$396,000 to the overall budget in 1998 (Tourism Winnipeg 1998, 38).

Although Tourism Winnipeg is not involved in product development, its mandate is to market the city which occurs in a number of ways. For example, cooperative marketing ventures establish strategic alliances with traditional and non-traditional tourism partners, thus allowing Tourism Winnipeg to introduce new marketing programs and expand existing ones through partnership buy-in programs (Tourism Winnipeg 1998, 7).

One result of these partnership buy-in programs is neighborhood brochures, full color pocket brochures promoting Winnipeg's unique neighborhoods. These brochures include a short description of different Winnipeg neighborhoods, such as Corydon Avenue (Figure 17), and a map of their location within the city (Figure 18). The brochure clearly portrays Corydon Avenue as an area with a Mediterranean ambiance enhanced by colorful restaurants and sidewalk cafes, boutiques and stores and an interesting streetscape. The similarity of the European atmosphere of Corydon Avenue with European attractions, including Paris, Athens and Rome, appeals to potential visitors, who can now experience a European-type setting that

Corydon Avenue

Winnipeg's "Little Italy"

This is your invitation to take a walk on the continental side just five minutes from downtown Winnipeg! Corydon Avenue explodes with colourful restaurants and sidewalk cafes, interesting boutiques and stores for the discriminating shopper.

With flowers lining the street and hanging baskets blooming on turn-of-the-century gaslights, Corydon Avenue succeeds in creating a Mediterranean atmosphere, whether it's strolling down an avenue in Paris, visiting a sidewalk cafe in Athens or enjoying an actual recreation of a piazza from Rome.

Just park the car, take a taxi or come by bus -- then make your way on foot along the wide tree-lined sidewalks and past all the shops, boutiques and restaurants!

There's entertainment on Corydon almost every day of the week for the whole year. Whether it's dance or music or a fashion weekend, Corydon entertains all visitors in true Mediterranean custom. Welcome to the Mediterranean side . . . welcome to Corydon Avenue!



Corydon Avenue

Figure 17. Promotion of Corydon Avenue in Tourism Winnipeg Neighborhood Brochures

is very accessible.

Tourism Winnipeg has also established an Internet web site². This page, linked to another, called Winnipeg: City Sidewalks, introduces the neighborhoods of Winnipeg, portraying them as culturally diverse, each with a distinct flavor and ambiance. Corydon Avenue's representation in the site can be seen in Figure 19, which again promotes the Mediterranean ambiance of the district with its ethnically themed shops, restaurants, cuisine, outdoor bistros, and cafes, all enhanced with an attractive photograph encouraging visitors to visit each location.

Several tourist guides market Corydon Avenue including the "Winnipeg Visitor's Guide", "Winnipeg Vacation Guide" and "Passport" magazine, which is produced semi-annually. In the latter, advertising spaces are available for interested districts. It is also possible for industry partners to work on an individual basis with Tourism Winnipeg to market a distinct area or aspect of the tourism industry.

The Corydon Avenue Business Improvement Zone, individual merchants and Tourism Winnipeg have established, reinforced and promoted the image of Corydon Avenue as an Italian commercial shopping district. However, the initiation of an

²

Tourism Winnipeg can be found on the world wide web at <http://www.tourismwinnipeg.mb.ca>.

CORYDON AVENUE - "Little Italy"



This area gets its distinctive cultural flavour from the Mediterranean immigrants who opened their shops and restaurants on the avenue. When the summer sun shines down on Corydon Avenue, people fill the sidewalks as they move among the antique shops and gift boutiques. The many outdoor bistros and cafes that line the avenue are a great place to sit and people-watch while you enjoy a frothy cappuccino and some of the best Italian food this side of Rome. For more information, contact the Corydon Avenue Business Improvement Zone (BIZ) 783-5959

Figure 19. Promotion of Corydon Avenue on the World Wide Web
Source: Tourism Winnipeg Web Site

Italian street festival, *Festa Italiana*, was the conception of the *Sons of Italy Italian Lodge*, an Italian association in the city. To a great extent, *Festa Italiana* was patterned after festivals and exhibitions and ethnic community festivals in rural Manitoba, a brief discussion of which follows.

6.5 Rural Festivals and Exhibitions

The abundant cultural resources of Manitoba are reflected in the province's wide range of theaters, art galleries, museums, archeological/historic sites, attractions, festivals, fairs, exhibitions and special events. Manitoba's ethnic diversity is represented in a variety of cultural and social attractions and events throughout the province (Tourism Development Strategy for Manitoba Vol. 3, 334).

Events classified as festivals and exhibitions are special events that occur annually, evaluated on the basis of their size and the popularity, as indicated by visitation and financial statistics. Festivals in rural Manitoba are very popular and diverse and offer an extremely important tourism resource. Many of these festivals are based on particular ethnic or agricultural themes of local significance.

Particularly important ethnic festivals are the Canadian National Ukrainian festival at Dauphin; the Gimli Icelandic festival; the *Fete Franco* at La Broquerie, as well as the Steinbach Pioneer Days highlighting the Mennonite settlements

in Manitoba. Other festivals are based on themes derived from agriculture such as the Morden Corn and Apple Festival, and the Manitoba Sunflower Festival in Altona. Festivals in Northern Manitoba reflect that area's history and economic livelihood and include Thompson Nickel Days, York Boat Days at Norway house, the Trapper's festival and Opasquia Indian Days at the Pas, and the Flin Flon Trout Festival. In addition, there are festivals based on more humorous themes including the Canadian Turtle Derby at Boissevain, the Frog Follies at St. Pierre and the Miami's Mule Derby days. Most of these events last for a few days to a week and feature a variety of attractions such as ethnic music and dancing, local cuisine, displays and exhibits of historic reconstructions and handicrafts, contests and games (Tourism Development Strategy for Manitoba Vol. 3, 3-4).

6.6 Winnipeg's Ethnic/Community Festivals

Many local districts within Winnipeg sponsor small festivals that can be compared to fairs held in rural communities. The most significant community festivals held in Winnipeg are the Festival du Voyageur, a winter festival organized by the French community of St. Boniface, whose displays of French culture feature dog-sled races and huge ice sculptures, and Folklorama, Winnipeg's major summer festival, which features numerous pavilions throughout the city, each of

which is associated with a specific ethnic group. The pavilions offer visual displays and demonstrations of art and handicrafts, live entertainment and ethnic cuisine (Tourism Development Strategy for Manitoba Volume 3, 344). Smaller festivals have been and will continue to be held in Winnipeg, including "*Festa Italiana*".

6.7 *Festa Italiana*

The image of Corydon Avenue as an ethnic enclave marketing ethnic food and products led to the inception of an Italian street festival by the Sons of Italy Italian Association during the late 1980s to promote Italian culture in the city and Little Italy on Corydon Avenue. A two-day festival held on September 16th and 17th, 1989, covered the two blocks of Corydon Avenue between Daly and Cockburn streets. The organizers hoped to attract 10,000 people to the event, but summer-like temperatures, the absence of an admission charge and the accessibility of a European-type setting, particularly with things "Italian" led to an estimated 40,000 people attending the festival.

The Italian authenticity of the festival was encouraged by the provision of *Gelati*, wine-making demonstrations, wine-tasting exhibits, outdoor dining and B-B-Q, cappuccino, lasagna, live outdoor music, bicycle races and outdoor haircuts. Special permission granted from the Liquor Control

Commission allowed beer and wine to be served on the street. The biggest problem was noise complaints from immediate neighbors because outdoor music was played until midnight. There were also complaints about a lack of parking. Adjacent streets were lined with cars sporting parking tickets. Many were towed away. Also, in many of the back lanes surrounding Corydon Avenue, residents witnessed visitors urinating on private properties, particularly detached garages. The performance of these acts was no doubt a result of increased alcoholic consumption on the street that weekend (von Stackelberg 1998).

The Winnipeg media were supportive of the *Festa Italiana*. In the *Winnipeg Free Press*, newspaper articles titled "Fabulous Festa Fever" (Winnipeg Free Press 19 September 1989) and "The Good Lord must be Italian" (Winnipeg Free Press 24 September 1989) reflected the positive reviews and success of the festival. One article reported a complaint by members of the Winnipeg City Police Force that one constable was minding his own business when an elderly woman came up to him and gave his butt a pinch. A nice Italian touch, eh? (Winnipeg Free Press 19 September 1989). Obviously, a favorable image of the festival and Italian culture were disseminated to the community at large.

The success of the festival in its first year led to talk

of expansion from two to eight blocks where carnival rides would be centralized and more than one beer garden established. Italian owned and operated businesses instantly received exposure and Corydon Avenue obtained recognition and respectability. However, the voucher system employed at the festival, which required visitors to purchase vouchers on the street in order to buy a meal from any merchant participating in the festival, led to conflict between the *Sons of Italy Lodge* and some Corydon street merchants. Some of the latter believed they were incurring all the costs and should have made more immediate profits by selling meals directly to visitors as some did, rather than having a percentage of profits remitted back to them from the *Sons of Italy Lodge*.

A huge potential for economic and social benefits existed if the focus of these merchants could have been directed away from a purely business and development approach to a more open and community-oriented approach which viewed the festival and the development and promotion of Corydon Avenue as a resource for the future as opposed to an opportunity for short-term economic gain. Unresolved differences between these merchants and the *Sons of Italy Lodge* led to the relocation of the *Festa Italiana* in its second year to the Forks National Historic Site.

In its second year the *Festa Italiana* was expanded to a

one week event ending in a grand finale weekend from September 7th to 9th centered at the Forks but, which also included events held throughout the city such as an Italian film festival at the Winnipeg Art Gallery, fashion shows, and food fairs at malls across the city. However, the move meant a loss of exposure for Corydon Avenue to many thousands of people and the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars in advertising for the street.

In an attempt to capitalize on the success of the 1989 *Festa Italiana*, the Corydon Avenue street merchants tried to replicate the festival themselves in August of 1990. Not being sympathetic to the *Italian Canadian League of Manitoba* which was responsible for organizing the Italian pavilions at Folklorama, the merchants scheduled their festival during the same two weeks that Folklorama was being held in hopes of attracting some visitors who may have wanted to attend a street festival with a theme similar to that of a Folklorama pavilion.

There seems to be a consensus within Winnipeg's Italian community that the Corydon Avenue Festival, named "*The Days of Wine and Roses*", did not utilize many of the factors which added an authentic Italian flavor to the festival. Several members of the Italian community were also unwilling to discuss in detail but confirmed that unpaid debts by certain

organizers of the Corydon street festival in 1991 and the sensationalization of several problems with the festival by the various Winnipeg media stunted the growth of the festival throughout the 1990s, as well as partially tarnishing the image of the Italian community in the city.

Meanwhile, the *Sons of Italy* festival at the Forks lasted only for three years, ending in 1993 when the Forks was "mudded out" by excessive rainfall in the city that summer. Any potential cooperation between the Sons of Italy Lodge and the Corydon Avenue street merchants in the future does not seem likely because of the confirmation by many involved in the organization of the festivals that there remains the presence of several uncooperative merchants who were located on Corydon Avenue in 1989. Any street festival resembling the success and authenticity of the *Festa Italiana* of 1989 is unlikely although visitation levels have remained constant on Corydon Avenue.

6.8 Discussion and Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to evaluate recent trends in the tourism industry. It considered the ways in which Winnipeg's physical environment has had a significant impact on the desire and ability of people from Winnipeg's residential communities and surrounding municipalities to frequent Little Italy. It has also evaluated the role of

different groups and agencies in the development and promotion of an image for Corydon Avenue as an ethnic enclave, one which markets Italian food and products and has spawned an Italian street festival named "*Festa Italiana*".

There is no doubt that part of the attraction of traveling is to see different landscapes and observe and learn more about "foreign" cultures and ways of life. A desire by intra-urban authentic tourists from Winnipeg's residential communities and surrounding municipalities to visit Corydon Avenue's Little Italy, patronize the shops and engulf themselves in Italian culture has been encouraged by the development and reinforcement of the image of Little Italy as an authentic representation of Italy and Italian culture and lifestyle. Visitors to Corydon Avenue's Little Italy are engaging in authenticity tourism, experiencing "Italian" within this industry of cultural tourism. High visitation rates are made possible by physical accessibility.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE EVOLUTIONARY CYCLE OF A COMMERCIAL ETHNIC ENCLAVE

Many models have been formulated to conceptualize development, ranging from the economic development of a nation (Rostow 1960) to the development of a tourist destination (Christaller 1963, Butler 1960). Although these models are similar in that they all employ a basic "S" curve, none addresses the commercial and tourist development of the ethnic enclave. This chapter first reviews models of development types, then proposes a new model for the commercial development of a destination at the local scale based on the commodification of ethnicity. Winnipeg's Little Italy is then examined in terms of this model.

7.1 The Models

Developing countries in every region have a common priority: to increase their level of economic development. The international trade approach calls for a country to identify its distinctive or unique economic assets and promote economic development by concentrating scarce resources into the expansion of its distinctive local industries. The sales of these products in the world market bring funds into the country that can be used to finance other development projects.

A leading advocate of the international trade approach

was W.W. Rostow, who proposed a five stage model of economic development in the 1950s based on the European and North American experience. The first step in Rostow's model is the **traditional society** in which a country has not yet started a process of economic development, but rather, contains a very high percentage of people engaged in agriculture and a high percentage of national wealth allocated to what he calls "nonproductive" activities, such as military and religion.

Next is the **preconditions for take-off**, in which the process of economic development begins when an elite group of people initiates innovative economic activities. Under the influence of these well-educated leaders, the country starts to invest in new technology and in infrastructure, such as water supplies and transportation systems. These projects ultimately will stimulate an increase in productivity. In the **take-off** stage, rapid growth is generated in a limited number of economic activities, such as textiles or food products. These few take-off industries achieve technical advances and become productive, while other sectors of the economy remain dominated by traditional practices.

As the **drive to maturity** occurs, modern technology previously confined to a few take-off industries, diffuses to a wide variety of industries, which then experience rapid growth comparable to the take-off industries. Workers become

more skilled and specialized. In the fifth stage, the **age of mass consumption**, the economy shifts from production of heavy industry, such as steel and power, to consumer goods, such as motor vehicles and refrigerators (Rostow 1960). Since this model is a model of more traditional economic development, there is no analysis of Rostow's model visa-vis tourism.

The first model to describe the process of a tourist area's evolution was that of Walter Christaller in 1963. Christaller's model, most relevant to European tourist areas, describes destinations as evolving from untouched and unusual places to places that are sought out. Once visitation increases and the destination becomes fashionable, development of infrastructure occurs and commercial interests take over. As visitation continues to increase, those who seek recreation stay away and, once the area becomes exploited by tourist agencies offering "package-rate traveling parties", the elite public avoids such places. Natural or cultural amenities that were responsible for the original popularity of the destination, soon become displaced and deteriorate (Christaller 1963).

The model that has attracted the most attention and incorporates the most factors, however, is a six stage model developed by Butler (Figure 2). His model's first stage, the **exploration** stage, sees sporadic and limited visitation to a

destination where there are no specific facilities provided for visitors, thus the use of local facilities and contact with local residents is high. The physical fabric and social milieu of the of the area is unchanged by tourism and the arrival and departure of tourists are insignificant to the economic and social life of permanent residents.

This stage is followed by an **involvement** stage during which numbers of visitors increase and assume some regularity. Local residents begin to provide facilities for visitors and contact between the locals and visitors remains high. Some advertising occurs, an initial market area for tourists is defined and a tourist season emerges. A well-defined tourist market area appears in the third stage, the **development** stage. As this stage progresses, local involvement and control of development decline rapidly. Some locally provided facilities disappear and are replaced by larger and more up-to-date facilities provided by external organizations for visitor accommodation. Natural and cultural attractions are developed, marketed and supplemented by man-made imported facilities. The physical appearance of the area changes, tourist peaks are high, imported labour is utilized and auxiliary facilities appear.

In the fourth stage, the **consolidation** stage, the rate of increase in numbers of visitors declines but total numbers

still increase, and total visitor numbers exceed the number of permanent residents. The area's economy is becoming strongly tied to tourism, marketing and advertising are wide reaching and efforts are made to extend the visitor season and market area. Peak numbers of visitors are reached in the fifth stage, the **stagnation** stage, and the area has a well established image but is no longer in fashion. There is a heavy reliance on repeat visitation.

The final stage in Butler's model is the **decline** stage, which occurs when the area is not able to compete with newer attractions and faces a spatially and numerically declining market. It is no longer being used for long-stay vacationers but is used increasingly for weekend or day trips if it is accessible to a large market. **Rejuvenation** may occur but only with a complete change in the attractions on which its tourism appeal is based (Butler 1980).

The direction of the visitation curve after the period of stagnation is open to several interpretations which include a redevelopment of an attraction which could generate renewed interest and expansion (Curve A). Minor modification and adjustment to capacity levels and continued protection of resources, might allow growth at a much reduced rate (Curve B). A readjustment to meet all capacity levels would enable a more stable level of visitation to be maintained after the an

initial readjustment downwards (Curve C). Continued overuse of resources, non-replacement of aging infrastructure, and decreasing competitiveness with other areas would result in the market decline (Curve D). Finally, the intervention of war, disease, crime and natural catastrophic events will result in an immediate decline in numbers of visitors (Curve E) (Butler 1980, 11).

Butler notes that not all areas experience the stages of the cycle as clearly as others. In many cases, the exploration and involvement stages are of minimal significance, if they are present at all, and the development stage becomes the real commencement of the cycle. In other cases, the latter stages of the cycle are more significant, because of the implications which they hold for tourism in general and for the planning and arrangement of tourist areas in particular (Butler 10). Further, the shape of the curve may vary for different areas, reflecting variations in such factors as rate of development, numbers of visitors, accessibility, government policies and numbers of competing areas (Butler 1980, 11).

Butler's, Rostow's and Christaller's models are similar in several ways. All argue that a country or destination is in one of several stages of the development process. Further, to remain competitive, changes in international consumer preferences, marketing strategies and the product itself, for

Christaller and Butler the tourist destination, and for Rostow, production engineering and design technologies, must be addressed.

7.2 A Model of Ethnic Commercialization

Neither Christaller's nor Butler's model consider the scale and unique characteristics involved in the commercialization of a local destination based on the marketing of ethnicity. Therefore, a five-stage model of Ethnic commercialization is proposed at this point. The model attempts to address pertinent issues in the development, growth and promotion of these areas (Figure 20).

In the first stage of the model, the stage of **ethnic re-location** is characterized by the re-location of an ethnic group from its homeland to new settlement areas. Cultural groups experience both "push" factors, often facing adverse economic and/or social conditions in their homeland, motivating them to leave, and "pull" factors, encouraging their settlement in new locations. Advantages for both receiving countries and immigrant groups appear during this relocation process.

Upon entry into new societies, however, immigrant groups enter the stage of **ethnic discrimination**. Here they face discrimination and a poor public image in the host country, whether deserved or not, because of the location of their

APPLICATION OF A HYPOTHETICAL MODEL OF ETHNIC COMMERCIALIZATION TO WINNIPEG'S ITALIAN COMMUNITY

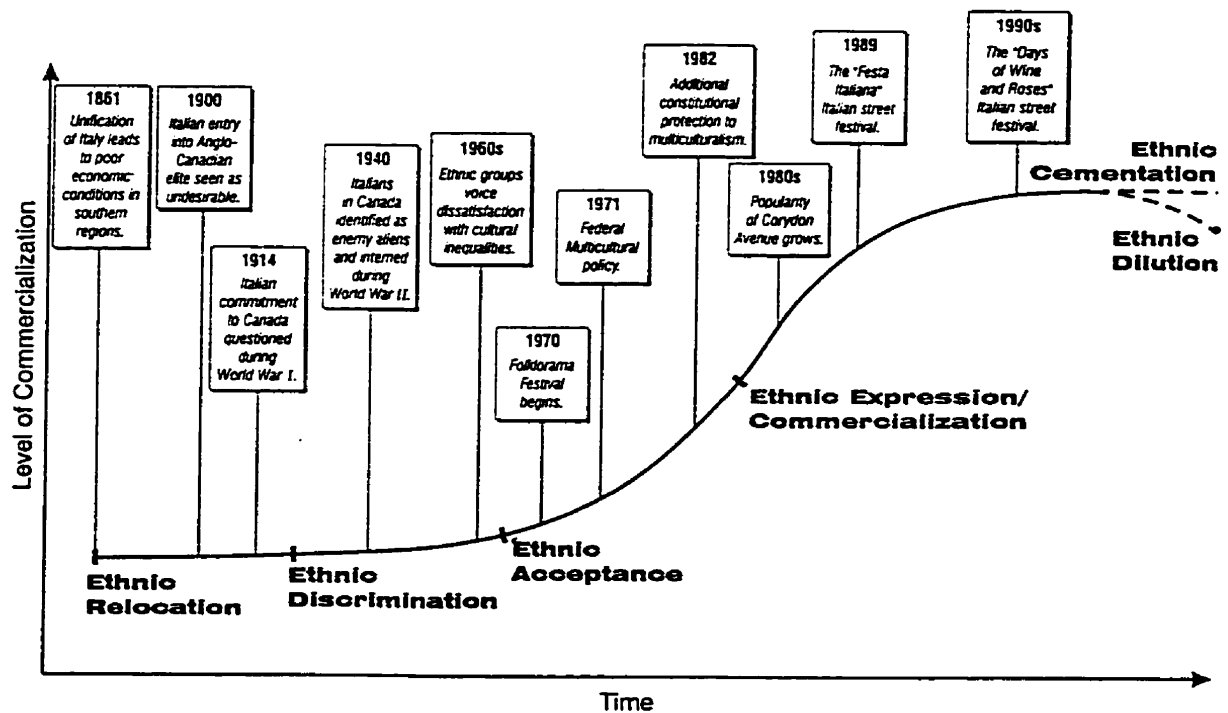


Figure 20. Application of a Hypothetical Model of Ethnic Commercialization to Winnipeg's Italian Community

homeland and jobs held in new settlement areas. Nevertheless, as these immigrant groups often aid the development of host societies, their entry and settlement is accepted, albeit reluctantly. In response to their exclusion from mainstream society, immigrants rely on family and friends from their homeland, settling adjacent to one another and providing mutual aid and a sense of security in a harsh social and economic environment. Ethnic districts form, act as receiving areas for future immigrants and help them adjust to new conditions. At this stage immigrants are often cut off from the social and economic benefits available to the community at large and often face restrictive government policies.

In the stage of **ethnic acceptance** the voices of immigrant groups wanting to preserve their unique identity in foreign societies become recognized by government bodies, generally at the federal and provincial levels. A growing recognition of the unique identities of these groups occurs throughout the host society.

The stage of **ethnic expression/commercialization** allows immigrant groups to display their ethnic traditions on an increasingly regular basis. Community members from several generations initiate the expression, promotion and commercialization of cultural identities through marketing goods and products associated with their group. This

commercialization is often reflected through original settlement areas becoming commercial ethnic districts where expressions of cultural distinctiveness become materialized through the landscape of host societies. The functions of original settlement areas also change as immigrants have now obtained an increasing amount of social, educational, occupational, economic and residential mobility.

Visitors to these newly commercialized ethnic areas travel to celebrate local cultural heritage, and are therefore engaging in "Authenticity Tourism". But since visitors to these districts mostly originate from the surrounding metropolitan area they are also involved in "Intra-urban Tourism." Thus, they may be described as Intra-urban Authenticity Tourists." More broadly, this description increasingly reflects the commodification of culture and the Little Italy as the industry through which a cultural experience is purchased.

The final stage of the model is the stage of **ethnic cementation or dilution**. For **ethnic cementation** to occur, the identity of an immigrant group must become permanently cemented in the landscape of the host society through cultural centres, educational institutions or museums celebrating their culture. **Dilution** may also occur as the diversity which a cultural group adds to a landscape is smothered with other

diversity, never again achieving the level of distinctiveness or recognition achieved in the stage of ethnic expression/commercialization. Varying degrees of cementation and dilution may also occur depending on the planning and arrangement of various ethnic expressions. Further, the shape of the curve may vary for different destinations and not all areas may experience the same stages as others.

7.3 Italian Expression/Commercialization in Winnipeg

As previously noted in Chapter Four, following the unification of Italy in 1861, economic conditions deteriorated in southern Italy motivating Italians to search for new lives and renewed economic activity outside of the country. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, North America was rapidly industrializing and there was a demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Jobs were available in the construction and maintenance of city roads, sewer systems and railroads. Between 1900 and 1914, there was a large influx of Italians into Winnipeg, the majority finding employment with the Grand Trunk Pacific railway in either Transcona or Fort Rouge, areas in the city which emerged as Italian settlement areas. This phase in Italian immigration to the city resembles the stage of **Ethnic Relocation**.

When the Italians entered Winnipeg there was a prevailing view that the Anglo-Protestant culture was superior to all

others and that the Catholic Italians were a less than adequate addition to Canadian society. The importance of cheap immigrant labor, however, was recognized as the Italians subsequently played a very important role in the development of Winnipeg early in the century. The Italians, largely unfamiliar with the English language, were unskilled, lacking specific skills and training. They faced discrimination and were cut off from the mainstream of society. Thus, the Italians had entered the stage of **ethnic discrimination** which persisted until after the Second World War (See Chapter 4).

The stage of **Ethnic Acceptance** was realized in the 1960s when public interest in the rights of minorities in Canada and throughout the western world grew continually. Many minority groups sought governmental intervention to help them preserve and enhance at least part of their ethnic heritage. The Canadian government launched programs favouring the retention of national cultures within the framework of multiculturalism. Generally, this coincided with a greater tolerance to, and heightened interest in, ethnic diversity by Canadian society at large.

In 1970, Folklorama, the most significant community festival in Winnipeg was initiated as Manitoba's centennial celebration as a province. This annual summer festival features numerous pavilions throughout the city, each of which

is associated with a specific ethnic group. The Italian community has two pavilions, one emphasizing Sicilian heritage and customs and the other highlighting Italian culture. The origins of Folklorama represent the early stages of the **ethnic expression/commercialization** stage. The real development of this stage and that which is most important to this thesis is represented by the development of Corydon Avenue. Different stages of Corydon Avenue's development within the **ethnic expression/commercialization** stage resemble various stages of both the Rostow and Butler models.

Until the early 1970s, any Italian businesses located on Corydon Avenue, within the midst of an Italian residential concentration in the Fort Rouge area, mostly served the surrounding Italian community and relied on patronage by Italians. An increasing number of other Italian businesses were gradually added to the area during that decade, a trend that continued through the 1980s. Few from outside the neighbourhood came to Corydon Avenue to shop as there were no specific attractions for outsiders. Therefore, the economic and social life of the permanent residents and merchants of Corydon Avenue was little affected by outside visitation. Visitors patronizing Italian shops on Corydon Avenue dealt directly with the merchants, thus levels of contact between Italian merchants and local residents was high. These

characteristics resemble the **exploration** stage of Butler's model or Rostow's **traditional society**.

During the late 1980s, Corydon Avenue entered a stage similar to Butler's **involvement** and Rostow's **pre-conditions for take-off**. In Corydon Avenue's case this phase was very short as it took place during the few years prior to 1990. Increased visitation from Winnipeg's other residential communities and surrounding municipalities to Corydon Avenue, especially during the summer months, coincided with what could be compared to Butler's **development** stage and Rostow's **take-off** stage.

Merchants, realizing that their target market would be people from Winnipeg's suburban and exurban residential communities, began labelling and marketing the Avenue as a Little Italy. Outdoor drinking and dining areas were established for visitors. Individually, merchants made improvements to their business facades to emphasize their Italian heritage and that of the district by exploiting Italian iconography. This dramatically changed the physical appearance of the area. The Corydon Avenue Business Improvement Zone played a very important role in the beautification of Corydon Avenue streetscape, emphasizing Italian and Mediterranean themes and European "ambiance".

The emerging image of Corydon Avenue as an authentic

ethnic enclave spawned an Italian street festival organized by the Sons of Italy Italian association during the late 1980s. Its objective was to promote Italian culture in the city and develop a Little Italy on Corydon Avenue. However, the reluctance of several merchants in the area to adhere to a community oriented approach, which took a long-term view of the festival and advocated the development and promotion of Corydon Avenue as a resource for the future, as opposed to a short-term profit-driven approach, led to the decline and eventual collapse of the festival. Unresolved differences between these merchants and the Sons of Italy Lodge led to the relocation of the festival under the name *Festa Italiana* to the Forks National Historic Site after two years. Whether these "out-of-sync" merchants were members of the Sons of Italy Lodge is unknown as are their regional affiliations, because the identities of these merchants remain unknown. In the majority of interviews conducted by the author, respondents were unwilling to discuss the problems associated with the festival or to single out problematic merchants.

Today, Corydon Avenue appears to lie in Butler's **consolidation** stage or Rostow's **Drive to Maturity**. The major part of Corydon Avenue's economy is tied to visitors from Winnipeg's residential communities and surrounding municipalities during the summer months as many Italians who

once lived in the area surrounding Little Italy have moved outwards to Winnipeg's suburbs. The number of visitors patronizing Corydon Avenue has remained constant for several years. Marketing and advertising of the district is still wide-reaching. This is made possible by Tourism Winnipeg, which markets the city and its attractions throughout North America.

There is some evidence that Corydon Avenue has stagnated, as peak numbers of visitors have been reached and visitation levels have flattened out. For example, although Corydon Avenue maintains a well established image, there is a heavy reliance on repeat visitation as the geographical market area is not being expanded as Winnipeg is a very slow-growth urban area. Efforts to increase the level of visitation on Corydon Avenue are reflected by the Corydon Avenue Business Improvement Zone scheduling local musical groups to play on the street over a series of weekends during the summer of 1998.

Indications that Corydon Avenue is in decline or **dilution** is also evident through the apparent increase in popularity of Corydon Avenue's biggest competitor: Osborne Village. Also, the shops located within Corydon Avenue's Little Italy, reflecting the eclectic Bohemian theme of Osborne Village which includes poetry, tea and literary shops, have remained

constant over the past two years. The increasing irrelevance of the term Little Italy is painfully becoming evident. Little Italy, it seems, is being smothered and engulfed by the expansion of Bohemian diversity from a nearby location.

There are also components of the **cementation** of Italian culture as a whole, not only Corydon Avenue in the cultural landscape of Winnipeg, as a new Italian cultural centre opened in 1998. Members of the Italian community and the community at large will come and share in the promotion of Italian culture and the advancement of the Italian-Canadian community of Manitoba through the centre's programs.

7.4 Discussion and Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to review models of development types and then propose a new model of the commercial development of a destination at the local scale based on the commodification of ethnicity. Winnipeg's Little Italy has been examined in terms of this model. Although the unique characteristics which have led to the development of a commercial Little Italy are clear and the benefits of Corydon Avenue to Italian residents, Italian businesses and consumers are recognized, action must be taken to preserve the commercial integrity of Italian culture in the city so Little Italy survives because, from a commercial standpoint, Little Italy is a popular attraction in the city which equals

financial success. From a community standpoint, people from around Winnipeg are given a greater variety of choice in their shopping behaviour and leisure activity.

The most significant problem hindering the survival of Little Italy in the city is the lack of a community approach within the Italian community towards the preservation, development and promotion of Italian culture on Corydon Avenue including the cementation of the Italian community on Corydon Avenue. Until these issues are addressed, the future of Little Italy is unclear but there is grave danger that its condition resembles Butler's decline stage and the dilution stage of the model proposed here.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined Winnipeg's Little Italy on Corydon Avenue. It has attempted to extend beyond a general description of the area by focusing on the street as a tourist product or destination which has moved through distinct stages analogous to that of a product's life cycle. In this chapter a summary of research findings is presented and their implications for further research on ethnic commercial shopping areas are addressed.

8.1 Summary of Research Findings

This thesis has relied heavily upon qualitative research methods to obtain data and was guided by the conceptual framework outlined by Murphy (1985). This allowed the author to provide a systematic description of Corydon Avenue. It has been argued that the creation of Corydon Avenue's commercial Little Italy has not been affected by present residential concentrations of Italians in Winnipeg although the heritage of the Italian community in the Fort Rouge area and the positive perception of this area are important.

Economic and spatial conditions in Winnipeg were favorable for the "take-off" of a Little Italy in Winnipeg in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This was made possible by a desire of Winnipeggers from residential communities and

surrounding municipalities to visit a nearby, cheap, safe and culturally authentic destination, patronizing shops and engulfing themselves in Italian culture. This desire has been encouraged by the development and reinforcement of the image of Little Italy as an authentic representation of Italy and Italian culture and lifestyle. Corydon Avenue street merchants have succeeded in both maintaining the historical identity of the Italians in Fort Rouge area by developing an Italian streetscape and creating a post-modern landscape in which Corydon Avenue incorporates some Italian, Mediterranean, European and Canadian themed components into its streetscape. Whether or not it has come to be the repository of an Italian iconography is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, the iconography of Italy has become part of the built environment of Winnipeg.

In the introduction to this study, some terms were proposed to guide the discussion of this thesis. Since visitors to Little Italy are traveling for recreational purposes in order to celebrate Italian culture and not requiring an overnight stop anywhere or staying for at least 24 hours, they are engaging in Intra-urban "Authenticity Tourism." These visitors are also "Intra-urban Authenticity Tourists" as Corydon Avenue has become a destination for local tourists from Winnipeg and the surrounding municipalities.

These Intra-urban authenticity tourists are engaged in the industry of culture. This industry does not involve manufacturing, wholesaling, or warehousing activities, but a cultural experience which can be genuine or at the very least, remarkably authentic. The purchase of an experience does not lead to the accumulation of possessions. The only apparent limit to our satisfaction lies in our imagination, and this has led to a seemingly unsatiable demand for culture. Culture on Corydon Avenue's Little Italy has become a commodity. It is purchased and consumed.

In order to understand how the popularity of a commercial ethnic shopping area can be maintained, its evolution must be first understood. A model of ethnic commercialization was presented in order to conceptualize the process behind this development. The model consists of five stages. The stage of **ethnic relocation** is characterized by the re-location of an ethnic group from its original homeland to new settlement areas. Upon entry into new societies, however, immigrant groups enter the stage of **ethnic discrimination** facing discrimination and a poor public image in the host country.

In the stage of **ethnic acceptance** a growing recognition of the unique identities of immigrant groups occurs throughout host societies. The stage of **ethnic expression/commercialization** allows immigrant groups to

display their unique traditions on an increasingly regular basis. The final stage of the model is the stage of **ethnic cementation or dilution** in which the identity of an immigrant group can become permanently cemented in the landscape or diluted within other diversity. According to this model the future of Little Italy is uncertain.

8.2 Implications for Future Research

The preceding findings suggest that the commercialization of Italian culture in Winnipeg, materialized through Little Italy, has been made possible by the acceptance of cultural diversity in Winnipeg. Understanding how the Italians, who entered North America facing poor economic and social prospects, could come to express themselves and be accepted as they have been is a daunting task. Further, it can be just as difficult to understand the different meanings that the modern day Little Italy has to different groups of people. Regardless, the increasing visibility of the Italian community in the cultural landscape warrants further analysis.

The formulation of a model of ethnic commercialization provides a vehicle for the examination of these districts in different contexts, attempting to account for the unique characteristics and scale of these areas. This model provides a good basis for planning these areas for the future, to preserve the integrity of these districts in Winnipeg and, for

that matter in other Canadian centers. This model provides an appropriate alternative to other models, most notably Butler's hypothetical evolution of a tourist area which is not relevant to the task at hand.

The proposed model is also applicable to the many other rural and urban-based ethnic communities which have seen a commercialization and commodification of their culture in Canadian society. This commodification reflects the nature of these ethnic shopping areas as a product, marketed and consumed like any other product incorporating a recognizable and attractive image to a market area. Similar expressions of ethnicity are also reflected in an increasing trend towards the establishment of cultural centers which imprint non-mainstream cultures on Winnipeg's cultural landscape.

For the Italian community in Winnipeg, ethnic expressions such as the development of Little Italy as a commercial area and a street festival named "Festa Italiana" emerged because there was a feeling that the preservation of Italian culture in Winnipeg was being diluted within a multi-cultural society. As a result, the streetscape of Winnipeg's Little Italy has become filled with Italian symbolism and imagery particularly seen in the facades of businesses, which, of course, is part of the area's appeal to the larger community.

The importance of these expressions of Italian culture

can best be understood by setting them in their historical context. This streetscape both reflects and artistically addresses issues of cultural identity and social position that have been faced by the Italian community in the city. "They are important symptoms and therefore indicators of problems which might not otherwise be recognized ...frequently it becomes the actual symbol of struggle" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, 12).

Several conditions may have accelerated the commodification and success of Italian culture on Corydon Avenue and in other Canadian centers. One of these reasons is best understood when one considers the Ukrainian community of Canada. When the Ukrainians entered Canada, they had left a multi-national state. Thus, they had no state to represent their ethnic intents or to act as a guardian to Ukrainian culture. They settled in Manitoba's rural areas with a great determination to establish a permanent settlement and make Canada their home. When the Italians entered Canadian urban centers, they arrived with the intent of making money and either returning to their homeland to improve the economic conditions of their families or paying for their families to join them in new settlement areas. An everlasting loyalty and responsibility by the Italians in Canada to stand by their Italian homeland versus Canada, their new home, acted on

several occasions as stumbling blocks for the acceptance and subsequent commodification of Italians culture.

Another factor which could have made the commodification of Italian culture much easier is the fragmented nature of Italian institutions developed by Italian community in Winnipeg. Italian immigrants have traditionally held very strong regional loyalties as opposed to a unified national identity. These regional identities competed with national loyalty and led to a lack of institutional hegemony, among its organizations and institutions aimed at immigrant adjustment. It would seem that if these associations were unified, open to all Italians, the advancement of the community could have occurred much more rapidly. It seems that a lack of a nationally focussed community approach among Italians from different regions hindered the commercialization and commodification of Italian culture in North America and in Winnipeg. This was well represented through the difficulties experienced by "*Festa Italiana*".

The social acceptance and economic survival of a commercial Little Italy in Winnipeg has been made possible by the size of the city. According to the 1996 census, Winnipeg accounted for 60 percent of Manitoba's population, or 667,209 people. Another 58,000 people, or five percent of Manitoba's population lives within a forty-five minute drive from

Winnipeg. This radial area includes Portage la Prairie, Steinbach, Carman, Beausejour, Selkirk, Stonewall, Morris and Ste. Anne (Statistics Canada 1997). Such a large population displays many different tastes, skills and needs and, in turn, supports a wide variety of choice in areas such as shopping, culture and entertainment. In contrast, towns and suburbs simply do not have the population numbers or diversity to support such variety (Jacobs 1961, 147).

In the context of Meinig's (1979) observations, the Little Italy of Winnipeg can be seen as a code. Its study may be undertaken as a deciphering of the meaning of the cultural and social significance of ordinary but diagnostic features (Meinig 1979, 6). Similarly, iconographic study, which seeks to discern meaning in landscapes by setting them in their historical context and analyzing the ideas embodied in their imagery, consciously seeks to conceptualize landscapes as texts representative of the culture as a whole in which they were produced (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988, 2). By analyzing the Italian community of Winnipeg, setting the community in its historical context, the meaning of Little Italy to the Italian community is evident. Further, Italian patterns of cultural expression in Winnipeg reflect that of larger Italian communities throughout North America. They are, therefore, not merely a local phenomenon, and thus study of them is possible

at several scales.

The views expressed in this disseretation are consistent with contemporary geographic approaches. These approaches have included the less tangible world of consciousness and experience, arguing that "it is through the medium of culture that people's raw experience is made sense of socially by being transformed into a world of significant symbols" (Jackson 1989, 48). This approach lies in contrast to that of Carl Sauer, who argued that explanation must be phrased in terms of the cultural level and not in terms of individuals because culture is viewed as an entity above man, not reducible to the actions of individuals (Duncan 1980, 181). However, by attributing causal power to culture, crucial issues regarding the origin, transmittal and differentiation within a population of various cultural characteristics, the emphasis of much contemporary social theory is obscured.

One potential research topic on the Italians and Corydon Avenue is the impact of the demographic transition of the Italian population in Winnipeg on Corydon Avenue. As the large numbers of Italians who entered Canada following World War II become part of the Canadian elderly population, the extent to which they will continue to play a role on Corydon Avenue, either as merchants or customers is uncertain. Further, as it becomes the responsibility of younger Italians to preserve and

promote Italian culture and, if they so desire, its commodification in the city, the degree to which they identify with their heritage or display a desire to identify with the culture of their parents will become a crucial issue. It would be illuminating if the model proposed in this thesis would be applied to, and tested against, other ethnic communities in other North American urban centers.

WORKS CITED

- Ad Hoc Committee of Council on Tourism. 1988. **Report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Council of Tourism**. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Ad Hoc Committee of Council on Tourism.
- Artibise, Alan F.J. 1972. "An Urban Environment: The Process of Growth in Winnipeg, 1874-1914." In **Historical Papers Presented at the Annual Meeting**, 109-134. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.
- Auerbach, Susan. 1991. The Brokering of Ethnic Folklore: Issues of Selection and Presentation at a Multicultural Festival." In **Creative Ethnicity: Symbols and Strategies of Contemporary Ethnic Life**, ed. Stephen Stern and John Allan Cicala, 223-238. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.
- Baxter, Mike J. and Gordon O. Ewing. 1986. "A Framework for the Exploratory Development of Spatial Interaction Models: A Recreation Travel Example." **Journal of Leisure Research** 18, no. 4: 320-336.
- Boissevain, Jeremy. 1970. **The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society**. Ottawa: Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (7).
- Braun, Bruce P. (1988). "Images of Winnipeg's North End." B. A. Honours diss., University of Winnipeg.
- Britton, S. and W. C. Clarke. 1987. **Ambiguous Alternative: Tourism in Small Developing Countries**. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- Burgess, Jacquelin. 1992. "The Art of Interviewing." In **The Student's Companion to Geography**, ed. Alisdair Rogers, Heather Viles and Andrew Goudie, 207-212. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford U.K and Cambridge U.S.A.
- Butler, R.W. 1980. "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources." **The Canadian Geographer** 24, no. 1: 5-12.
- Carbone, Stanislaw. 1992. **The Streets were not Paved with Gold: A Social History of Italians in Winnipeg**. Winnipeg: Manitoba Italian Heritage Committee.

- Carlyle, Isobel P. 1991. "Ethnicity and Social Areas within Winnipeg." In **A Social Geography of Canada**, ed. G.M. Robinson, 195-219. Dundurn Press: Toronto and Oxford.
- Carlyle, William J. 1974. "Growth, Ethnic Groups and Socio-economic Areas of Winnipeg." In **Winnipeg 1874-1974: Progress and Prospects**, ed. Tony J. Kuz, 27-41. Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce.
- Canadian Tourism Human Resource Council. 1995. **The Student's Travel Map: A Guide to Tourism Careers, Education and Training**. Ottawa: Canadian Tourism Human Resource Council.
- Cherem, Gabriel J. 1988. "Interpretation as the Vortex: Tourism Based on Heritage Experiences." In **Interpretation and Tourism, Ottawa/88: A National Conference on Heritage Interpretation**, 35-38. Ottawa: Interpretation Canada.
- Christaller, W. 1963. "Some Considerations of Tourism Location in Europe:: The peripheral regions - underdeveloped countries - recreation areas. In **Papers and Proceedings/...Annual Meeting of the Regional Science Association (12)**, 95-105. Cambridge, Mass.: The Regional Science Association.
- Clarke, W. A. V. 1982. "A Revealed Preference Analysis of Intraurban Migration Choices." In **Proximity and Preference**, ed. R. Golledge and J. Rayner, 144-168. Minneapolis Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cosentino, Agostino (Gus). 1986. "The Railroaders." In **Ricordi Amatese: Fratellanza Amatese - Winnipeg Aniversario - Anniversary 1946-1986**.
- Cosgrove, Dennis E. 1984. **Social Formation and Symbolic Landscapes**. Sydney: Croon Helm.
- Cosgrove, Dennis and Stephen Daniels. 1988. **The Iconography of Landscape**. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.
- Crompton, John L. 1979. "An Assessment of the Image of Mexico as a Vacation Destination and the Influence of Geographical Location upon that Image." **Journal of Travel Research** 17, no. 4: 18-23.
- Daly, Maurice T, Robert J. Stimson and Olivia Jenkins. 1996.

- "Tourism and Foreign Investment in Australia: Trends, Prospects and Policy Implications." **Australian Geographical Studies** 34, no. 2: 169-184.
- Department of Environmental Planning. 1988. **Information Winnipeg Quarterly Newsletter**. Winnipeg: Department of Environmental Planning.
- Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism. 1993. **Travel Manitoba Marketing Plan: 1993**. Winnipeg: Department of Industry, Trade and Tourism.
- Dilley, Robert S. 1986. "Tourist Brochures and Tourist Images." **The Canadian Geographer** 30, no. 1: 59-65.
- Douglas, Ngaire. 1997. "Applying the Life Cycle Model to Melanesia." **Annals of Tourism Research** 24, no. 1: 1-22.
- Downtown Winnipeg Business Improvement Zone. 1997. **Downtown Winnipeg Business Improvement Zone (BIZ): 1997 Annual Progress Report**. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Downtown Winnipeg Business Improvement Zone.
- Duncan, James S. 1980. "The Superorganic in American Cultural Geography." **Annals of the Association of American Geographers** 70, no. 2 (June): 181-198.
- Duncan, James S. and David Ley. 1993. **Place/Culture/Representation**. London: Routledge.
- Francis, Douglas R., Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith. 1992. **Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation**. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada.
- Fromson, Ronald David. 1965. "Acculturation and Assimilation: A Geographical Analysis of Residential Segregation of Selected Ethnic Groups: Metropolitan Winnipeg 1951-1961." M.A. diss., University of Manitoba.
- Gale, Donald T. 1972. "The Impact of Canadian Italians on Retail functions and Facades in Vancouver, 1921-1961." In **Peoples of the Living Land: Geography of Cultural Diversity in British Columbia**, ed. Julian V. Minghi, 107-124. Vancouver: Tantalus Research.
- Getz, Donald. 1986. "Models in Tourism Planning: Towards Integration of Theory and Practice." **Tourism Management**

- Golledge, Reginald. 1997. "Image and Stereotypes and Tourist Destination Choice." In **The Battle of the Tourist: Papers**, (Eindhoven: European Institute of Retailing and Services Studies (EIRASS), 1997 (Papers presented at the International Conference "The Battle for the Tourist", organized by EIRASS Eindhoven University of Technology, Eindhoven, Netherlands June 8-10, 1997.
- Gutkin, Harry. 1987. **Worst of Times, Best of Times: Growing up in the North End**. Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.
- Harney, Robert F. 1978. "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourning Institutions." **Urban History Review** 7: 8-37.
- . 1979. "Montreal's King of Italian Labour: A Case Study of Padronism." **Labour/Le Travail** 4, no. 4: 57-84.
- . 1981. "Toronto's Little Italy, 1885-1945." In **Little Italies in North America**, ed. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, 41-62. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- . 1983. "The Italian Community of Toronto." In **Two Nations Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada**, ed. Jean Leonard Elliot, 342-362. Scarborough Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada.
- Haywood, Michael K. 1986. "Can the Tourist-Area Life Cycle be made Operational." **Tourism Management** 7, no. 3: 154-167.
- Heath, Ernie and Geoffrey Wall. 1992. **Marketing Tourism Destinations**. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. 1983. **The Invention of Tradition**. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hovinen, Gary R. 1982. "Visitor Cycles: Outlook for Tourism in Lancaster County." **Annals of Tourism Research** 9, no. 4: 565-583.
- Hunt, John D. 1975. "Image as a Factor in Tourism Development." **Journal of Travel Research** 13: 1-7.
- Ioannides, Dimitri. 1992. "Tourism Development Agents: The Cypriot Resort Cycle." **Annals of Tourism Research** 19, no.

3: 711-731.

- Iorizzo, Luciano. 1981. "The Italians of Oswego." In **Little Italies in North America**, ed. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, 165-182. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Jackson, Peter. 1989. **Maps of Meaning**. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Jacobs, Jane. 1961. **The Death and Life of Great American Cities**. New York: Vintage Books.
- Johnston, R.J. 1983. **Philosophy and Human Geography - An Introduction to Contemporary Approaches**. London: Edward Arnold.
- Juliani, Richard N. 1981. "The Italian Community of Philadelphia." In **Little Italies in North America**, ed. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, 85-104. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Keller, Peter C. 1987. "Stages of Peripheral Tourism Development - Canada's Northwest Territories." **Tourism Management** 8, no. 1: 20-32.
- Kotler, Philip. 1984. "Dream Vacations': The Booming Market for Designed Experiences." **The Futurist** 18, no. 5: 7-13.
- Lehr, John C. 1975. "The Rural Settlement Behaviour of Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada, 1891-1914." In **Western Canadian Research in Geography Lethbridge Papers, British Columbia Western Geographical Series 21**, ed. B. Barr, 51-66. Vancouver: Tantalus Research, .
- Lopreato, Joseph. 1970. **Italian Americans**. New York: Random House.
- Loschiavo, Sam. 1986. "A Profile of the Amatese in Winnipeg Past, Present, and Future." In **Ricordi Amatese: Fratellanza Amatese - Winnipeg Aniversario - Anniversary 1946-1986**.
- Li, Peter S. 1988. **The Chinese in Canada**. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Li, Peter S. and B. Singh Bolaria. 1983. **Racial Minorities in Multi cultural Canada**. Toronto: Garamond Press.

- Liu, Juanita C., Pauline J. Sheldon and Turgut Var. 1987. "Resident Perception of the Environmental Impacts of Tourism." **Annals of Tourism Research** 14, no. 1: 17-37.
- Lundgren, J. O. 1983. "Developed Patterns and Lessons in the Montreal Laurentians." In **Tourism in Canada: Selected Issues and Options, Western Geographical Series (21)**, ed. Peter E. Murphy, 95-126. Victoria B.C.: University of Victoria.
- Lynch, Kevin. 1960. **Image of the City**. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.
- MacCannell, Dean. 1973. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." **American Journal of Sociology** 79, no. 4: 589-603.
- Macdonald, John S. and Leatrice D. Macdonald. 1964. "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation, and Social Networks." **Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly** 42: 82-97.
- Mathieson, Alister and Geoffrey Wall. 1982. **Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts**. New York: Longman.
- Matwijiw, Peter. 1979. "Ethnicity and Urban Residence: Winnipeg, 1941-71." **The Canadian Geographer** 23, no. 1: 45-61.
- Meinig, D.W. 1979. **The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays**. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mercer, David. 1971. "The Role of Perception in the Recreational Experience." **Journal of Leisure Research** 3: 261-276.
- Mill, Robert Christie and Alastair M. Morrison. 1985. **The Tourism System: An Introductory Text**. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Mitchell, Don. 1993. "Public Housing in Single-Industry Towns: Changing Landscapes of Paternalism." In **Place/Culture/Representation**, ed. James S. Duncan and David Ley, 110-127. London: Routledge.
- Mitchell, Lisle S. 1979. "The Geography of Tourism: An Introduction." **Annals of Tourism Research** 6, no. 3 (July/September): 235-244.

- Mitchell, Lisle S. and Peter E. Murphy. 1991. "Geography and Tourism." **Annals of Tourism Research** 18, no. 1: 57-70.
- Mormino, Guy. 1981. "The Hill Upon the City: The Evolution of an Italian-American Community in St. Louis, 1882- 1950." In **Little Italies in North America**, ed. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, 141-164. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Multiculturalism--Being Canadian.** 1987. Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, Multiculturalism.
- Murphy, Peter E. 1985. **Tourism: A Community Approach.** New York: Methuen.
- Murphy, Peter E. and Lorne Rosenblood. 1974. "Tourism: An Exercise in Spatial Search." **Canadian Geographer** 18, no. 3: 201-210.
- Nuryanti, Wiendu. 1996. "Heritage and Postmodern Tourism." **Annals of Tourism Research** 23, no. 2: 249-260.
- Ogilvy, James. 1986. "Experience Industry." **American Demographics** 8, no.12: 26-29.
- Parkin, Frank. 1979. **Marxism and Class Theory: A Bourgeois Critique.** New York: Columbia University Press.
- Paskievich, John. 1978. **A Place Not Our Own.** Winnipeg: Queenston House Publishing Co.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. 1980. **Qualitative Evaluation Methods.** Beverley Hills, California: Sage Publications.
- Pearce, Douglas G. 1978. "Form and Function in French Resorts." **Annals of Tourism Research** 5, no. 1 (January/March): 142-156.
- . 1979. "Towards a Geography of Tourism." **Annals of Tourism Research** (3): 245-272.
- . 1987. **Tourism Today: A Geographical Analysis.** New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- . 1989. **Tourist Development.** New York: Longman.
- Pizzo, Anthony P. 1981. "The Italian Heritage in Tampa." In

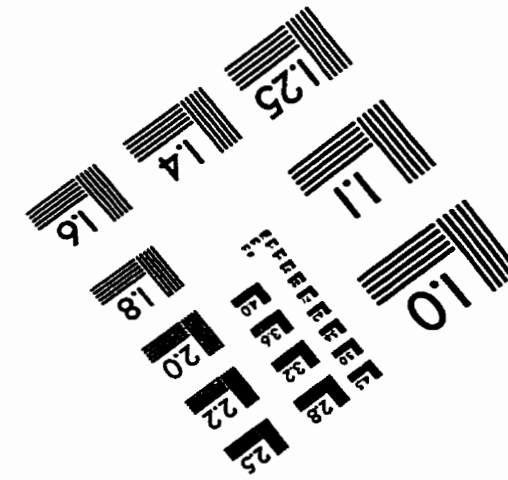
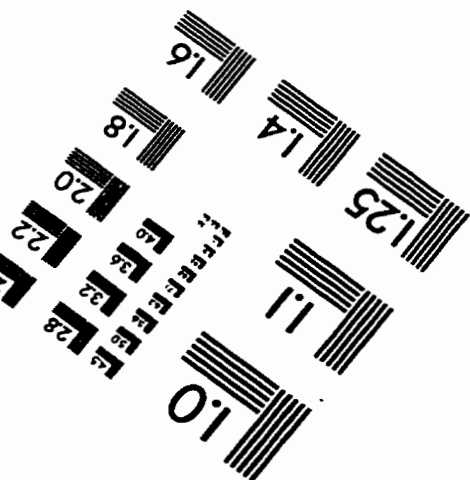
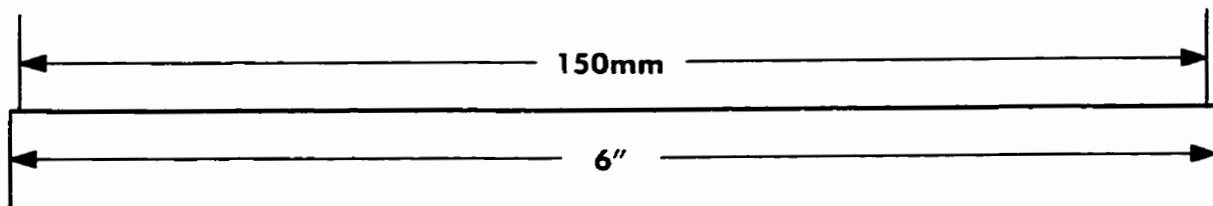
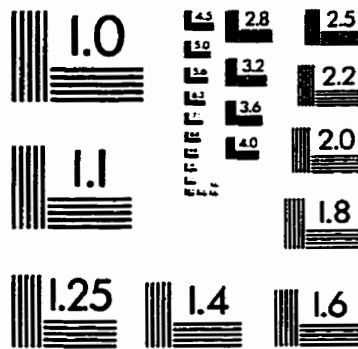
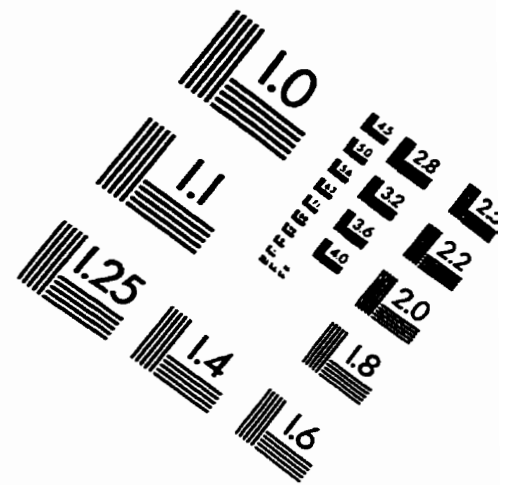
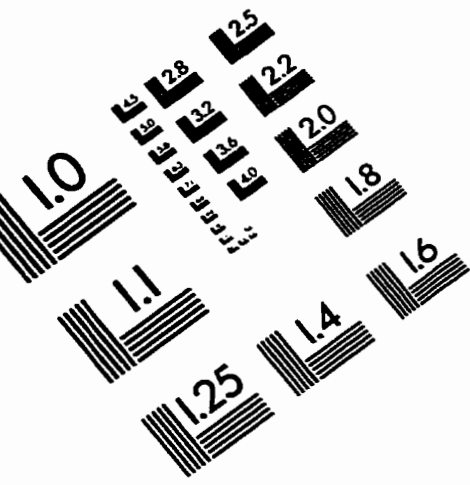
- Little Italies in North America**, ed. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, 123-140. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Pozzetta, George E. 1981. "The Mulberry District of New York City: The Years before World War One." In **Little Italies in North America**, ed. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, 7-40. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Pucci, Antonio. 1988. "Thunder Bay's Italian Community 1880's-1940's." In **The Italian Immigrant Experience**, ed. John Potestio and Antonio Pucci, 79-102. Thunder Bay Ontario: Canadian Italian Historical Association.
- Ramcharan, Subhas. 1982. **Racism: Non-Whites in Canada**. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Ramirez, Bruno and Michele Delbalzo. 1981. "The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourning to Settlement, 1900-1921." In **Little Italies in North America**, ed. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, 63-84. Toronto: The Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario.
- Ramirez, Bruno. 1981. "Montreal's Italians and the Socio-economy of Settlement, 1900-1930: Some Historical Hypothesis." **Urban History Review** 10, no. 1: 39-48.
- . 1989. **The Italians in Canada**. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.
- Reaves, C. 1992. **Quantitative Research for the Behavioural Sciences**. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Relph, Edward. 1996. "Sense of Place." In **Ten Geographic Ideas that Changed the World**, ed. Susan E. Hanson, 205-226. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Richardson, Sarah L. and John L. Crompton. 1988. "Cultural Variations in Perceptions of Vacation Attributes." **Tourism Management** 9, no. 1 (March): 128-136.
- Richtik, James M. 1978. "Icelandic Settlement on Lake Winnipeg." **Newsletter of the Prairie Division of the Canadian Association of Geographers** 2, no. 1 (December): 23-27.

- Rogers, Alisdair, Heather Viles and Andrew Goudie. 1992. **A Student's Companion to Geography**. Cambridge Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Rostow, Walter W. 1960. **The Stages of Economic Growth**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rubenstein, James M. 1989. **The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography**. Oxford, Ohio: Miami University.
- Ryan, John. 1984. "Hutterite Settlements in Rural Manitoba". In **The Pressures of Change in Rural Canada, Geographical Monographs, no. 14**, ed. M.F. Bunce and M.J. Troughton, 92-111. Toronto: Geography Department, York University.
- Scardellato, Gabriele P. 1985. "Italian Immigrant Workers in Powell River British Columbia: A Case Study of Settlement before World War Two." **Labour Le/Travail** 16 (fall): 145-163.
- . 1989. "Beyond the Frozen Wastes: Italian Sojourners and Settlers in British Columbia." In **Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigrant Experience in Canada**, ed. Roberto Perin and Franc Sturino, 135-162. Montreal: Guernica.
- Scarpaci, J. Vincenza. 1981. "Observations on a Ethnic Community: Baltimore's Little Italy." In **Little Italies in North America**, ed. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, 105-122. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Schlichtmann, Hansgeorg. 1977. "Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research in Western Canada." **Canadian Ethnic Studies** 11: 9-41.
- Shurmer-Smith, Pamela and Kevin Hannan. 1994. **Worlds of Desire, Realms of Power: A Cultural Geography**. New York: Edward Arnold.
- Simone, Nick. 1981. "Italian Immigrants in Toronto." B. A. Honours diss., York University.
- Smith, Stephen L. J. 1989. **Tourism Analysis**. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

- Sommerville, S.J. 1944-1945. "Early Icelandic Settlement in Canada". In **Papers Read Before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba** 3, no. 1: 25-35.
- Spina, John. 1996. "**Italians in Winnipeg: A Geographical Perspective.**" B.A. Honours diss., University of Winnipeg.
- Spina, John and John C. Lehr. 1997. "Padroni and Chain Migration: The Geography of Italians in Winnipeg." In: **The Yorkton Papers: Research by Prairie Geographers**, Brandon Geographical Studies, no. 2, ed. John Welsted and John Everitt, 157-168. Brandon: Department of Geography.
- Statistics Canada. 1997. **A National Overview**. Ottawa: Industry Canada.
- Stern, Stephen and John Allan Cicala. 1991. **Creative Ethnicity: Symbols and Strategies of Contemporary Ethnic Life**. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.
- Sturino, Franc. 1978. "A Case Study of a South Italian Family in Toronto, 1935-1960." **Urban History Review** 7: 36-57.
- . 1990. **Forging the Chain: A Case Study of Italian Migration to North America, 1880-1930**. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Thraves, Bernard D. 1986. "**An Analysis of Ethnic Intra-Urban Migration: The Case of Winnipeg.**" Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba.
- Tooman, Alex L. 1997. Applications of the Life-Cycle Model in Tourism." **Annals of Tourism Research** 24, no. 1: 214-234.
- Tourism Winnipeg. 1998. **1998 Marketing and Business Plan**. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Tourism Winnipeg.
- Transcona 1912 Assessment Rolls, City of Winnipeg Archives
- Transcona 1916 Assessment Rolls, City of Winnipeg Archives
- Ullman, E. L. 1956. "The Role of Transportation and the Bases for Interaction." In **Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth**, ed. W. L. Thoman, 862-880. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Van den Berge, Pierre L. 1995. "Marketing Mayas: Ethnic Tourism Promotion in Mexico." **Annals of Tourism Research** 22, no. 3: 568-588.
- Von Stackelberg, Peter. Owner of von Stackelberg Insurance Agency and Financial Services Ltd. and President of the Corydon Avenue Business Improvement Zone. Interview by author, 1998, Winnipeg.
- Wardrop, W. L. and Associates, Marshall Macklin. **Tourism Development Strategy for Manitoba, Volume 3**. Winnipeg: Department of Economic Development and Tourism.
- Warkentin, John. 1959. "Mennonite Agricultural Settlements of Southern Manitoba." **The Geographical Review** 49, no. 5: 342-368.
- Webster's Illustrated Encyclopedic Dictionary**. 1990. Montreal: Tormont Publications.
- Welsted, John, John Everitt and Christoph Stadel. 1996. **The Geography of Manitoba: Its Land and People**. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Wilkins, Charles. 1991. "Little Italy on Lake Superior: Half the Population of Schreiber Ontario has Roots in the Hills of Calabria." **Canadian Geographic** 111, no. 3 (June/July): 32-40..
- Woodsworth, J.S. 1909. **Strangers Within Our Gates**. Toronto: Stephenson.
- Zucchi, John E. 1988. **Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935**. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc.
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved