AUTHOR ...ROSS, Brian Douglas...

TITLE ....IN THE COMPANY OF OTHER ITALIANS: VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN .....

...WINNIPEG'S ITALIAN COMMUNITY ....

....

THESIS ...M.A., 1983...

IN THE COMPANY OF OTHER ITALIANS:

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN WINNIPEG'S

ITALIAN COMMUNITY

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
Department of Anthropology

by
Brian D. Ross
August 1983

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled

.IN THE COMPANY OF OTHER ITALIANS: VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN .....

.WINNIPEG'S ITALIAN COMMUNITY.....................................

....

submitted by ..BRIAN DOUGLAS ROSS...............................

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts.

....
Supervisor

....

....

External Examiner

Date .July 19, 1983......   ....

Oral Examination Requirement is:

Satisfactory /✓/   Not Required /_/

IN THE COMPANY OF OTHER ITALIANS:

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN WINNIPEG'S

ITALIAN COMMUNITY

by

Brian D. Ross

A thesis 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.

© 1983

This thesis is dedicated to my father and mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IN THE COMPANY OF OTHER ITALIANS: VOLUNTARY
ASSOCIATIONS IN WINNIPEG'S ITALIAN COMMUNITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

IN THE COMPANY OF OTHER ITALIANS:
VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN WINNIPEG'S
ITALIAN COMMUNITY

This work discusses the concepts of group identification
and interaction especially as they are generated and maintained
through the creation of formal common interest/voluntary
associations. In this regard, the Italian community of Winnipeg
presents an interesting study group in that it has developed
through two distinct temporal manifestations -- a pre-World
War II community and a post-War community. Each manifestation
has created different types of voluntary associations to address
concerns for ethnic identification and social interaction.

By making a few contacts within the Italian community, ·
it was possible to make short incursions along the more extended
social networks which link these people to others within their
personal arenas of interaction and, ultimately, identification.
This approach provided access to both sexes and a wide range of
age grades in the community as well as insights into the history,
customs, attitudes, behavior and informal associations which
structure daily life within the group. It also revealed
networks along more formal lines of shared membership within
various clubs and organizations.

The voluntary associations in each era have been described
and then discussed in terms of representing either expressive
ethnic institutions or instrumental adaptive mechanisms. Social

network theory is used to illustrate the patterns of interaction throughout the history of the Italian community. It is argued that the creation of formal voluntary associations plays a significant role in the retention of ethnic identity by promoting institutional completeness and ethnic boundary maintenance.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This research into the voluntary associations of the
Italian community in Winnipeg has two objectives. First, the
study attempts to document the various voluntary associations
that have existed, both historically and contemporarily, in this
ethnic community. As much as possible such documentation has
included descriptions of the organization of the respective
associations as well as their goals and objectives. To provide a
meaningful context for this documentation and for the understanding
of the attraction, operation and effect of these associations,
more general socio-cultural information has also been included.
Such information includes references to the history and customs of
the Italian community as well as comparative examples from Italy,
from other Italian communities and from other ethnic communities.
Second, this study attempts to ascertain the role played by these
formal voluntary associations in the retention of ethnic identity
especially through the promotion of in-group social interaction.
This objective has entailed the review of the literature concerning
such concepts as voluntary associations, social networks, and
ethnic boundaries. These concepts are illustrated with examples
from the Italian community and then collated into a meaningful
explanation of how and why social interaction through formal
voluntary associations can affect ethnic identification.

A. Historical Background

The following historical information is a synopsis
compiled from a number of sources. Much of it comes directly from
the recollections and family histories of my informants, specifically
those that have been repeatedly substantiated in the literature
dealing with the history of Italians in Canada. Other components
of this historical sketch have been gleaned and extrapolated from
these corroborative histories. In the interests of continuity
and conciseness these histories will be acknowledged at the
outset; they are to be found in Boissevain (1970: 1-8),
Harney (1979), Pucci (1979) and Spada (1969).

The first Italian immigrants came to Manitoba just before
the turn of the century. However, the major influx of Italians
during this era came just after 1900 when the national railways
began large-scale expansions of their existing routes. Italy,
especially the regions of Chiasso, Friuli, Calabria and Sicily,
came to be exploited as a reservoir of unskilled and inexperienced
labourers.

The earliest immigrants to Winnipeg settled in distinct
areas of the city. The city core was attractive because of its
proximity to a number of goods and services: the employment
opportunities as they existed in the garment industry's sweat
shops, the fresh produce of the farmers' markets, and the
familiarity of St. Mary's Catholic church -- the "immigrants'

church". In a short time, the Italian community began to expand into the neighbourhoods of Transcona, Crescentwood and Osborne South so as to be near the railway maintenance shops. Community decentralization continued into neighbourhoods near the two most important centres of the Catholic faith -- the St. Boniface Basilica and the ethnic parish in the West End.

For later immigrants, the manifest importance of employment and spiritual opportunities in deciding residence was replaced by the presence of family and old friends and neighbors in the new neighbourhoods. During this time period, immediate and adequate aid to the new immigrants in providing homes, jobs and other social services came from those Italians who had arrived and settled earlier. This situation soon saw the creation of a mutual aid society and a number of religious organizations also interested in charitable and recreational, as well as spiritual, pursuits. Together these associations offered accommodation assistance and job referral services, unemployment, sick and burial allowances, and informal arenas to meet, gossip and socialize.

The Italian community was never truly isolated from other ethnic groups. Contacts beyond the Italian community were made in the work place and in their places of worship (i.e., before the establishment of their own ethnic parish). Contacts were similarily made in the ethnically mixed schools, hospitals, stores and courts. Yet despite these inter-ethnic contacts, the Italian community was essentially left to itself, likely as a

result of the persistent language barrier, cultural differences, and the pervasive attraction to and importance of the family and the peer group.

This was all to change in the years immediately preceding and during the Second World War. Immigration, other than specific refugee cases, came to a standstill. Anti-Fascist sentiments caused many Italians to repress their ethnicity; some going so far as to change their names or falsify identification papers. Then, as war erupted, virtually all Italian associations and assemblies were outlawed as fronts for Fascist sympathy and subversion. As enemy aliens, the Italians were required to register themselves with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and to report their activities monthly. Many were removed from their homes and transported to detention camps. The ethnic enclave was in a process of disruption.

When emigration from Italy resumed after the war, the situation in Winnipeg was considerably different than that of the pre-war era. For one thing, government programmes of social security, including welfare, manpower placement, and unemployment insurance, were well established. The overt need for a mutual aid society had been replaced. Even the church was to close its doors to the familiar but perceived-as-secular ethnic organizations of the Italian community which had earlier operated from its premises. Yet the situation had changed in other ways too. There were now more Italians in Winnipeg than there had ever been before. This new generation of immigrants had brought with them the

skills, knowledge, tastes and demands to successfully transplant many more previously untenable lifestyles into the Italian community. Two of the most important aspects to this new lifestyle were the establishment of the neighbourhood specialty grocery stores and the espresso coffee shops. These establishments became important loci for community interaction and identification.

Another new aspect of the post-war community consisted of the proliferation of formal voluntary associations. These associations included soccer and sports clubs, educational and cultural clubs, and youth and social clubs. Besides offering opportunities to interact and reminisce at socials, many clubs were dogmatically intent upon preserving Italian arts and traditions. Many interests were conceived as being best served through the creation of parochial organizations that represented distinct regions of immigrant origination. However, these regional clubs often came to promote considerable intra-community rivalry between sub-groups, exacerbated by other community divisions based on religious faith, age grades and socio-economic success.

In an attempt to counteract the conflict of interests, the duplication of efforts and the general factionalism which has occured within the post-war community, the Italian League of Manitoba was formed. The League's main purpose is to co-ordinate the various community events thus promoting widespread community involvement and fostering ethnic identification. This concern has far reaching significance for a community in which

inter-ethnic contacts have been increasing.

Many of the post-war Italian immigrants continued to locate themselves in the well-established Italian neighbourhoods of Transcona, Osborne South, Crescentwood and the West End. However, as the community in general has begun to prosper both economically and socially, many Italians are beginning to abandon the old neighbourhoods. They are attracted to the more prestigious suburbs and new housing developments in St. James-Assiniboia, the Maples of West Kildonan, Waverly Heights in Fort Garry, and Fort Richmond.

While the attraction of the old residential neighbourhoods appears to be waning, many of these neighbourhoods continue to thrive institutionally. Fort Rouge-Crescentwood is an excellent example. The Italian parish of the Holy Rosary Catholic Church is centered in this neighbourhood, as is the Italian Credit Union. One of the few public schools offering evening courses in the Italian language is located there. The vice-consul, until recently, had his office there as well. The Italian League of Manitoba has been planning to build a large community centre in Crescentwood. This centre would house an Italian library, community information services, recreational/social facilities and offices for itself and other Italian associations. Informally, many Italians who have moved out of the old neighbourhoods still return to patronize and to fraternize at the old neighbourhood grocery stores, coffee shops, restaurants and other businesses.

At a time when the old neighborhoods appear to be breaking

up, membership in Italian organizations appears to be increasing

and new associations are being formed. Many of these

associations are working towards breaking down the old factions

and to counteract the gradual loss of Italian heritage and

identity. The Italian community's status in Canadian society

also seems to be advancing as more and more members begin to

effectively participate economically and politically in the

Canadian mainstream. Through the institutional completeness of

Italian formal and informal associations and their contributions

to the interactions within and identification to the ethnic

enclave, it appears that the Italian ethnic boundary in Winnipeg

will continue to be maintained.

B. The Case Study: Tracing Social Networks

This research among the Italians of Winnipeg stems from

an initial interest in the controversy over the Canadian

government's "Green Paper on Immigration and Population" during

1973 and 1974. The implications of the Green Paper on those

immigrant groups who relied upon such programs and policies as

sponsorship, quotas, selection criteria and visas

suggested an intriguing and socially relevant anthropological

study. The impact of these programs and policies upon such things

as the immigrant's perception of citizenship, ethno-national

labels and geographically extended familial relationships were

considered in terms of the mechanisms of social organization within

different components of the immigrant group (e.g., family groups, peer groups and ethnic communities).

Research into the literature on groups in general and ethnic groups in particular began to suggest a correlation between the forms of interaction within the group and the intensity of identification to the group (e.g. Driedger 1976, Gans 1962, Homans 1950, Houser 1976, Lieberman and Borman 1976, Little 1970, Mayer 1966, Patterson 1977, and Wolf 1966). Indeed, it seems that significant forms of interaction generate more intensive identification between the participants. As strong kinship groups tend to foster close personal ties, so extra-familial groups sharing mutually important experiences, activities and interests tend to perpetuate more persistent and overt expressions of peer group or even community fellowship. This fellowship in turn appears to insure the retention of the group's ethno-cultural heritage and identity.

This research encompasses three years of intermittent field observations and interviews conducted from 1977 to 1979. Interviews were usually conducted in two or more sessions. The first session was brief and followed a structured set of questions designed as an introductory tool to relax the informants and yet allow them to speak candidly about their immigration, work and family histories. This interview generally led to other more informal and expansive interviews which tended to provide the greatest amount of information. In these interviews, informants were encouraged to elaborate upon their conceptions, impressions

and experiences regarding the family, friendships, their

neighborhoods, the community and the various community organizations.

It was after this point that introductions to an informant's

friends or acquaintances would be made and the process would

be repeated for each new informant.

By initially making contact with two people from the

Italian community of Winnipeg, it was possible to make short

incursions along the more extended social networks which link

these people to others within their personal arenas of interaction

and, ultimately, identification. Paraphrasing Barnes' work on

social networks (1968) and Mayer's work on quasi-groups (1966),

these links can be subdivided into at least two basic types:

primary linkages and secondary linkages. In this regard,

primary linkages between people intail shared membership

within various sub-groups including clubs and organizations.

Secondary linkages are those which provide contacts between

these sub-groups. These contacts can be described as the "friends

of friends". By following or tracing these linkages, it was

possible to expand the original sample of informants to include

a total of twelve individuals.

This approach provided access to both sexes and a broad

range of age grades within the community. It also made it

possible to observe, meet and interview people in a wide variety

of voluntary associations throughout the Italian community.

Interviews were also supplemented by extended sojourns into the

community itself. By attending Sunday Mass and by frequenting

the neighborhood coffee shops, restaurants and grocery stores

many other valuable conversations and observations ensued. Over

the course of this field work insights were gained into the

attitudes, values and behaviour that structure daily life within

the community.

The intent of this research is to document at least a

segment of ethnic group interaction and its effects upon ethnic

group identity. By studying the primary linkages between

individuals and the secondary linkages between sub-groups it has

been possible to make inferences concerning the interrelationships

or allegiances which bring people together to form peer groups,

clubs, neighborhoods and communities. This study investigates the

various forms of voluntary associations (both informal and

formal) among Winnipeg's Italians and how these associations

have influenced the retention of their ethno-cultural traits

and the perpetuation of a distinct ethnic community.

C. Interaction and Identification: From Groups to Communities

This study is basically concerned with the interplay

between two facets of social organization - interaction and

identification.

> When we refer to the fact that some unit of
> activity of one man follows, or ... is
> stimulated by some unit of activity of another,
> aside from any question of what these units may
> be, then we are referring to interaction
> (Homans, 1950:36)

Interaction is seen as an element of social behaviour within

social organizations because it is the process whereby

individuals can act and react together.

The types of relationships available within any given

social context determines how one acts or reacts and with

whom.

> Every individual in society is seen as linked
> to several others by social bonds that partly
> reinforce and partly conflict with one another;
> the orderliness, or disorderliness, of social
> life results from the constraints these bonds
> impose on the actions of individuals.
> (Barnes, 1972:1-2)

These conceptualized links or bonds can be seen as the relationships

that bring any one individual into confrontation with any other

individual and that elicit the appropriate interaction.

Individuals are not only linked to one another in terms

of physical activity and behaviour; they are also bound by

sentiment and social attitudes. Shared drives, emotions,

feelings and concerns, as well as customs and interests, are

essential to the identification of one individual with another

and affect the interaction between them. How long one acts

or reacts and how often one acts or reacts to another is therefore

affected by the significance of the relationship, as identified

by the participants. As Driedger points out, identification with

others implies a commitment to those people which, in turn,

implies a willingness to enter into intimate interaction with

them (Driedger, 1982:215; and 1977a:160).

In this respect, interaction and identification are elements
of a social network in which they interrelate in varying degrees,
promoting a wide variety of social relations. It is through
the process of interaction and identification that

> a network of social relations transforms an
> aggregate of individuals into a group (or an
> aggregate of groups into a larger social structure).
> (Blau and Scott, 1962:3).

Groups, then, also become an important consideration of
this study. There is a multitude of groups in any given
society ranging from simple pair bondings to the complex social
entirety (e.g. neighborhoods, cities, regions, or even nations).
One definition of the term "group" is

> a number of persons who communicate with one
> another often over a span of time, and who are
> few enough so that each person is able to
> communicate with all the others, not at second-hand,
> through other people, but face-to-face.
> (Homans, 1950:1)

This definition describes the smallest social units of
interaction and identification. These units of social
relations are referred to as primary groups and include one's
family and peers.

Association with a primary group may be either voluntarily
or involuntarily established. For example, an individual may
not be able to choose his family, but he may have some say in
the friends he keeps. Very often the means by which such groups
are formed is highly structured by socially accepted norms, values,
attitudes and behaviour. Courting, marriage and mating customs

determine the formation of family groups. Age and sex restrictions and ritual forms of social reciprocity can also structure peer group formations. However, the end product, the groups themselves, can be quite flexible and informal in their day-to-day operation.

While the informal association that occurs between kinfolk, friends and acquaintances is important in its own right, these social relations generally constitute only a part of the larger society. Societies are also often composed of larger aggregates of individuals who do not have face-to-face access to all other participants. Some of these aggregates can be involuntarily determined, such as class, castes, religious groups and even trade and professional unions. Others such as factions, lodges and clubs can indeed be voluntary associations. Nevertheless these larger groupings are generally formal in nature both in terms of acquiring members and in operation through adherence to doctrines, bylaws, constitutions or some other sets of rules.

The existence of such formal, yet voluntary, associations plays a significant role in the larger network of social relations. Not only are these associations overtly structured in their organization, they are also relatively permanent social features. More important, though, they are secondary groups which provide forums of interaction and identification which supplement the primary groups.

These associations have been described as:

> "organizations that people belong to part time
> without pay ..." (Berelson and Steiner, 1964:364)
> and as "spare-time participatory associations"
> (Sills, 1968:363). D. Smith (1966:483) defines
> "formal voluntary associations" as "formal
> organizations the majority of whose members
> are neither paid for participation in the
> organization nor physically coerced into such
> participation". C. Smith and Freedman (1972:viii)
> would limit the concept to "a nonprofit,
> nongovernment, private group that an individual
> joins by choice". Stinchcombe (1973:53) emphasizes
> the voluntarism of the activities of the members
> rather than the process of becoming a member ...
> (Amis and Stern, 1974:9)

The notion of voluntarism that underscores these descriptions

is highly significant to the process of interaction which

occurs in these associations. People join these organizations,

participate in their activities and interact with their members

because they want to.

Identification, again, is also important to the

operation and existence of any formal voluntary association in

that they are "joined and maintained by members pursuing a

common interest" (Kerri, 1974:10). To paraphrase Driedger

(1977a:160), a basic common interest of the individual lies in

the heritage and culture of that individual's society.

Identification with this common interest provides the individual

with "a secure basis for a sense of well-being" (Driedger, 1977a:160).

Similarly, people identify with formal voluntary associations

because they are "organized bodies that reinforce and supplant
the historical institutions of their society" (Robert T. and
Gallatin Anderson, as quoted in Kerri, 1974:11).

The common interests of voluntary associations may also
focus around "satisfying a common need, overcoming a common
handicap or life-disrupting problem and bringing about desired
social and/or personal change" (Katz and Bender, 1976:278).
The members themselves provide the impetus for the implementation
of their concerns and interests, rather than some external
agency or authority. Indeed, there is often a collective
perception among people sharing a common interest that their
needs and wants "are not, or cannot be, met by or through
existing social institutions" (Katz and Bender, 1976:278).
This concensus can act as the precipitant for voluntary
associations.

Being composed of individuals who share a common core of
interests, voluntary associations rely "upon ... [their] own
member's efforts, skills, knowledge and concerns as ...[their]
primary source of help, with the structure of the relationship
between members being one of peers" (Levy, 1976:312). The
emphasis is on "face-to-face social interaction and the assumption
of personal responsibility by members" (Katz and Bender, 1976:278).
This personal responsibility determines the structure of the
association and the effectiveness of its operations. The primary
purpose of any voluntary association is to address the concern
for the common interest of its members. Moreover, these

organizations provide a medium through which members can attain

a heightened sense of personal as well as group identity

(Katz and Bender, 1976:278; Levy, 1976:311-312; and, Dawson,

1933:168).

The study of these formal groups, with regards to the

interplay between interaction and identification within them,

becomes important in terms of their consequences for the

individual members and of their role within the members'

society. As interpreted by Gans:

> The primary group refers to that combination
> of family and peer relationships which I shall
> call the peer group society. The secondary
> group refers to the small array of Italian
> institutions, voluntary organizations, and
> other social bodies which function to support
> the workings of the peer group society. This
> I shall call the community.
> (Gans, 1962:36)

In other words, voluntary associations and ethnic institutions,

as arenas of or mediums for broader interaction and identification,

enhance the network of social relations, thus transforming the

aggregation of isolated groups, both primary and secondary, into

the larger social structure of a community.

The community, especially the ethnic community, is a

distinctive and structured social system. As a social system,

it "sets up its own responses organically, determines its own

measures of control, derives its own possibilities of adaption,

elaboration, and change" (di Voto, 1950:xv). As a social system,

the ethnic community is characterized by dense intra-group

interaction and intense intra-group identification.

> It is often assumed that ethnic identity can
> best be maintained when the ingroup develops
> a social system of its own with control over its
> institutions, so that the interaction patterns
> of the group will take place largely within the
> system. Such patterns will lead to the creation
> and maintenance of boundaries and control over
> systemic linkage.
> (Driedger, 1977a:160)

The success of an ethnic group in providing its own ethnic

institutions and formal voluntary associations (i.e., in

promoting ingroup interaction and identification) ensures the

preservation of that group. The ethnic community remains

distinct and viable within the context of the large, external

social environment in which it and its members exist.

This, then, is the crux of this study: Have the Italians

of Winnipeg been successful in developing a viable ethnic

community or enclave and in maintaining their ethnic identity?

In attempting to address this question, the present

research distinguishes between two temporal periods for the

Italian community in the City of Winnipeg -- the pre-Second

World War and the post-Second World War communities. Both

these periods have been characterized by large influxes of

immigrants and by the establishment of fairly homogeneous

residential neighborhoods, strong ethnic institutions and

introverted voluntary associations.

World War II provides an excellent demarcation between

these two manifestations. On the one hand, it effectively

isolated the pre-war Italian ethnic group from its

counterparts in other cities of Canada and from the homeland

(Manpower and Immigration, 1974a:12 and Spada, 1969:126).

On the other hand, the war effectively disrupted the social
network of relationships within the ingroup by inhibiting the
ways and means of community interaction and identification. For
almost a decade the survival of the Italian community in
Winnipeg was in jeopardy. After the war new forms of interaction
and identification emerged. A new immigrant population with
new institutions and new voluntary associations effectively
established a new Italian community in Winnipeg.

By analyzing both of these manifestations of the Italian
ethnic group in Winnipeg, especially with regard to their formal
voluntary associations, a conception emerges of the role of these
associations. They provide a focus for interaction and
identification, and influence ethno-cultural trait retention and
ethnic community perpetuation.

Chapter II, "The Pre-World War II Community" offers a
brief ethnographic and historic account of Winnipeg's first
Italian enclave. A number of the more important and
influential institutions and associations present during that
era are discussed, particularly the lay organizations of the
ethnic parish and the mutual benefit society. Chapter III,
"The Post-World War II Community" continues the ethnographic
account of the Italian community. This chapter explores the
proliferation of ethnic institutions especially concerning
education, commerce and politics, and of formal voluntary
associations such as regional associations, cultural organizations,
sports clubs, and veterans' legions. The last chapter contains an

analysis of the role these institutions and associations play,

in terms of the processes of interaction and identification, in

perpetuating the ethnic enclave. This analysis relies upon the

concepts of social networks, institutional completeness and ethnic

boundary maintenance (as described, for example, by Barnes 1968 and

1969, Barth 1969, Driedger 1976, 1977b and 1978, and Price 1975).

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-WORLD WAR II COMMUNITY

The pre-Second World War Italian community comprised an
approximate fifty year period in the history of the City of
Winnipeg, circa 1900 to 1950. These dates correspond to the
arrival of the first Italian immigrants and the resurgence of
immigration from Italy after World War II. As will be shown in
this chapter, this period of the Italian community was
characterized by a number of significant features. For example,
while residential loci were to shift over the course of this
era, the Italian group was able to establish distinct and
highly homogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods. Similarily, a degree
of ethnic homogeneity existed in the work environment. Also, this
era witnessed the limited development of formal ethnic institutions.

While the following text gives a brief account of the
history and ethnography of this early Italian community,
emphasis is placed on documenting and interpreting the social
processes of interaction and identification. These processes
pervaded the Italian group and bound them together into a distinct
community. Attention is given to the various forms of
association that existed within the Italian family, the peer group,
the neighborhood and the various clubs and community organizations.
Informal association has been structured around the Italian concepts
of paesane (a term identifying individuals from the same district
or town), companilismo (denoting shared regionality), and

forestiere (an Italian compatriot but still a stranger to the
close-knit network of town or regional relationships). The
formal voluntary associations, in the form of a mutual benefit
society and a number of lay religious organizations, are dealt
with in some detail.

As this era came to an end, it is shown how the war years
posed a major threat to the perpetuation of the Italian
community. It is also shown how the community was nevertheless
able to survive.

A.   The Pre-War Italian Community - Informal Association

The population of Winnipeg's Italian community during the
pre-war era appears to have been substantially smaller than those
in Montreal, Toronto and other eastern urban centres (see
Boissevain 1970, Manpower and Immigration 1974b, and Spada 1969).
The estimates offered by my informants place this population at
approximately 2,000 by the beginning of the Second World War.
Based upon information from my informants it also appears that the
composition of this early community included people from almost
all the provinces and regions south of Rome, especially from
Sicily, Abruzzi and Calabria, as well as from the extreme
north-west of Italy, from the Friuli region. After 1910, with
the first mass immigration of Italians into Winnipeg, the
demographic composition of the Italian community was significantly
altered by a large scale influx of Calabrese labourers (see
Harney, 1979). All my informants attested that it was the

Calabrese who comprised, by far, the largest segment of
Winnipeg's pre-war Italian population.

Similarily, it can be said that the early Italian community
was predominately male. They came as seasonal migrant labourers
for the expressed purpose of making money, and not, intentionally,
as "immigrant colonials". Fully expecting to return to Italy
at the end of the season or the next season, these first Italian
migrants left their wives and families behind. "There is little
doubt that most of those who came ... fit the definition of
'target migrants'. They came intending brief sojourns, usually
hoping for a summer's work on the railway or in the timber and
mining camps of the 'Canadian North'" (Harney, 1979:32).

During this era, the railways continued to expand
throughout Manitoba. Branch lines were becoming more and more
necessary to populate and service the more remote areas of the
province. With Winnipeg at the hub, new lines were opening up
the unoccupied interlake regions, the resource rich northeastern
section of the province up to the port of Churchill, and the
agriculturally important Dauphin-Swan River regions.

> The Canadian Northern, backed by guarantees of
> its bonds by the provincial legislature, was
> particularly active, but the Canadian Pacific
> also filled out its network of branch lines.
> From 1905 to 1909 the third transcontinental
> system of Canada, represented in the West by the
> Grand Trunk Pacific, drove its main line across
> the province ...
> (Morton, 1957:298)

As indicated by Harney (1979:32-33) and Spada (1969:533) the
recruitment demands of all three national railways for cheap

labourers, opened the way for the massive influx of seasonal

Italian migrants into Winnipeg.

However, the system of simple seasonal migration soon broke

down. "Every year a certain number of seasonal migrants became

a winter residue in the country ..." (Harney, 1979:33). For

this residue, it had been more difficult than expected to get

a job; the money was not as good as expected; expenses were too

great or transportation back to Italy was too difficult to

arrange. Whatever the reasons and circumstances, for many

seasonal Italian labourers, "their sojourn became a form of exile"

(Harney, 1979:33). As a result,

> ...Italians began roaming the streets...a
> pastime which they would repeat time and time
> again, patiently and optimistically awaiting the
> spring...to go to work on the tracks. Then
> everything would turn out fine for them; they
> would find some kind of employment on the Grand
> Trunk Pacific or on the C.P.R., save their money
> and bring their families over to begin a new life
> in a new country.
> (Spada, 1969:85)

At the turn of the century, the central business district

of Winnipeg was situated just north of Portage and Main.

The first Italians settled in this developed core of the city,

around Logan and Boyd Avenues, close to the railway lines and

prospective employment. From 1911 to 1923, there was a

tendency for Italian residences to be located in the West End

district, close to the Roman Catholic Sacred Heart Church

located on Bannatyne Avenue. The large houses in the West

End were also an attraction. The first place of residence for the

majority of the Italian migrant labourers was;

> ...living in boarding houses owned by Italian
> people with enough foresight to bring their
> wives from Italy. The wife's task was to cook,
> wash clothes, make beds, and clean the house
> for up to 30 or more boarders. These boarding
> houses were usually very big, each room
> contained two or three beds. For two dollars
> a month the boarder had lodgings, clean clothes
> and kitchen privileges.
> (Spada, 1969:90)

As recent immigrants, strangers to Canada, the Italian migrants had a strong desire to live and interact together, to maintain some semblance of familiarity and identity about them. Indeed, "the very system which drew 'target migrants' to Canada kept them in groups based upon their paese. Padroni...would employ 'sub-bossi', a foremen, and 'agenti' from each paese in order to use their companilismo to advantage" (Harncy, 1979:37).

Despite the familiarity of paesani identity, the hardships, the deprivations and the isolation of the seasonal work camps often undermined or "brutalized" the Italian migrant's personal sense of identity "in terms of personal dignity, outward appearances, language and manner" (Harney, 1979:37). To the host society, this brutalization of character only served to reinforce prejudices against the Italians as dirty and undesireable. Even among their fellow Italians, the camp workers often "came to feel like the outsider,...those too poor and brutish to live in a nucleated agro-town, the unclean, impoverished shepherds and others who held their head down-cast when they entered town..." (Harney, 1979:37).

Boarding houses, catering to these migrants during the long months of winter unemployment, did much to reverse this degeneration. "The price of homecooked food and family chatter, clean clothes, and safe mailing address was that migrants themselves had to clean up...and to make conversation without constant vulgarity" (Harney, 1979:39). A primary consideration in this character reversal may be found in the background and composition of these houses. Just as the work bosses and work gangs were often _paesani_, the _padroni_ of the boarding houses tended to attract tenants from the same town or region of Italy.

As _paesani_, members of the household all shared the same cultural heritage, the same dialect, the same aspirations for and commitments to their families left behind and the same loneliness and frustrations arising from immigration. As such, they often grew very close. They provided each other with friendship, encouragement, assistance and moral support throughout these early years. In the absence of any formal ethnic institutions such as neighborhood coffee bars and soccer clubs, the activities and relationships within the boarding houses became the focus of the migrants social and ethnic identity. Also, in such a domestic situation, someone within the household invariably knew another boarder's family back home. If a boarder became a drunkard, consorted with a prostitute or in some other way became _bestie_, it was very possible that word might get back to the family and the home town. Such gossip could have disasterous effects on one's prestige within and responsibility to the family. "The household

thus began the surrogate process of reasserting the social
controls of the village and some of the original goals of
migration" (Harney, 1979:39).

Despite the existence of and need for a surrogate primary
group in the form of the paese boarding houses, the absent
primary group itself--.i.e., the family-- remained a dominant
influence on these early migrants. In this respect, it has been
said that "people who regard themselves as sojourners, regardless
of how long they dwell in a host country, continue to think of the
problems and needs of their hometown as paramount" (Harney, 1979:34).
The Italians in Winnipeg still retained their social roles and
status within their respective towns and families. They remained
the husbands, sons, brothers, fiances and fathers of the women
they left behind. "Just as the hometown remained at the centre
of his concern, so the migrant retained his place in the social
organization of the village or in the inheritance structure and
plans of his family" (Harney, 1979:30). Since these migrants
had come to Canada to earn a living, they were obligated by their
status within the family to provide and perform in the support
of their families. In realizing this responsibility, many
migrants, especially those unable to return after a season's
work, sent home what money they could spare. They made

> ...the remittance of money to families to support
> themselves or to be put into Italian savings
> banks. Some immigrants...sent money back to
> Italy to buy a plot of land or a casetta in the
> hope of going back home some day.
> (Spada, 1969:94)

The migrant was still accounted for within the social organization he had left behind. He was still considered to be an active and viable although "temporarily" removed component. The commitment to one's family in Italy and the informal association with _paesani_ in Winnipeg kept this sense of involvement and inclusion within the daily affairs of the homeland very much alive in the attitudes and behaviour of the migrants. They still perceived themselves as being simply migrant labourers who would return home some day.

Eventually the cycle of seasonal employment was broken. More and more of the "winter residue" of migrants acquired year-round employment in the city. Due to language difficulties, skill deficiencies, urban shock, prejudice, financial demands, and/or naivety, the majority of these Italians worked as menial labourers for the garment, construction and refining industries in Winnipeg. The chief employers of Winnipeg's Italian residual labor force were again the national railways. In the mid-1910's, the Grand Trunk Pacific opened up its railroad maintenance shop in Transcona and the Canadian Northern opened a shop in Fort Rouge. It was to these shops, instead of the tracks, that the Italian labourers were attracted. Full-time employment had a dramatic effect on the pre-war Italian community. With job security and a guaranteed income, the Italian men could now contemplate and afford bringing their families to Canada to join them. "While married men had been unable to envisage their womenfolk living near isolated Canadian worksites, life in the city

made it seem at least possible that their wives might

eventually join them" (Harney, 1979:39).

With the development of a true community throughout the

1910's and 1920's, as recounted by my informants, the residential

patterns of Italian settlement also changed. After 1923, with the

establishment of the first Holy Rosary Church at Sherbrook and

Bannatyne, the attraction of Italian immigrants to settle in the

West End district became stronger. The Italian church even bought

houses in the vicinity to be leased or mortgaged to the immigrants

and their arriving families. Also, with the job opportunities

at the railroad maintenance shops in Transcona and Fort Rouge, more

and more Italians began to locate and re-locate in the adjacent

neighborhoods. The old Logan-Boyd neighborhood was virtually

abandoned in favour of those in the West End, Osborne South,

Transcona and Fort Rouge-Crescentwood.

The institution of the paese boarding house also began to

disappear during this period. When families arrived from Italy,

it was the expected duty of the pre-established family member to

furnish them with accommodation. This accommodation generally

resulted in the establishment of pseudo-extended family units,

under the familiar auspices of the transplanted patriarchal

system, either in the form of the eldest male, or the most

economically successful male available, within the new family unit.

This obligation and type of family structure could not always

be realized in the boarding house situation, so individual dwellings

were purchased. These "extended" family units, through the pooling

and frugal distribution of resources, helped to ease the initial
financial burden of each constituent member. However, after the
other adult males had acquired employment and could afford their
own homes for their own nuclear families, the larger extended
family often splintered. "It was commonplace, after 10 years,
for the Italian immigrant to become a home owner" (Spada, 1969:80).

Even after the division of the extended family unit, strong
family ties still determined where nuclear families would live.
Many of my informants remembered how individual family units would
purchase homes on the same street or, at least, in the same
neighborhood as other family units from the extended family.

In the absence of pre-established family members, Italian
immigrants were attracted to reside in the vicinity of other
Italians from the same town or region. Indeed, paesani often
took it upon themselves to billet paese immigrants and to
help them find their own homes. Just as certain houses, streets
and neighborhoods developed distinctive familial affiliations,
they also assumed distinctive regional characteristics.

As more and more immigrants arrived, as families were
reunited or created, and as paese neighborhoods developed, the
social scope of the Italian community expanded beyond the
limitations experienced by the earlier immigrants. However,
access to and acceptance into the surrounding host society
remained limited due to linguistic, educational, experiential
and cultural barriers. The informal voluntary association with
relatives, friends and neighbors became an important facet of

community life and survival for the Italians in Winnipeg.

The close familial network within the community was
expressed through, and often determined, the types of interactions
and associations undertaken by individuals. For example,
identifying with familial values, attitudes and consensus
affected a person's marital preferences. The emphasis of this
preference was towards marrying a person approved of by the
family -- a person who would fit into the close network of
obligation and interaction and who would not shame the family or
jeopardize their social status within the community. The emphasis
was on marrying a compaesani, or at least another Italian. Many
older informants indicated that to marry a person from the same
region or town or country of origin made for less quarrels and
marital/familial strife since there would be more attitudes,
values, and behaviour held in common.

In the extended family units, interaction and association
with other family members was intensified through proximity.
Many older informants recalled how family members generally ate
their meals together, did the household chores together, attended
the same social functions and how, as children, they had to share
their beds with the other children. Strong personal relationships
existed between grandparents and grandchildren and between children
and their uncles and aunts, if these people were present in the
community. These kinsmen have traditionally assumed the roles
of codlers, friends, protectors, patrons, babysitters and
informal disseminators of cultural knowledge to their young

cognates within the Italian family. In such a face-to-face environment, family members came to depend upon each other for companionship, relaxation and recreation, as well as for social security and support.

Informants from this era stated that, even after individual nuclear family units were established, the closest friends and contacts that an individual had were often cousins and siblings. D'Antini succinctly expresses a recurrent theme among my own informants when he writes:

> The kinship network is vast, but the help which
> can be expected from kinsmen, and reciprocally,
> the obligations one owes them are directly
> related to the genealogical distance between the
> two. The degree of loyalty extracted by the
> family from its members is boundless. Every one
> is duty-bound to provide for its welfare; to
> enrich it, make it powerful and respected,
> defend its honour and ensure its eternal duration.
> Hence the value put upon having lots of children,
> especially sons to carry on the name.
> (D'Antini, 1976:2-3)

With the limited outlets for formally organized social events within the community and the prevailing introversion of the community, the most common social events during this era were the visits that friends and family made to each other's homes. As one informant stated, "Acquaintances exchanged greetings, but good friends exchanged visits". These visits often included dinner and invariably included the serving of espresso coffee and home made wine, the intensive playing of card games and an abundance of conversation and gossip. Such visits usually occured on the average of two or three times a month.

And while such recreation was more frequent among family, it
was always much more formal among compaesani.

These formal visits warranted the opening up and use of the
family parlor, usually kept closed to the daily activities of the
family and maintained in spotless readiness in the event of
company. These visits provided an opportunity to show off one's
success as displayed by the material possessions housed in the
parlor. Although my informants insisted that the parlor was for the
comfort of their guests, most admitted that they were in fact very
uncomfortable and often described them as "museums". The parlor was
only one example of the pervasive status rivalry that existed
throughout the community. Prestige was also expressed "by
Tuscan-type cigars, smoked by affluent Italians of the time, and
a plate of spaghetti-- luxuries which in Italy were signs of a
well-to-do family" (Spada, 1969:91).

The acquisition of prestige was extremely important to the
public image and self respect of the family, both within
Winnipeg's Italian community and the paese community in Italy.
Inevitably, compaesani would report back to the other members
of both communities as to just how "so-and-so" was getting along.
In any situation where status depends to a large degree on verbal
reports (i.e., the spread of rumours) gossip and public opinion
can play a large part in the interactions and associations within
the community. Gossip reaches a large number of people; and as
an influence on public opinion, it is an important means of
sanctioning and rewarding people's behaviour.

Through gossip, individual and familial prestige could be generated, bolstered or devastated. All aspects of their standards and way of living, as well as their familial and extrafamilial relationships and conduct, were subject to community scrutiny and gossip, and therefore pertinent to status acquisition and maintenance. The public expressions of a family's great life events, such as marriage, birth, baptism, confirmation and death, were, perhaps, the most overt source of prestige and gossip. These events were important to a family's dignity, solidarity and identity, both with the family itself and the broader community. They served as _rites de passage_ in signifying an individual's change of social roles and status within the group. At these times, it was imperative that the community be notified and involved in the events, and that the community approve of and be impressed by them. For example, at weddings, it was not unheard of for the guest list to number 500 to 600 people, for large halls to be rented for the reception, for free liquor and food to be provided, and for live orchestras to be hired. In short, attention was given to every detail. The same applied to the other events. As one informant declared, "It had to be the best, the most authentic, the most Italian".

Although the performance of the family during these great life events was closely scrutinized, attendance also played an important role in terms of prestige, gossip, and public opinion. If few people attended an event, the disgrace to the family could be intense; but if attendance was good the family's pride and

esteem was insured. Likewise, not to be invited to or not to

attend an important function could have devastating implications for

those concerned. In this respect, for example, a number of

informants told of Italian businessmen attending the funerals of

regular customers not only to express their sorrow and respect,

but also to avoid damaging gossip concerning their conceived social

insensitivity. Conversely, attendance could stimulate

constructive gossip which was good for business.

This anecdote brings into account another significant

factor in intracommunity interaction and association -- the

development of the Italian business community. While the majority

of Italians were hired as labourers in the garment industry and

the railway maintenance shops, some were able to establish their

own businesses. Trades like tailoring, barbering, cobbling,

carpentry and masonry were popular, often stereotyped, Italian

enterprises. "Almost all shoe-shine, repair and hat-cleaning

shops in Canada were owned by Italians" (Spada, 1969:90). Yet,

whereas it was equally assumed in other Canadian cities that

wherever there were Italians there were Italian grocery stores,

Italian espresso coffee bars and Italian restaurants, this was

not the case in Winnipeg's pre-war Italian community.

This is not to say that there were no Italian grocers or

restauranteurs. Indeed, many of Winnipeg's finest and most

famous restaurants during this period (restaurants like the Venezia,

the Olympia, Frank's and Jack's in the downtown central business

district, Mama Trossi's on Pembina Highway, and the Paddock on

Portage Avenue west) were owned and operated by Italians. Besides

these grande cafes, there were a number of small, Italian run

lunch bars, adjacent to the Fort Rouge CNR maintenance shops,

serving a limited menu to the workmen. However, these enterprises

cannot truly be considered as Italian institutions because they

neither exclusively served Italian food nor catered exclusively

to an Italian clientele. "To the extent that an institution

shifts to a nonethnic clientele, then to that extent it ceases

to function as an ethnic institution and becomes an institution

of the general population" (Price, 1975:38).

In terms of Italian grocers, the same concept applied.

Also, although the market demand for Italian specialty foods was

present, the prohibitive purchasing and shipping costs made it

impossible for these stores to stock such items. The grocers

and their customers, then, had to adapt to Canadian foods, making

appropriate substitutions in their traditional food habits where

possible. In this respect, Italians very early became involved

in the marketing of available fresh fruit and vegetables.

Older informants recalled how the Young Street area of Winnipeg's

densely populated Italian West End neighborhood eventually

became known as "Banana Crescent" because of its high

concentration of stables, warehouses and shops owned and operated

by an army of door-to-door Italian fruit and vegetable peddlers.

The business community developed very close relationships

with the broader Italian community, often structured along the

complex network of informal associations. For example, many

businesses had _agenti_ or contacts within the community, whose

responsibility, either formally or informally was to recruit

labour for these companies. Sometimes these contacts stretched

all the way back to Italy. For example:

> Raffaele Veltri established...the R.F. Welch
> Company (of Winnipeg) in 1918, a company used
> for the maintenance of railways, and recruited
> many of his 500 employees from Italy (sent over
> by his father who retired to the homeland).
> (Spada, 1969:79)

Throughout Winnipeg's Italian community, an individual

invariably had access to the _bossi_ (the formen) or the owners of

one or more businesses through his association with relatives,

friends, and workmates. On the one hand, these contacts would

broadcast information concerning job vacancies, in the plants

and shops where they worked, through their networks of associations.

On the other hand, they would endeavor to use their position

and influence, within their companies, to convince their foremen

and employers to hire other Italians. In one instance, as

recounted to this researcher, one such informal _agenti_ at the

Canadian National Railway shops advised his network of contacts

applying for work to change their names so as to appear more

Anglicized. This was done in an attempt to circumvent

discrimination in employment opportunities against Italians by the

railway during the early 1930's.

The informal associations that emerged between workmates,

between employers and employees, and between proprietors and

customers served an important role in fostering community
and ethnic identity and cohesion. The groups of corworkers who
went to and from work together, worked together, and ate their
lunches together, bound the Italian community closer together
in terms of their spheres of interaction. The Italian stores,
shops and business that provided services to their customers in
their own familiar language brought the community closer together.
Indeed, some informants recalled how many Italian businesses.
subscribed to the available Italian newspapers (i.e., San Francisco's
L'Italia and Vancouver's Fascist L'Eco Italo-Canadese) not so much
for sale, as for casual browsing to attract customers and to make
them feel more comfortable. The Italian tailor shops, barber
shops, fruit stores, lunch bars and even the company lunch rooms
and work floors became important, informal centres of social
activity. And while the Italian community became a little more
isolated from the surrounding and alienating host society, it
became a little more self-reliant, a little more closely knit,
because it could interact in many important economic and social
spheres with other Italians.

The pre-war Italian community, though, was not entirely
immune to cultural and social change. The disruptions of the
immigration process, the ultimate struggle of making a living in
an alien country, and the inevitable intrusion of attitudes, values
and norms from the host society (through the new political, legal,
economic and educational media in which the immigrants and their

families had to operate), all contributed to the gradual erosion

of traditional concepts and practices. Linguistic practices,

eating and cooking customs and dress styles changed. The traditional

prohibition against women in the work force eventually disappeared

as this added source of income became appreciated. The practices

of dowry seeking and arranged marriages were suspended. The

public school system which demanded the compulsory attendance of

all Italian children removed them from the traditional confines

of familial norms, values and attitudes and introduced them into

the Canadian mainstream. Similarly, the unavoidable abandonment,

for many immigrant families, of aged relatives in Italy removed

the traditional presence of these informal dissemenators of

covert cultural knowledge from their midst. The general breakdown

of the Italian family structure through the processes of

immigration and adaptation relaxed important personal relationships

within the family and the community. These familial relationships

were shorter in range and weaker in intensity, thus allowing

for a general loss of ethnic heritage and identity.

Trapped somewhere between the encroachment of acculturation

and the desire to retain their familiar ways of life, the

fledging Italian community was caught in a cultural conundrum

as reflected in the recollections of many older informants. For

many, strong family ties were maintained, although somewhat

altered from the traditional. For some, the loss of heritage and

the shift of identification away from the focus of the ethnic

community was deemed to be a good thing, a way of breaking
into the host society. To others, it was seen as a betrayal.
For the majority of Italians, though, their distinctive life
styles were more or less retained. Through intra-community
interaction and informal associations, and the familiar and
"satisfying" ethnic institutions of kinship and companilismo, the
disorientation, alientation and ennui of immigration could be
coped with and to some degree staved off.

Winnipeg's Italian community, as it existed before the end
of the Second World War, was described to me as vitae miracoli
(life of miracles) and as villagio pettegolo (gossipy village).
These terms seem to denote a sense of the highly personal and
close face-to-face relationships and interdependences of the
small agro-towns of Italy. In many ways, ethnically, socially,
religiously, linguistically, cognitively, industrially, and to
some degree, geographically, Winnipeg's pre-war Italian community
was indeed a legacy of these small towns.

B. Mutual Aid Societies

1. Introduction

The need for social security and primary group identification
is particularly manifest among immigrant groups. In terms of
the great mass of immigration to North America from 1880
onwards, the trauma of adjustment for these people was often
severe. The majority came from rural, peasant backgrounds and

so found their new urban industrial setting extremely

alienating. While often having to learn a new language simply to

exist in this new environment, most immigrants also lacked the

understanding of many sections of North American society

including the school, the press, the police, the courts and the

charitable organizations. They came with the dreams, ambitions

and abilities to fill the growing menial demands of economic

growth, competing with each other and with the established

population. Consequently resentments among immigrant ethnic

groups, and between these groups and the entrenched Anglo-Saxon

citizenry often developed.

During the pre-World War I era the opportunity to

utilize the North American social security institutions, as they

existed, was perceived by many immigrant ethnic groups as being

inadequate for, if not exclusive of their needs. This failure

was compounded by the reality that a vast majority of these

immigrants, for reasons of economics or politics, had to abandon

their families for the opportunity to immigrate. The exigencies

of the immigration and adjustment processes had to be withstood

without the familiar support of the primary kinship groups.

"It is not surprising that, lacking outside supports, immigrant

groups turned inward and organized large networks for self-help

and mutual aid" (Katz & Bender, 1976:276). Examples of these

immigrant ethnic group mutual aid societies include the Hebrew

Benevolent Society in Charleston, South Caroline (Berger, 1976:228),

the Order of Brith Abraham in Hartford, Connecticut (Koenig, 1939:270),

the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada in Old Port Arthur,
Ontario (Wilson, 1977:106), the League of Norsemen in Camrose,
Alberta (Brunvand, 1974:5), and the Swedish Vasa Order of
America in Winnipeg, Manitoba (Houser, 1976:31).

2. The Italian Example

The concept of mutual aid is not foreign to the Italian
way of life. Relying on the work of Phylis Williams (1938), an
overview of this "way of life" as it existed in Italy prior to the
Second World War follows. The Italian village was structured
along communal lines, whereby economic support for public works
or health care or the maintenance of hostels or poor houses
came from its own resources. "Small towns usually had one
physician, paid by the state or by the commune in which he
practiced" (Williams, 1938:160). The village often restricted
marriage largely to members of its own group. As such, the
Italian village was almost a complete entity unto itself. In
this way the identification with one's family became very strong
and the compulsion to maintain the familial economic and social
independence nurtured an equally strong feeling of honour and
pride that made pauperism or the receipt of charity a disgrace.
Only the most poverty-stricken Italians were reduced to accepting
charity, and in this scheme "charity is a free gift that has
no other connection with the status of the recipient than he
belongs to a certain class...the average Italian regards relief
as repellent..." (Williams, 1938:65). For these "average Italians"

the village social environment fostered the concepts of

componilismo, paesane, and forestiere (Williams, 1938:9-11).

Through these social concepts, the operation of reciprocal

mutual aid was made possible and socially acceptable. Through

the strong personal relationships between paesani, mutual

assistance was not deemed as formal relief or charity, but

rather as an aspect of omerta, the Italian code of honour.

Debts of monies, goods or services thus contracted were

scrupulously respected and reciprocated when required. Out of

this perception of omerta, augmented by the economic and political

hardships of Italy from 1800-1940, came the formation of mutual

aid societies. W.H. Dawson outlines an hierarchical ordering

of these societies in Europe at this time, based on formal

organization and responsibility:

> ...the free action of voluntary societies legally
> formed but not under official control; optional
> legal recognition, registration or approval, a
> status involving some degree of supervision while
> conveying certain statutory privileges; state
> assistance in consideration of a wider measure
> of regulation, and, finally, in some cases
> compulsory insurance usually implemented by
> agencies established or directed by government or
> delegated authorities.
> (Dawson, 1933:168-169)

A similar development occured in Italy prior to World War I.

As in Dawson's hierarchy the most common type of mutual

aid society in Italy at this time was the "free" society which

was not under official state control. These societies

operated through open funding by their membership either

publicly or privately. They were often organized on a geographic

basis, while membership was often independent of occupation or

economic status. However, the formation of trade guilds, unions

and fraternal orders has also been documented. These "free"

societies were engaged as a rule only in sickness, old age and

death benefits (Dawson, 1933:169-170). In Italy, these mutual aid

societies were generally named after the village patron saint.

Since the acquisition of monies was scarce for the majority of

people at this time, the monthly or annual sum paid into these

organizations was small and so the monetary benefits incurred

were proportionately small or for short duration. For example,

many associations paid smaller sums at the death of a woman than

of a man because a widower through his work could presumably meet

some of the expenses. Consequently, the emphasis was upon

reciprocal goods, services or emotional support. Mutual benefit

socities and fraternal societies, like the Brothers of Pity,

honoured the death of a member by stressing the attendance of

members at the funeral, by acting as pall bearers and by providing

as much material and emotional comfort as possible to the

surviving family (Williams, 1938:204,208). No appeal for

assistance was stronger than that from a deceased member's widow

or orphan and aid was given without hesitation. Often these

social security services were augmented by political interests.

In Italy, the formation of such "nationality" societies was

represented by the creation around 1820 of the Mafia and the

Camorra in Southern Italy in response to the presence of foreign

oppressors (Dawson, 1933:169; Williams, 1938:8).

The next two stages of Dawson's hierarchy can more or less
be combined under the label of "recognized" societies. These
societies were also established in Italy and offered a much
wider choice of benefits to their members than available
through the "free" societies. These benefits often included
assistance to members and their families in the event of sickness
or prolonged infirmity, as well as providing life, death, and
accident insurance, old age pensions and assistance to the
survivors of deceased members. Such benefits were possible through
active state subsidies, assistance, tax exemptions and other
minor privileges which became due as a result of the legal
registration of these societies with or by the state (Dawson, 1933:169).
Although not a voluntary association per se, an example
(Williams, 1938:186-187) of state recognition and support of social
security dispensed along voluntary and reciprocal principles
at the local community level can be shown from the creation of the
Congregazione di carita or Council of Charity. In 1890, the
regulation of charitable endowment was placed in the hands of these
Councils which were established in each village commune in
Southern Italy. Although the legislation of social security
and the subsidies received for such security were inadequate they
nevertheless augmented the villages' endeavors to improve
sanitation and develop poorhouses and infirmaries. While
established to formally accommodate the poverty-stricken elements
of society, the Councils also assumed some responsibility in
offsetting the expenses incurred by the other members of the

village in obtaining and providing adequate dowries and
maternity care. In some instances, the Councils of Charity
supervised the operation of local pawnshops, savings banks and
private insurance companies to insure the proper, fair and
controlled assistance by these establishments to paesani in
times of bad harvests and other crises.

The final stage of Dawson's hierarchy of mutual aid
development comes with governmental involvement in, and
implementation of compulsory insurance or universal social security.
In Italy (Williams, 1938:188), as elsewhere, this was implemented
through legislation. Although established in 1833, the National
Fund of Insurance against Accidents did not make it compulsory
for employers to make the necessary payments into the Fund, so
that employees could participate in its benefits, until 1914. This
Fund granted compensation proportionately to the severity of
industrial injuries, whether of a temporary or permanent nature.
Likewise, while the National Provident Fund for Old Age Pensions
and Invalidity, established in 1901, was originally organized on a
voluntary rather than compulsory basis, by 1918 state legislation
to universalize the age of retirement and the sum of pensions was
being proposed (Williams, 1938:188).

In summary then, it can be said that the village social
environment, stressing the concepts of companilismo and paesano,
traditionally formed the social centre for and circumscribed
the social horizon of most Italians, especially in the south.

Out of this environment came a distaste for charity and relief,
yet a strong dependency on and identification with mutual
reliance upon peers through the formation of benefit associations.
Requests for assistance through these networks were made and met
in the name of humanity and honour. Through this code of honour,
the "actual economic need is set forth, not as a measure of
the amount to be given or the type of aid considered desireable,
but as the basic reason for giving" (Williams, 1938:194). This
mutual reliance was intensified by the existing economic and
political hardships of the time, especially apparent in Southern
Italy, and the perceived inadequacies and uncertainties of
government intervention in social security. Consequently, Italian
immigrants coming to North America in the early years of this
century put little credence in existing American social service
agencies. "The burdens of temporary and permanent disability and
of old age fell in most cases squarely upon the individual
family, its relatives, and its friends" (Williams, 1938:188).
In America, as in Italy, the dependency upon the network of paesani,
through the creation of mutual aid societies, became of
paramount importance to these immigrants.

For the most part, Italian immigrants to the United States did
not establish such national "umbrella" mutual aid organizations
as the Pan-Hellenic Union of Boston's Greek community (Katz & Bender,
1976:276). Rather the Italians formed associations based on
regional, district or town affiliation such as the Augusta Society
of Boston's Sicilian population (Gans, 1962:116), the

Societa Acernese and the Societa Regionale Marchigiana
(Williams, 1938:119). Other societies that provided mutual aid
were organized to cater to religious (Societa San Lorenzo Martire)
and political (Societa Benito Mussolini) affiliations (Williams,
1938:119).

In Canada, prior to the Second World War, the picture was
somewhat different. Although Italian mutual aid societies in this
country were predominantly regional in orientation, there were
at least four national organizations based upon the concept of
Italian compatriots rather than regional paesani. The first
such society was the Societa Nazionale, founded in Montreal in
1875. However, due to strong political resentments towards the
Italians at this time, this association was never incorporated and
was somewhat short lived (Spada, 1969:96). In 1902, the Italian
Immigration Aid Society for Canada was formed in Montreal. This
society was quite effective in assisting immigrants in finding
employment, in providing temporary residence and in offering advice
and counsel on readjustment (Spada, 1969:96-98).

The Order of the Sons of Italy, founded in the United States
in 1905, was first established in Canada in Montreal in 1919.
Shortly afterwards, lodges of this society were established in
Hamilton, Sault Ste. Marie, Toronto, Niagara Falls, and St.
Catherines. The Order became the "most active and beneficial
organization among Italian people in all North America" (Spada, 1969:102).
Internal factioning occured in 1926 over the issue of fascism and
in 1927 the antifascist Independent Order of the Sons of Italy

split off from the parent order. In 1938 (Spada, 1969:98-103), this provincial society established a federal society -- the Order of Italo-Canadians -- with lodges in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Thorold, Windsor, Niagara Falls, Timmins, and Fort Erie. The declaration of war between Italy and Canada, in 1940, suspended expansion of this Order to Winnipeg, Trail, Nanaimo, and Vancouver. Besides being concerned with programmes designed to preserve the Italian language and cultural traditions in Canada and to promote Canadian citizenship, the Order of Italo-Canadians was primarily involved in assisting members of the society who may be in need, or afflicted by sickness, accident or other misfortune. In the event of a death among the membership, a funeral benefit was available to help the widow, orphans and other dependents. Housing for aged or disabled members and for orphaned children of members were also priorities (Spada, 1969:98-103).

Trade unions also played an important part in the lives of the pre-World War II Italian immigrants in improving working conditions and salaries. In Canada (Spada, 1969:106-108), Montreal was the only city at this time with a significant number of Italians employed in a trade. This trade was the garment industry; the most dominant ethnic group were the Jews followed by French Canadians and then the Italians. The United Garment Workers Union, in 1909, was the first trade union in which the Italians participated. In 1917, a rival union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, was formed. Prior to 1921, the Italian union members were affiliated with the French-Canadian locals, but in this year the

first Italian local was established. These unions catered to
the needs and demands of the male garment workers. To incorporate
the large female segment of the industry in labour disputes, the
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union was established. By
the early 1930's, the trend of employment among Italians was
shifting away from the garment industry towards the building trade.
Consequently, in 1933, the Tile and Terrazo Union was formed --
the first Italian trade union (Spada, 1969:106-108).

West of the major centres of Italian immigration -- south-
central Ontario and the St. Lawrence River system -- the Italian
population was relatively small before the Second World War.
While the exigencies of immigration and adjustment were no less
severe for these people, the resulting mutual aid societies
established to ease these hardships were not of a federal or
national scope. Rather they were often established to cater to
the special needs of the Italians within a particular province,
city or neighborhood. Although their names and constitutions often
suggested a broader interest in the affairs of all Italian
compatriots, these societies were largely based on regional,
district or town affiliations carried over from the homeland. This
was often the case since the members of these smaller Italian
communities were quite homogeneous in terms of area of origination.
In 1905, the Societa Di Mutuo Soccorso Figli d'Italia was formed
in Vancouver (Spada, 1969:367) and the Societa Di Mutuo Soccorso
Cristoforso Colombo was established in Trail, British Columbia
(Spada, 1969:384). In Lethbridge, Alberta, the Tirolese Italiano

was created in 1917 (Spada, 1969:350). The Italian Mutual Aid

Society of New Westminister was formed in 1929 (Spada, 1969:371) and

the Italo-Canadian Mutual Aid Society of Vancouver was formed in

1934 (Spada, 1969:368). The Roma Societa Di Mutuo Soccurso was

founded in Winnipeg in 1911 (Spada, 1969:334).

3. The Rome Mutual Benefit Society of Winnipeg, Manitoba

At the turn of the last century the early Italian immigrants

arrived destitute. Only through their sacrifice, ambition and

industry did these people establish a foothold for themselves in

this new land. From this humble beginning, the Italian community

grew. Newly arrived immigrants were able to find shelter,

companionship and often employment from relatives and paesani

who had come before them. In a relatively short period of time

Italian businesses such as fruit markets, restaurants and even

travel agents had arisen from the more common ranks of railway

workers and sweat-shop workers. From these businesses, the more

impoverished immigrants were able to expand their social security

network. Many older informants reported that stores and markets

offered virtually unlimited credit to fellow paesani, while the

few travel agents in town offered informal banking and insurance

services. A key agent in the dispensation of such rudementary

social service was the Vice-Consul, through whose doors all had

to pass and to whose doors almost all returned. The Vice-Consul

was the first Winnipeg contact made by the majority of Italians;

he had helped arrange the visas, the work permits and the billeting.

He had the knowledge, advice and contacts to give the immigrants
to help them cope with their new surroundings.

The traditional code of honour and identification was the
sole media for security through the emphasis on Christian charity.
That the Italians did not become a "burden" to the host Canadian
society was due to their time-honoured, religious-communal
traditions with their accompanying humanitarian obligations,
bred in the mountain and valley companio of Italy but maintained
and nurtured in the streets of Winnipeg's "Banana Crescent".
Samuel Koenig has written that:

> mutual aid seems to gain in importance with
> the extent of insecurity prevalent...In our own
> society, the immigrant undoubtedly feels much less
> secure than the individual belonging to the dominant
> group. Hence, one of his very first acts upon
> settling here is to join his fellow countrymen for
> the purpose of extending and receiving help when
> in need.
> (Koenig, 1939:268-269)

In 1910, when the labour demands of Western Canada's railways
resulted in the first large scale emigration from Italy to
Manitoba, the existing informal community services were pushed
to their limit. Christian charity, familial membership and/or
regional identification were not enough to meet the rising needs
of the flood of immigrants. Consequently, in 1911, the
Roma Societa Di Mutuo Soccurso (the Rome Mutual Benefit Society)
of Winnipeg was founded to satisfy the needs of these people in
terms of support, assistance and as a medium for social interaction.

An elaborate organizational structure was not necessary for

a group like the Rome Society. As Victor Gerdes claims:

> Once the self-help body has attracted enough
> members to be able to function, little more is
> necessary than to assign duties and responsibilities,
> and to provide a mechanism to assure that all
> concerned act according to their corporate interest
> and guidelines.
> (Gerdes, 1975:220)

Initiated by the more established Italians within the community,
my informants reported that the founding membership of the
Rome Mutual Benefit Society numbered over 120 people. The
executive of the society constituted a president, a vice-president
and a secretary-treasurer, all of whom were elected by the
membership. These positions were usually filled by individuals
who, due to their acquired knowledge of life in America or their
economic advancement, had some measure of standing in the fledgling
immigrant community, as well as in the host society. Likewise,
committee chairmen, whose job it was to organize claims
investigations and government and private sector donation drives,
were also selected. The expertise of the local Roman Catholic
parish and the Italian Vice-Consul were also heavily drawn upon
in handling problems outside the scope and jurisdiction of the
Society.

The administrative process within the Society was also simple.
There were few accounting requirements; inspection of membership
compliance and claims was not elaborate and statistics such as
employer contributions were not important. Office and recordkeeping
equipment was minimal and inexpensive, and there was no need for

skilled personnel. Also, the geographic and demographic scope of the Society was never prohibitive. The chief administrative duties were the collection of dues and the dispensation of benefit allowances. The primary organizational responsibility, apart from the election of officers, was the insurance of membership compliance to the rules and regulations of the Society.

Due to the unbalanced regional composition of Winnipeg's Italian community at this time, the motivating personalities within the executive and membership of the Society were primarily Southern Italian in origin. However, the organization was constitutionally open to all Italians with special emphasis upon attracting and aiding the newly arriving immigrants. The Rome Society was able to include a broad segment of the community under its coverage. Attraction to the Society was also augmented by the fact that membership and benefits were not wage related or dependent upon any qualifying conditions such as age or a minimum period of employment. To all members of the association, it was expected that as much assistance would be received as was within the capacity of the Society to provide.

Each member of the Rome Mutual Benefit Society was required to make a small payment of a few dollars in the form of monthly dues. The accumulated dues served as the organization's benefit funds which were, in turn, available to the membership in the event of a death, sickness or accident, or the loss of employment. The funds were administered much as they are in contemporary

life-insurance policies, relying upon a time contigency factor

and being commensurate with the severity of the particular

misfortune sustained. In other words, the Society's dividends

depended upon the probability of a misfortune; and the distribution

of these dividends, in terms of the amount and duration of payment,

was proportionate to the perceived need of the claimant. The

actual resources available to the Society at any given time was a

prominant factor. On a number of occasions the Society and its

members had to rely on payment in kind as this was the only

resource capability open for them. The donation of food, clothing

and/or shelter to the destitute was a common and accepted facsimile

for a member's obligations if he could not afford the usual cash

contribution. Payments in kind were widely accepted because they

directly served the need of the recipient.

The protection provided by the Rome Society covered a wide

range of contigencies. The three most essential services

administered by the Society at this time were unemploymnet, sickness

and death benefits. In regards to unemployment, my informants

reported that if a member was between jobs or was forced to lose time

from work due to an illness or accident, the Society provided a

stipend of ten dollars per week until the claimant returned to

work. Expenses associated with sickness and death were especially

high for the immigrant during this era. Consequently, the Society

procured a doctor on retainer to look after the medical needs of

its membership -- a practise which, as has been stated above, was

popular in many Southern Italian villages. As reported by my

informants, the retainer was a mutually agreed upon sum between

the doctor and the Society; this sum, as well as the appointment,

was subject to an annual review by the membership. In the event of

a member's death, it was also reported that the Rome Society

would endeavor to offset the expenses of the funeral, often far

out of reach of the surviving family members, with a donation

of upwards to two hundred dollars. Care of the widow and any

orphaned children was also undertaken by the association.

Assistance was also given in finding employment and housing for

newly arrived immigrants, as well as for members, in lieu of any

primary kinship group.

Rules governing the payment of dues, or at least

contributing in kind towards the benefit programme, were strictly

enforced. Any member caught in arrears for any appreciable time

could be expelled from the Society. As Gerdes has noted:

> There is often little need for a comprehensive
> policy of supervision of the actions of persons
> living a simple life where honesty as a virtue may
> be rarely brought into question. The threat of
> ostracisation from the social and economic life of
> the community which would follow the failure to
> perform agreed obligations is so strong that many
> never even considered this possibility. Thus, there
> is sometimes a complete absence of problems of
> compliance and enforcement of provisions.
> (Gerdes, 1975:225)

As a result of the Italian code of honour and fear of ostracism,

not only was membership involvement guaranteed, but the Society

was above all suspicion. Even though the cash flow within the

association assumed quite large proportions as time progressed,

there was no report of embezzlement to this researcher. The

extent of the Society's bookkeeping amounted to a simple record of

the source, nature and use of the members' dues, and the

secretary-treasurer was completely trusted with their safe-keeping.

Honour and acceptance came to play in other ways in the

socio-economic interactions within the Society and the community

at large. The roles of patron and client included more than the

mere transfer of goods and services. Prestige and "face"

played an equally important part in the social network and

social security of the community. Consequently, both patron

and client alike made sure that they or their representatives

attended the functions of the other, including funerals.

This practice brought honour to both parties. But also, it brought

an important form of comfort and contact which could not be included

in a monitary contribution alone. The Rome Society also

included the attendance at a members funeral as part of the

membership's obligations and therefore added to the emotional bonds

within the community.

Similarily, all social functions -- including weddings,

communions, baptisms, picnics and dances -- were mediums fraught

with pride, honour and intense emotional bonds. By attending,

contributing to, or in some other way acknowledging these

functions, the individual's acceptance and participation within

the broader community was reinforced. As the only secular Italian

organization in Winnipeg at this time, the Rome Society played

an important role in providing media through which the community

could interact. The Society sponsored many of these functions,
for example the still popular Columbus Day celebrations, for
both members and non-members bringing the fledging community
together in both attendance and spirit.

Although the active membership was to fluctuate over the years,
depending upon the popularity of the executive and their
objectives, almost every Italian in Winnipeg's pre-war community
was affected by and became involved in the operation of this
association. Through the course of this era, almost everyone
in the Italian community, at some time and to some degree,
needed help and some form of social intercourse. For this
assistance and identification, they turned to each other, to the
community and to the Rome Mutual Benefit Society.

4. The End of an Era

Both Samuel Koenig, in his article on Jewish Mutual Benefit
Societies (1939) and Janice Perlman, in her article on American
grassroot movements (1976) allude to a situation or orientation
that can develop out of self-help groups -- a situation that,
in regards to Winnipeg's pre-war Italian community, put an end
to this community's secular, formal association for almost a
decade. In his discussion of the Brith Abraham lodges and Brith
Sholom societies in the United States, Koenig states that
although these organizations were primarily organized around
insuring their members against sickness and death, they became
centres "of activities aiming to promote group consciousness"
through the advocacy of patriotism and "Jewish ideals"

(Koenig, 1939:270). Similarly, in her discussion of the "Restore Our Alienated Rights" movement, Perlman says that "economic hardship and alienation have historically bred not only progressive radicalism but conservatism and even facism" (Perlman, 1976:19). With the inception of Fascism in Italy, in 1924, and infiltration of its ideals into expatriot Italian communities in Africa, South America and North America, the Rome Benefit Society became increasingly politicized and patriotic.

Similar to Koenig's case study, as the Rome Mutual Benefit Society became increasingly involved in the well-being and operation of the Italian community, both in providing social security and acting as a medium for social interaction, the promotion of ethnic identification grew in stride. Greater emphasis was placed upon the perpetuation of Italian traditions. The Society sponsored Italian language courses for the community's youth through the parish hall as well as lectures, motion pictures, operas and historical dramas to promote pride in the Italian arts, heritage and homeland. Concomitantly, as in Perlman's example, many within the community were growing increasingly bitter towards the "host" Canadian society. Initially it may be speculated that this resentment stemmed, as Perlman suggests, from the economic hardships and alienation that had manifested itself in the form of menial labour, poor housing and the lack of adequate social services which in turn had contributed to the founding of the Rome Society. Through the

comments of some of my informants, it became apparent that this

bitterness towards the alienation in the pre-war era eventually

became a source of pride in that the Italians could look after

their own kind; they did not need Canada's charity.

From 1914 to the outset of the Second World War, this

situation was aggravated by Canada's immigration policy which

was more or less opposed to offsetting and aggravating the

existing, yet potentially explosive, economic and ethnic

"balance" of the country -- hard won after the war, its attendent

recession and the Great Depression. Consequently, a halt was

placed upon the immigration of "undesireables" into the country

(Manpower and Immigration, 1974a:11-17). This policy included

the immigration of Italians and so increased the resentment of

the existing Italian community in Winnipeg.

In an attempt to promote world wide publicity and to unify

the Italian communities around the world, the Italian Fascist

regime began to institute Fascist representatives in all foreign

consular and vice-consular offices. Fascism was introduced to

Canada in Montreal in 1925 where it soon spread to other Italian

communities in Canada (Spada, 1969:125). In Winnipeg, an Italian

consular agent had been operating since the time of the first

large scale Italian immigration of 1910. He continued to operate

in an honourary capacity until 1922 when he resigned in protest

over Mussolini's coming to power. A number of others took

charge of the office for short periods of time until the

appointment of a Fascist vice-consul in 1935-36. This man was

essentially responsible, through sympathizers within the

community, for instigating a Fascist cell in Winnipeg. This cell

took the form of an agitated faction within the Rome Mutual

Benefit Society. Though relatively small in size, this

group represented the attitude and belief of many Italians that

Italy had once again achieved social, military and political

supremacy and that Canada's future could best be met through

direct Italian intervention. As war became imminent, these

Italians became increasingly more vocal in their indignation at

the Canadian government and Allied intervention in the military

escalation.

A similar situation of Fascist factions emerging out of

already established and essentially pro-Canadian Italian

organizations occured elsewhere in Canada. Spada writes that:

> ...the Sons of Italy (in Montreal) became a
> duplicate of the local Fascist organization ...
> the chiefs of the Fascists and the officers of
> the Sons of Italy were almost the same
> persons -- alternately, and, in some cases,
> duplicating their offices and charges.
> (Spada, 1969:103)

At first, although strong protests were received, the Canadian

government tolerated these Fascist blocks. Italy, after all,

was still considered to be a "friendly" country. In time,

however, as the Fascists became increasingly more threatening

in their demonstrations, many of their leaders were placed

under R.C.M.P. surveillance.

When Italy finally declared war on Canada, many members of

these Italian organizations panicked and abandoned their

associations. The war signalled the end of social interaction
and ethnic identification within Winnipeg's pre-war Italian
community. Soon, all Fascist organizations were declared illegal
by the War Measures Act and the R.C.M.P. swiftly moved in to
enforce this legislation. In 1940, the Rome Mutual Benefit
Society in Winnipeg, the Order of the Sons of Italy in Montreal
and some lodges of the Order of Italo-Canadians in Ontario
and Quebec had their funds and records empounded and were forced
to close down their operations. The Fascist consular general
and his consuls and vice-consuls from across Canada were
expatriated back to Italy. The files and functions of the
Italian consulates were taken over by offices from neutral
countries. In Winnipeg, the Japanese consulate assumed
responsibility over Italian affairs until Japan also entered the
war against Canada. At this time, this responsibility was
transferred to the Swiss Consulate in Ottawa.

Approximately one out of every two hundred Italians in
Canada was temporarily interned in detention camps for enemy
aliens (Spada, 1969:126). Although internment was to be the fate
of some of Winnipeg's citizens, for the most part Winnipeg's
Italians were merely obliged to register themselves with the
local R.C.M.P. After initial registration, they were then
obliged to report to the police once a month to provide
information concerning their activities and associations. As
time went on and anti-Italian sentiments diminished, many Italians
were able to receive extensions on or even exemptions from this

enforced accounting of their personal affairs. Altogether, though, community life in Winnipeg was greatly affected by the war.

Members of the Winnipeg Italian community, who had resigned themselves to their life in Canada and had come to accept this new land as their own, felt bewildered and betrayed by the actions of the Canadian government and the R.C.M.P. They had difficulty understanding the reasons of national security behind the implementation of the War Measures Act. It was hard to accept the fact of internment of friends and family members in detention camps and the policy of registration with the police. The expulsion of the vice-consul has severed their most personal contact with their homeland. Indeed, with the physical removal of the consulate files to the Swiss Consulate in Ottawa, access to their official identities was denied them. Even their social security and interaction had been constrained by the enforced closure of the Rome Society. It was perhaps hardest of all to accept and adhere to the sentiments and expectations of an adopted country which was at that time actively involved in the bombing and invasion of their homeland.

The period from 1940 to 1950 -- the war years and the immediate reconstruction era -- marked the end of this phase of the Italian community in Winnipeg. Although no personal acts of violence or discrimination had been practiced against them, the Italians in Winnipeg assumed a very unobtrusive, almost submissive, profile. Many of my informants reported that the

entire period had been one of shame and humiliation. At one

and the same time, the war had made it difficult to accept the

Canadian identity and dishonourable to accept the Italian.

Consequently, by the time immigration from Italy resumed in the

mid-1950's, the new Italian immigrants to Winnipeg were confronted

for the most part by an Italian community without an ethnic identity.

C. Religious Organizations

1. Introduction

For the purpose of this thesis, religious organizations are

defined as those groups established within and under the auspices

of an established church for and/or by its layity. As in

Giuliano's report (1976:8-9) on Italian-Canadian religious

festivals, it appears that although lay organizations are

concerned with the spiritual welfare of their members, most

provide, to varying degrees, social services for the congregation

and the broader community. Such organizations provide a medium in

which the congregation can become more actively involved in the

operation of their church, as well as provide an important

medium for social interaction and identification within the

organization, the congregation and the community.

Lay religious organizations can take many forms -- prayer

guilds, social clubs, and mutual benefit or bereavement societies.

Whether or not they are oriented more towards spiritual welfare,

philanthropic endeavors, or purely social and educational

activities, these organizations appeal to the more immediate,
often secular, concerns of the non-clerical sector of the
congregation. These organizations can be described as performing
three very important functions for their members: (1) to promote
the moral and religious precepts of its parent institution --
the church; (2) to maintain community or congregational
solidarity; and (3) to help preserve a sense of identity.
Because lay religious organizations "have similar needs and are
accustomed to similar social arrangements" (Banton, 1968:362)
as trade unions, political associations and friendly societies,
their description constitutes the crux of this section of the
study.

2. The Italian Example

Historically, the majority of Italians have been and still
are Roman Catholics. This is especially true of the southern
Italians who have been geographically isolated from Protestant
intrusions into north Italy from France and Austria. Although
traditionally anti-cleric in many regards, the southern Italians
have remained strongly devout and have adhered rigidly to
Catholic social and spiritual precepts. Furthermore, this
identification with Catholicism has virtually been an ascribed
trait of Italian folkways since the Roman Church has held a
fundamental monopoly on the spiritual welfare of the country,
even in its confrontation with pervasive superstitutious
retentions in the south (Williams, 1938:146). The monopoly has
been reinforced by the self-proclaimed ability of the church

as the sole interpreter of the Scriptures and mediator between man and God. This emphasis on sacerdotalism has necessitated the development of an intricate socio-religious organization for both the church and its lay domains. To more fully appreciate the Italian lay religious organizations, it is important to briefly discuss some of the characteristics of the greater, more formal, organization of the Roman church.

Wilson defines a church as "an autonomous corporate institution hierachally organized and served by a professional priesthood" (Wilson, 1968:434). This arrangement is evident within the papal hierarchy which proportionately graduates the degree of power and authority from the Pope to the legions of parish priests. This definition also accounts for the organization of devotional cults to particular saints within the Roman church in that they are coordinated with and subjected to the regular and established canonical practices, disciplinary procedures and superordinate central or episcopal authority (Wilson, 1968:434). Such cults include the Society of Jesus, the Society of Mary, the Society of St. John the Baptist, and the Society of the Sacred Heart.

The organization of these cults begins with the process of recruitment. In this respect, although clerical scholasticism has become increasingly important, the church and its religious orders have traditionally relied upon a sense of voluntary vocation or personal calling in recruiting novitiates. The

training of these novices consists of the gradual induction
into the mysteries of the order, attended by the renunciation of
property, sexuality and personal dependence, and culminating in
the full indoctrination into priestly authority and obligation.
Ordination into a religious order is conceived as a lifelong
commitment with "permanent investment of sacerdotal authority"
(Wilson, 1968:435).

The "mass of the laity" is brought into closer union with
the church and its organization through the establishment of
diocese which are in turn divided into the local unit of the
parish. "Parish organization was the comprehensive territorial
provision of religious facilities and religious control"
(Wilson, 1968:432). It is at the level of the parish, through
the religious orders, that the closest, most rigorous,
interaction between the church and the laity takes place.
This intimate contact with the local parish order has
consequences on the formation of lay religious organizations.

In Italy as in other Catholic countries, the relationship
between the laity and the parish order verged on the symbiotic.
Each village and town, with its immediately surrounding lands,
was under the jurisdiction of its parish; and each parish was
under the control of one of the devotional cults or religious
orders described above. While the congregation physically
supported its parish priory, seminary, abbey, convent or
monastary through the church system of tithes and alms, the parish
order provided spiritual, and sometimes social, maintenance for

its congregation. The greatest impact of the church on the laity came in times of major life crises and celebrations such as births, baptism, confirmations, weddings, deaths and natural disasters. At these times, the church ministered for the blessings on and for the salvation of the congregation while providing a medium for informal community association and interaction at the feasts and parades provided for the celebration of these events.

Perhaps the most important expression of association among the congregation occured during the annual feast-day celebrations for the town's patron saint. As described by Williams (1938: 138-140) such festivities continued for several days and involved the entire community. The image of the saint was taken from the church and carried in procession through the streets of the town. The people thronged the streets showering flowers on the statue, chanting hymns and making contributions and offerings of money, food and religiously symbolic articles to the image and the church. The economic outlay for these celebrations was tremendous for the common man, but the recreational and religious benefits were seen as adequate justification.

"Usually a society, named for the saint, looked after the business part of the occasion and furnished bearers, music and fireworks. The Santa Maddalena Society, for example, was named for the patroness of the little town of Atrani, near Naples" (Williams, 1938:138). These "saints's societies" were organized

by and from the laity and supported by them through the donations

of money given during the celebrations. These societies appear

to constitute the sole form of lay religious organization in

pre-war Italy. This situation was to be drastically altered for

and by the masses of Italian immigrants to North America.

In Canada, as in other industrialized and urbanized countries

of the world, the secular authorities had permitted religious

diversity and tolerance. This situation posed two problems

to the Roman Catholics. The first problem was that this

situation permitted religious dignitaries "of different churches

to claim spiritual jurisdiction over the same territory"

(Wilson, 1968:432). For the Catholic church, this meant that

its monopoly on the spiritual jurisdiction over the Italians

was threatened by the increased potential for proselytization.

The second problem was that this situation also allowed the

formation of Catholic parishes from different orders and ethnic

groups in the same or immediately adjacent areas. For the

Italian Catholics, this meant that their congregational

solidarity and ethnic identification was threatened.

By the time the Italians began to arrive in Canada in any

great numbers, Roman Catholicism had thousands of followers in

this country. However, the existing Catholic churches and

parishes were strongly influenced by British and French

traditions. The newly arriving Italian Catholics had to content

themselves by attending services at these churches or at

churches of other faiths. As Williams has pointed out,
"Despite a common nominal adherence to the dogmas of Rome,
fundamental differences in both conception and ritual immediately
appeared..., differences sharply accentuated by language"
(Williams, 1938:146-147). This situation was only exacerbated
by the arrival, demands, and influence of Polish, Ukranian,
Romanian, Greek and other ethnically distinct Catholic
congregations.

There appears to have been three general trends in dealing
with this conceptual and ritual conflict for the Italian
immigrant groups in North America: (1) alienation from the
church, (2) adaptation to the new religious environment, and
(3) maintenance of established patterns and concerns. With
respect to alienation from the church, Glazer's and Moynihan's
study of Italians in New York describes a degree of unacceptance
of the situation whereby "few Italians observed the sacraments,
and ... many departed from the Church," often in favour of
Protestant missions (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963:202). Such
occurances seem to represent the extreme and exceptional
response to the conflict. A more common response was one of
adaptation. In this instance, many Italians were willing and
able to accomodate their religious concerns within non-Italian
Catholic churches. Very often, due to the harsh North American
winters, the unfamiliar distances to other churches and the
initial lack of an Italian church, these Italians were content to

attend the Catholic church nearest to their homes, whatever

its ethnic affiliation may have been. Even after the establishment

of an Italian parish, these concerns often mitigated against

regular attendance by some Italians to their own ethnic church

(Williams, 1938:147; Boissevain, 1970:19; Spada, 1969:222; and

Gans, 1963:112-113).

By far, though, the most common and popular response to this

conceptual and ritual conflict was the maintenance of established

patterns and concerns. "As soon as any Italian group's finances

barely permitted, therefore, a parish and church along ...

Italian lines was established" (Williams, 1938:147). The list of

Italian Catholic churches in Canada built, during this early

era, for and by fledgling Italian communities is quite impressive:

St. Nicholas Italian Church, Sydney, Nova Scotia (Spada, 1969:219),

St. Peter's Church, Ketch Harbour, Nova Scotia (Spada, 1969:223-224),

St. Anne's Catholic Church, Niagara Falls, Ontario (Spada, 1969:292),

the Church of the Sacred Heart, Windsor, Ontario (Spada, 1969:300),

St. Anthony's Church, Ottawa, Ontario (Spada, 1969:305), the

Italian Church of St. Rita, North Bay, Ontario (Spada, 1969:317),

Santo Rosario Church, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Spada, 1969:317),

Holy Rosary Church, Winnipeg, Manitoba (Spada, 1969:334), The

Church of St. Andrea, Clagary, Alberta (Spada, 1969:349), The

Church of Sacred Heart, Vancouver, British Columbia (Spada, 1969:369),

and St. Anthony's Church, Trail, British Columbia (Spada, 1969:384).

The establishment of these Italian churches and parishes,

however, was to provide their respective congregations with

more than just a sense of, and purpose for, liturgical retention.

At first

> the immigrant attitude toward religion shortly
> began to show the effects of contact with a number
> of different sects, with the "chill winds of
> indifferentism and irreligion", with the manner
> in which Americans generally depend more upon lay
> specialists -- physicians, ward bosses, lawyers,
> etc. -- than upon saints, priests and witches,
> and with the predominant commercialism of
> American philosophy.
> (Williams, 1938:147)

Yet, the Italian parish in North America was to give the emerging

pre-war immigrant community its strongest focus for group

solidarity and identity in the face of ennui and alienation

resulting from the shock of immigration, urbanization and

industrialization.

This process of community or congregational integration

often began with the actual building of the church. "Men

volunteered their labour and women's committees raised money

through bazaars and raffles" (Spada, 1969:305). Integration

continued after the sanctification of the churches along more

informal lines already familiar to the congregation. In this

regard Boissevain writes,

> Weekly masses, important annual festivals such
> as Christmas and Easter, enthusiastically celebrated
> feasts of ... parish patron saints, in addition to
> baptisms, confirmations, weddings and funerals
> are occasions when persons of Italian descent
> meet each other on a recurring basis.
> (Boissevain, 1970:21)

Community solidarity and identification reached its peak during

this era, through the close ties between the laity and their parish.

As the parish church nurtured its spiritual and social significance to the congregation, so too did it foster greater organizational importance for the Italian community in general. Herbert Gans, in his famous work on the Italians of Boston, describes the role of church in that community as "institutionalized internal caretakers". In other words,

> the Catholic priests acted as confessors, interpreter of the moral code, and buffers between the West End [i.e. the Italian community] and the outside world... The priests also functioned as advice-givers in familial and peer group conflicts...
> The church also carried out some welfare functions, and the priests made house calls as amateur caseworkers.
> (Gans, 1962:160)

In turn, many of the Italian congregations began to be organized under the influence, if not the direction, of their parish priests to assist in the functions of the church.

All Catholic parishes had their Advisory Committees, Knights of the Alter and choirs to assist the church in its operations and celebrations. Very often, community "service clubs" like the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Order of Foresters were adopted by the Italian congregations to assist the church in its welfare and social security activities. The Catholic Women's League became extremely popular, reflecting the traditionally high involvement of Italian women in the church. This organization became indispensible in the raising of funds

for church activities through dinners, teas and bazaars. The
church picnics, dances and other events also sponsored provided
the Italian communities with an important source of group
recreation and association. The funds raised by these events
often helped sponsor the formation and operation of Sunday schools,
parochial schools, the Catholic Youth Organization, the Brownies,
Cubs, Girl Guides and Boy Scouts. These organizations helped
to integrate the Italian youth both into the Roman Church and
into the community. In this way the moral and religious precepts
of the Catholic church were promoted as well as a sense of
congregational/community solidarity and ethnic/social identity.

3. Italian Religious Organizations in Winnipeg

The first Italian immigrants to Winnipeg were initially
registered at pre-established centres of the Roman Catholic
faith such as St. Mary's Cathedral and the Sacred Heart Church.
These churches were dedicated to ministering to the spiritual
needs of immigrant arrivals. By 1912, though, the Italians
were ready to set up their own ethnic parish, as described by
Spada (1969:333-334) and the Holy Rosary Church (1957). A
small Protestant church was rented and the first Holy Rosary
Italian Parish was begun. In 1923, the old Lutheran Icelandic
Church at the corner of Sherbrooke Street and Bannatyne Avenue
was purchased and the parish acquired its first church. The
rectory was built in 1930 and the adjoining land and buildings
were purchased in 1937. In this same year, charge of the Italian

parish, originally in the hands of the Congregation of St.
Charles Borromeo, was given over to the Servants of Mary. The
Servite Fathers were to become an active and important element within
Winnipeg's Italian community. The Holy Rosary Church, during
the pre-war era, was the spiritual, educational, social and,
to a certain extent, physical centre of this community.

The early Italian community in Winnipeg, composed primarily
of southern Italians, reflected the basically anti-cleric, though
by no means anti-religious, attitudes of their homeland. As
one informant within the church described it: "The Italians here
have a strong religious belief, but with a rather relaxed religious
practice". Also the women and children of the community primarily
made up the ranks of the steady "church-goers". Yet the Holy Rosary
church held a special attraction to the Italian community. The church,
after all, was the Italian parish. It was operated and
administered by an Italian pastor, prior and priesthood. The
church still maintained its traditional position as spiritual
and ceremonial centre for the congregation, and it was the only
true Italian institution providing and promoting familiar
activities and attitudes in Winnipeg at this time.

Some of the overt activities offered by the church included
the conducting of the services in Latin and Italian. To the
bewildered immigrant surrounded by an unintelligible economic,
political and legal milieu, the institutionalized use and
acceptance of familiar languages at church were both attractive
and comforting. Similarly, the celebration of the traditional
feast days and great masses, complete with their incumbent

liturgical pomp and ceremony and infused with their appropriate

folk traditions, such as the baking of _panettoni_ (a fruit cake

in the shape of a dove) at Christmas, and the making of crosses

from palm branches at Easter, brought a little of old Italy into

the immigrants' new Canadian lives. The promulgation of Catholic

attitudes concerning divorce, inter-faith marriages and apostalization

also served to bind the community, with its church, together. In

the first place, any offenders were swifly and effectively

estranged from the congregation and the community. In the second

place, while other Canadians allowed and accepted increasing

liberalization and tolerance of these issues, the Italians maintained

their rigid moral standards; both these factors served to solidify

community identification and integration.

This process of identification and integration began early in

the history of the parish and centered around the real and pressing

concerns of the community -- i.e., social security and welfare.

As has been discussed in the section on "Mutual Benefit Societies",

this was a time when universal social security and benefits

were unheard of and the number of dependent Italian immigrants was

at its greatest. This situation prompted the Holy Rosary church,

as it had the Rome Mutual Benefit Society, to become involved

and active in the dispensation of social welfare. In this

capacity, the church billetted newly arrived immigrants in its

basement until these people could secure employment and their own

homes. The church bought a number of adjacent houses and

established liaison with a number of Winnipeg businesses and
industries, notably the garment industry. In this way, the church
assumed the heavily relied upon roles of landlord-realtor and
employment agent for the community.

In time, the church assumed other institutional roles.
Socially, the church provided the Italian community with important,
informal interactive services. The church took it upon itself to
provide social outlets by sponsoring dances, picnics, dinners,
bingo games, card tournaments and teas. And so the Holy Rosary
church became the only true community hall for the pre-war
Italian community, catering to its specific social interests
and activities. Educationally, although the Holy Rosary church
was outside the scope of the public school system, it played an
influential role in the community. Since the main purpose of
the church has always been to provide religious tutelage and
guidance, it quickly established Sunday school facilities for the
children of the congregation. Organized by the Servite Fathers,
these classes were conducted by the Sisters of Providence, from
St. Joseph's Vocational School, and volunteers from the community.
These classes prepared the young for the great religious and social
ceremonies of Confirmation and First Communion which would
indoctrinate them fully into the Roman Church and the Italian
Catholic community. Shortly after 1930, the Holy Rosary church
began to offer Italian language classes to the children. The
church provided the facilities, encouragement and initial

impetus, while the actual instruction was voluntarily provided

through the office of the honourary vice-consul and the Rome

Society.

To more fully realize these many and diverse undertakings,

the church encouraged the involvement of the congregation through

the development of a number of lay religious organizations. Many

Italians felt that they could do more for themselves and for

others within the community through these church organizations than

through any secular association. Consequently, many parochial

organizations -- some of universal Catholic design, and others

distinctly local in nature -- were established and well represented

within the Italian community. These organizations appear to

have fallen into four basic types: (1) overtly religious,

(2) administrative, (3) philanthropic and (4) socio-cultural.

It must be pointed out that these are indeed basic typologies

since many organizations exhibited characteristics from any

combination of other types.

There were nine manifestly religious organizations in the

pre-war Italian community of Winnipeg. By far the most religious

type of lay organization was the Third Order (see Hartdegen,

1967; and Reinmann, 1967). The Holy Rosary's Third Order of the

Servants of Mary was under the ultimate control and direction

of the Servite Fathers. The Order was characterized by a rigid

emulation of the Holy Rosary priests' devotion to the Virgin

Mary, the Mother of Sorrows. In fact, the nature of this

organization so strongly resembled its clerical parent that its overall attraction to the majority of the Italian community was minimal.

Two other lay organizations, which held similar devotional concerns as the Third Order and yet were less formal in their practice, held a greater attraction to the general congregation. These were the Congregation Men of the Blessed Sacrement and the Congregation Ladies of the Holy Rosary (see Kenny, 1967). These two organizations were sexually distinct manifestations of the same parent organization. Prayer and the belief in the spiritual benefits of the rosary constituted the foci for these organizations. Group solidarity and identification were engendered through common or group recitation, meditation and prayer.

The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine was another lay organization concerned with the religious well-being of the congregation. This organization made no sexual distinction in membership and was more diverse and informal in its spiritual pursuits than the preceding organizations. This was the association organized for and by the community's volunteer Sunday school teachers.

There were two more lay religious associations in the community concerned with the spiritual advancement of their members through the intensification of Catholic life. One was the Legion of Mary Praesedium, open to any practicing Catholic eighteen years of age or over, and the other was the Little Servants of Mary, the

junior equivalent of the Legion (see Carroll, 1967; and

McPadden, 1967). While the junior group primarily focussed on

emulating the senior organization and preparing for membership

in the senior group, the Legion itself was concerned with

spiritual enhancement and extensive apostolic work. This latter

concern included the recruitment of new members into the

organization and the congregation.

Characterized by intense organization, indoctrination and

interaction, a strong sense of solidarity and identity emerged

among the members of this organization. Through the Legion's

apostolic works, the rest of the congregation and the general

community were also drawn into involvement. In its desire to spread

the faith and recruit new members, the Legion of Mary carried its

mission from door to door throughout the community and, in so

doing, attracted many Italians to the congregation and brought

them into contact with other Italians. The Legion was also

active in visiting with the sick and underprivileged members of

the community.

Three other religious organizations were established within

the congregation which were actually more concerned with the

ceremonial functioning of the church than with the promulgation

of Catholic doctrine and ideals. One such organization was the

choir, whose major expression of association occurred during

practices and performances. The presence and proficiency of

the choir itself was an important source of religio-cultural

pride, identity and attraction for the congregation and community. Another such organization was the Sanctuary Guild. This Guild was a woman's organization responsible for the cleaning, changing, mending and alterations of the altar clothes, altar boy's garments and the priest's vestments. While in appearance this group resembled a sewing-bee more than a religious organization, its role in maintaining the props and costumes of the church was essential to the religious operation of the parish.

The Knights of the Altar (see Buetow, 1967) was another lay religious organization involved in the ceremonial aspects of the church. In this regard, the Knights essentially provided assistance to the priests in the performance of their liturgical and devotional functions during services. An important aspect of the Knights of the Altar was that it provided a medium whereby the priests could establish close ties with the altar boys and the boys, in turn, with the church and each other. This sense of unity and camaraderie was perhaps best expressed by the creation of a hockey team for the Knights of the Altar shortly after 1938 by their director, Father Alphonsus Borelli (de Palma, 1962:15). This team went on to win the provincial championship, generating considerable community pride and serving as an example and an impetus in the formation of soccer and baseball teams. Through these sports, the church was able to attract a large number of the community's youngsters.

There were two other lay religious organizations operating in the parish at this time which were more of an administrative rather than a religious nature. These organizations were the Men's Advisory Committee and the Trustees (see Fanning, 1913). The Men's Advisory Committee was composed of the general body of vestryman who were chosen from the congregation to administer the temporal affairs of the parish. Three members of this Committee were in turn appointed as the congregation's lawful representatives or Trustees, to the church's corporation for the administration of its ecclesiastical property.

These two organizations, then, were very important in involving the men of the congregation in the organization and operation of the parish. They acted as a liaison between the rector and the community. Being responsible for the allocation of church funds, ensuring the proper maintenance of the church, the rectory and the parish hall, and providing the needed voluntary manpower in carrying out the programmes of the church, the Men's Advisory Committee and the Trustees freed the priesthood from the more mundane and secular matters of parish activity. At the same time, they gave the congregation a voice in the operation of the parish and provided the congregation with an important medium of interaction through the funding and co-ordinating of desired social and charitable programmes operating out of the church.

The Catholic Women's League (see Mealey, 1967), another lay religious organization within the parish, could best be described

as a philanthropic organization. It was a service agency whose
programs featured the application of Catholic principles in areas
of spiritual development, family life and community concerns.
Winnipeg's pre-war Italian Catholic Women's League became vitally
active in the billetting of immigrants in their homes and in
providing assistance to the needy. This assistance took the form
of medical care and training in nutrition and in pre- and
post-natal practices for mothers, as well as supplying the
underprivileged with food and clothing.

The Catholic Women's League was also an important source of
funding for the church in that it sponsored many of the community
teas, raffles, and banquets, so popular in the Italian community
at this time. It was the League, operating on behalf of the
church, that provided many of the social events for informal
interaction which brought the community closer together. At the
same time, the League was the most important avenue open to
women of the congregation to participate in the formal operation
of the parish and the community.

There were other organizations affiliated with the Holy
Rosary church whose primary purposes were to provide social
and cultural outlets for the community. One such association was
the Sherbrooke Social Club. Named after the location of the
church, this club was open to all parishioners and was involved in
organizing, promoting and running the social events offered
through the Holy Rosary church. This club and its events had a

strong appeal to almost every member of the pre-war community by being one of the few outlets for formal social interaction. Another socio-cultural organization sponsored by the church that appealed to the general Italian public was the Holy Rosary Dramatic Society. Founded in the late 1930's by Father Borelli (de Palma, 1962:15) this society performed such works as Othello, the Passion Play and many popular and distinctly Italian plays. Thus, besides providing the community with familiar and nostalgic expressions of their ethnicity, these performances offered the community another chance to meet and socialize.

Besides the hockey, soccer and baseball teams open to the altar boys, the church also instituted the Catholic Youth Social Club to answer to the socio-cultural needs of the community's youth and "to pass on and conserve the beautiful traditions and customs of their forefathers" (de Palma, 1962:15). Open to children of grade and high school ages, the Catholic Youth, as with other religious groups, had a definite spiritual program which included joint communions, communion breakfast, religious instruction, discussion, and study. However, unlike most of the religious organizations geared towards the young, the Youth Club also had formalized social, cultural and recreational activities. The members of the Youth Club augmented the ranks of the Knights of the Altar in forming team sports. Also, the members were encouraged to form debating and oratorical groups, study and discussion groups as well as joining the Dramatic Society.

Socially, the Catholic Youth Club organized their own parties,
picnics and socials (see McPadden, 1967:1080).

At a time when parents still maintained a strict control on
and censure of their children's, especially their daughter's,
extra-familial relationships and activities, these church programs
for the youth were extremely important for the social interaction
and association of young Italians. While they were forbidden to
attend school dances and parties, it was deemed permissable for
the young to attend similar church functions. The prevailing
attitude of most Italian parents appears to have been that any
event offered by and operated through the church was safe and proper.
Consequently, the Catholic Youth Social Club was successful in
drawing the young people together and in nurturing a sense of
socio-ethnic identity in the Italian pre-war community of Winnipeg.

4. The Italian Catholic Identity

It can be said that the institution of the Holy Rosary
Italian parish, complete with all its auxiliary lay religious
organizations, involved and influenced the vast majority of
Italians in Winnipeg during the pre-war era. This involvement
and influence included, other than the typically active female
and prepubescent segments of the population, a significantly
high number of men and adolescents. Ir also included those
Italians living in the more removed residential areas of St.
Boniface, Transcona, Osborne-South and Fort Rouge-Crescentwood.

As one informant said, although the West End church was

inconveniently located for these satellite Italian neighborhoods,

most Italians felt that "it was important to attend the church

of our people". This attraction was greatly felt during this

era of confusion and alienation, resulting from the immigration

process, and was often most strongly expressed at the common great

life events of marriage, baptism, confirmation and burial.

As expressed by Williams,

> A close examination of the fate of religious
> practices in this country reveals that those
> dealing with the celebrations of some religious
> or secular event tend to survive more readily than
> do others. The...Italian clings to them both for
> the pleasure they give and for the opportunity
> thus offered of renewing or maintaining his
> identification with people and activities familiar
> to him.
> (Williams, 1938:149)

In this regard, although the general community retained strong

anticleric sentiments, the Italian church nevertheless acted as

a beacon drawing the immigrants to it in the answering and

preservation of their cultural, social and religious needs.

Besides the common goal of the church and the community to

preserve their Catholic faith, both were also ultimately concerned

with issues of social security and well-being. Essential to

the actual physical survival of the community, the church was

bound by its Christian manifesto of charity to respond to these

social needs. And yet, adequate response required adequate sources

of funding and manpower. In terms of funding, the Italian

situation parallelled that of other religious groups, such as

the Jewish community, in that "although they usually had an

annual appeal for their charities, the sums raised were never

large either in relation to the number of their constituent

societies or the need of their very large clientele"

(Berger, 1976:244). And yet, churches, as Tax claims,

> get the most help, mainly through the
> traditional local property tax exemptions;
> income tax deductions allowed for membership and
> contributions; considerable free community
> advertising of fund-raising affairs and a great
> deal of voluntary service...
> (Tax, 1976:450)

It was through such means that the Holy Rosary Church was able

to provide social services.

In terms of manpower, besides such self-sacrificing

clergymen as Father Borelli, the Holy Rosary parish did indeed

have a reserve of volunteers in the form of its lay religious

organizations. These organizations proved more than willing and

able in providing social support to the congregation and the

community. Consequently, at a time when government-sponsored,

universal social security was nonexistent, and the traditional

source of such security (i.e., the primary group of the Italian

extended family) had been disrupted, the Holy Rosary church

assumed substantial responsibility in so serving the pre-war

community.

In point of fact, however, it was the infra-structure of lay

religious organizations which actually serviced the needs of the

community. The church may have recognized its moral responsibility
to intervene. It may have provided the initial impetus, officers,
funding and facilities. But soon after their inception, it was
the lay organizations themselves, giving unsparingly of their
time, energy and resources, that made the church programs so
successful in bringing the congregation and the community
together. As the priesthood mediates between man and his God,
it can be said that: "In national churches, both local and
special-interest organizations are voluntary associations that
mediate between the individual member and the hierarchy"
(Sills, 1968:374). As such, it was the members of the Legion of
Mary who performed the apostolic works of home visitation to the
sick and the newly arrived immigrants. It was the vestrymen and
trustees who advised the rector on the needs and wishes of the
parish. It was the Women's League who raised church funds through
sponsoring social events and who billetted new immigrants in their
homes. It was the teammates and actors of the championship
hockey team and the Dramatic Society who brought the people
together on cold winter evenings to mingle and socialize.

For those who became active in these lay organizations,
involvement gave them a diversion from the hardships and loneliness
of immigration. Involvement gave them a sense of purpose and unity
in their faith, their church and their organization. This was
the direct effect of these associations. Indirectly, the programs
they offered broke the routine of the common man in an alien urban

and industrial society. They provided him with recreation and entertainment, with spiritual direction, with social security and with a medium to socially interact with others of his kind. These associations fostered identification with his faith, his parish and his community.

With the advent of the Second World War, with its anti-Fascist and anti-Italian fervor, the only other formalized expression of ethnic identity, unity and security -- the Rome Mutual Benefit Society -- was denied the Italian community. A virtual socio-cultural vaccuum was created -- a vaccuum which was easily and readily filled by the church and its lay organizations. At a time when it was deemed expedient to submerge one's identity as an Italian, it became just as expedient to declare one's identity as a Catholic. And so it was that the church became the centre of the Italian community spiritually, physically, socially and culturally. Through the continued activities of the church, the vestiges of Italian heritage and ethnicity were preserved until the ember of Italian identity was once again fanned into life with the resurgence of immigration during the post-war era.

D) The War Years

As the economic depression of the 1930's created massive unemployment and residential dislocation even within the host society, the demands for a system of popular insurance became

a major political as well as economic and social issue.
Eventually, the Canadian government had to become directly
involved in social security. Initially this involvement took
the form of direct relief. "Social security and unemployment
insurance would follow in due course to distribute by check
permanent, catastrophic and long-term relief for the exceptional
and the aged, further removing areas of primary obligation from
the...community" (Berger, 1976:236-237). The voluntary mutual
aid society could not keep pace with government intervention.
Indeed, there was "a tendency among the wage earning classes to
look with growing confidence to government action for the
amelioration of economic conditions, and there...were many signs
that the anti-government attitude...was changing" (Dawson, 1933:171).

Many factors, other than direct competition with the
government over services, contributed to this change of attitude
throughout the Italian community and the gradual languish of the
Rome Society. For one thing, the Depression ended immigration
from Italy and so stemmed the flow of potential members for the
organization. Without immigrants, the primary orientation and
purpose of the Rome Society became anachronistic. Secondly,
actual membership within the organization was declining. This was
a result of the dying off of old members and the difficulty in
attracting new members from the Canadian-born, younger generations.
The young had had more exposure to the Canadian mainstream; they
were more attuned to and sympathetic with government intervention.

> Their natural sympathy lies with the Canadian
> culture, the culture of their peers. Consequently,
> what results from the oftentime personally repressive
> demand to adhere more rigorously to the precepts
> of the parents is a tendency to associate this
> repression with Italianess and to reject their
> Italian self.
> (D'Antini, 1976:5)

Indeed, the overall desire of the community to make a living in Canada, to stay and fit in, had undermined certain areas of cultural heritage retention and community solidarity as more and more Italians came to accept their adoptive surroundings. Even in terms of the Rome Society itself, by operating democratically in a democratic society and by attempting to aid their members in coping with the exigencies of urban, industrial life, the overall result was "the transformation of peasants into citizens" (Treudley, 1966:59).

Still, the gradual "Canadianization" of the Italian community cannot singly be held culpable for the eventual demise of the Rome Society; nor did it herald the disintegration of the community. The acceptance of foreign socio-cultural traits need not only be foisted upon a minority ethnic group by a more dominant society. The ethnic group itself can actively solicit and encourage certain aspects of cultural borrowing, especially with regard to adopting those aspects of the dominant society which easily align themselves with pre-established cultural values and attitudes. Correspondingly, adaptation to an alien dominant society need not diminish a group's desire to retain its distinctive identity.

In Winnipeg's community, as in others, "the Italian
immigrants were aware that they were perceived as 'foreigners'
and this awareness also encouraged them to maintain strong group
relationships with the ultimate view of becoming more acceptable
to Canadian society" (Pucci, 1979:24). Acceptance, in many cases,
was believed to be acquired through the adoption of such dominant,
Canadian attitudes towards food, dress, courtship, industry,
economic gain, material acquisition, and so on as did not require
a drastic re-orientation of one's basic cognition of Italianess.
In a similar vein, government intervention in social security
programs was seen as a good thing by many Italians and was
therefore increasingly accepted.

Although the operations of the Rome Society were to some
extent hampered by the development of governmental social security
and the growing approbation by some sectors of the adapting
community, the organization did not disintegrate. The two
systems of welfare and support continued to co-exist, much as the
formal, ethnic institution had co-existed with the community's
informal networks of association. The organization was still able
to maintain and attract members, even from the younger generations
who would, as in Koenig's example, often join "out of deference
to their parents as well as for...sentimental reasons"
(Koenig, 1939:274). In one respect, the intrusion of government
programmes on the primary obligations of the community actually
encouraged a degree of participation and involvement in the Rome
Society. In this regard, Tax states,

> In a society like ours so many "social functions"
> have been preempted by impersonal institutions that
> traditional primary and small groups have tended
> to whither away. The resulting void leaves
> unsatisfied the supportive needs of the individuals,
> leading to problems which exacerbate the need for
> group support.
> (Tax, 1976:449)

The exacerbation resulting from the Depression (e.g., increased

economic hardships, the end of immigration, and even government

handling of primary obligations) seems to have contributed to

increased political awareness and activity within the community

and the association. At the same time as the government was

becoming involved in social security, fascism was also intruding

upon the community. It was during the 1930's that the Mussolini

government of Italy instigated the position of a fascist Vice-Consul

in Winnipeg. This Vice-Consul was, in turn, instrumental in

developing a pro-fascist block within the Rome Society. The

expansive network of the Rome Mutual Benefit Society provided

an excellent medium through which to arouse the political

consciousness of the greatest number of Italians in Winnipeg's

community. Through its self-help and co-operative programmes,

the Rome Society had already fostered a strong patriotic

identity within the community. In addressing the immediate

needs of its members, in preparing the membership for the

exigencies of North American life, and in providing a locus for

group interaction and identity, the Rome Society also served to

politicize its membership in that "the social forces underlying

co-operative mutual-aid endeavors had arisen from popular desires

for...[the] redistribution of ... income, goods, services,

and opportunities" (Katz and Bender, 1976:266).

Politicization of the membership, through the encouragement

of the pro-fascists, resulted in the desire of a considerable

number of Italians to better their lot. This betterment, as

in Levy's example, was sought "through propaganda and political

activities aimed at gaining legitimacy for their style of life

and eliminating the grounds on which they have been stigmatized

and discriminated against" (Levy, 1976:313). In this respect,

the pro-fascists represented a small but vocal group who believed

that legitimacy for their life style and the "elimination" of

the greater Canadian social and economic mechanisms which

threatened or impeded this life style could best be accomplished

through direct political and military Italian intervention. With

regard to Sol Tax's idea that "self-help groups...will not be

'helped' by anybody or any policy which assumes that they are

the problem that need to be changed" (Tax, 1976:454), the political

activities of the fascist faction, and also the Rome Society which

they were believed to represent, were deemed to be dangerous and

subversive after the outbreak of the Second World War. Therefore,

it was chiefly through an act of Canadian Parliament that the

Roma Societa di Mutuo Soccurso was forced to disband.

It is important at this time to speculate upon the

development of the various religious organizations of the Italian

community during this period. Generally speaking if may be said:

> The religious institution as an integral part
> of the whole institutional complex of the
> community served as one of the means of entering
> into social relationships and of becoming a part
> of a recognized group life. As such, it has been
> subject to all the influences determining the
> form and organization of social relationships.
> Changes in the basic community structure affected
> inevitably the network of relationships and
> complex of values built up around the religious
> interest.
> (Clarke, 1948:433)

The disorienting effects and after-effects of the immigration

process itself, the First World War, and the economic depression

of the 1930's had all affected and altered to some degree the

traditional social relationships and values within the Italian

community. As we have seen, these pervasive influences did indeed

stimulate a need and desire for familiar religious expression,

identification and association.

There were other influences which contributed to a

reorientation of these relationships and values towards the

various religious organizations. Governmentally operated social

security was impinging upon the primary obligations of the mutual

benefit society in particular, and the community as a whole.

The insurgence of the fascists split both the Rome Society and

the community into two factions, with many of the larger,

anti-fascist segment being repelled by the political activity

within the Rome Society. And, finally with the coming of war

and the outlawing of the Italian mutual-aid society, the only

formal, secular, ethnic institution was removed from the community.

It may be said that "the breakdown of secular forms of

organization in various areas of social life increased dependence

upon religious forms" (Clarke, 1948:432). Indeed, it was during

the 1930's, a period of social and economic fragmentation and

of governmental and fascist intrusion, that the majority of

religious voluntary associations came into existance as more and

more Italians turned away from the changing secular relationships

and values towards those of the church.

After the disintegration of the Rome Society, the Italian

community came to rely more heavily upon the operations of the

church and its voluntary organizations.

> As everything human does, traditional forms and
> traditional groups of course continually change
> in response to other changes. Presumably a
> traditional group (no matter how old and firmly
> entrenched) will disintegrate if the manifest
> function it serves no longer exists. But the
> traditional pattern might well survive for groups
> performing new functions.
> (Tax, 1976:449)

Although already involved in some philanthropic endeavors, the

church, through its organizations, assumed greater preeminence

in these pursuits as the Rome Society was abandoned. So too did its

social and convivial functions increase in importance for the

community. The eventual demise of the mutual benefit society

had left an increasing void in the community, in terms of an outlet

and focus for group solidarity and ethnic identity. By continuing

the basic patterns of philanthropy and association, as well as

that of apostolicity, the Holy Rosary Italian Parish and its

religious organizations came to fill this void. Although somewhat

altered in outward presentation, solidarity and identity were preserved throughout and beyond the war years -- a period of general ethnic denial and submersion. With the reinstatement of immigration after the war and the resurgence of Italian immigration into the Winnipeg community, true ethnic identity and open in-group interaction would once again emerge.

Chapter III

THE POST-WORLD WAR II COMMUNITY

With the revival of immigration from Italy to the
Winnipeg community after the Second World War, there was a
re-awakening of ethnic identity and interaction. Besides the
influx of a new and fresh Italian population, this re-awakening
corresponded to an unprecedented flourishing of ethnic institutions
and formal voluntary associations. It is primarily these
institutions and associations, and their impact on identification
and interaction, which form the crux of this chapter. In this
regard, it is shown that these institutions and associations act
as both integrative and adaptive mechanisms, playing an important
role in group solidarity and the maintenance of the ethnic
community. As in the preceding text, some attention is also
given to certain ethnographic features of the post-war community,
especially the more informal means of association, which
contribute to ethnic homogeneity.

A. Demography and Ethnic Homogeneity

At the end of the Second World War, a liberalization of
Canada's immigration policy was encouraged

> by Canadians believing immigration necessary to
> populate and develop the country; by ethnic groups
> and individuals wanting to rescue their relatives
> and compatriots from the chaos in Europe; and by
> foreign governments hoping to relieve serious
> problems of overpopulation and unemployment.
> (Manpower and Immigration, 1974a:17)

The Canadian government itself was anxious to foster the
population growth of many regions within the country through
immigration; but it continued to stress the careful selection and
settlement of those immigrants who could advantageously and
easily be absorbed into the national economy and society. The
government did concede to the argument that a larger population
would help to develop the country's resources and industry.
Although legislation, regulations and administration remained
strict, Canada's immigration program returned to its peacetime
operation on May 1, 1947 (Manpower and Immigration, 1974a:18).

By 1950, with the steady decline of admissable immigrants
from allied countries, the immigration program had undergone a
number of revisions in an attempt to match the immigration supply to
the demands of the Canadian labour market. Perhaps the most
important revision occured in 1952 when the enemy alien prohibition
was completely revoked (Manpower and Immigration, 1974a:23).
This was to be the significant factor in opening the doors to the
second large-scale immigration from Italy, in the early 1960's,
which far surpassed the first such influx of 1910 in terms of
the sheer number of immigrants. This flow of Italian immigrants
continued until circa 1967 when heightened controls on
sponsorship and specialization, in the form of quotas, were
introduced to Canada's immigration program. These increased controls
were blamed by a number of my informants for the virtual stoppage
of Italian immigration to Winnipeg by the mid-1970's.

The 1971 census tracts for Winnipeg records the total Italian population for the metropolitan areas as being 9,395 people (Statistics Canada, 1971:2). At the time of this study, however, through natural propagation, migration and minimal immigration, my informants estimated that the actual population had increased to between 12-15,000 individuals. While the official figures comprise only 1.7% of the entire metropolitan population, the unofficial estimates still only account for roughly 2.8%. Consequently, Winnipeg's post-war Italian community is still small in relation to the rest of the city. Moreover, this relatively small population is quite dispersed throughout the city of Winnipeg.

The post-war Italian population continued residence in the established pre-war neighborhoods of the West End, Fort Rouge-Crescentwood, Osborne South and Transcona. The Fort Rouge-Crescentwood area became very popular after 1967 when the Holy Rosary Church moved from its pre-war location in the West End to the corner of River and Norquay Streets in Fort Rouge. These established neighborhoods have continued to be attractive to the new generation of immigrants for such reasons as proximity to employment opportunities, proximity to ethnic institutions (such as the church) and, especially, proximity to other Italians.

This desire to reside among other Italians, within a familiar social milieu, has resulted in the emergence of a number of small regional enclaves within the overall Italian community. For the most part, Winnipeg's Italian community is primarily

composed of people from southern Italy; from the provinces of Basilicata (Lucania), Abruzzi, Campania, and, especially, Calabria. In the city core, along the eastern fringe of the West End Italian community, there is a strong demographic representation from the south-eastern province of Apulia, especially from around the town of Bari. This enclave emerged after 1967 when these people were brought to Winnipeg to provide labor for the garment industry. These immigrants therefore congregated in the older Italian neighborhood in close proximity to their work. In more recent years, a small contingent of this Bari enclave has relocated in the newer housing development of Tyndal Park in the north end of the city. The newer housing developments to the north have also attracted many of the immigrants from the north-eastern region of Friuli. Similarly, a small enclave of Sicilians, primarily from the vicinity of Palermo, occupy a few city blocks west of Main Street in West Kiddonan.

Perhaps the largest regional enclave occurs among the Amatese group of Winnipeg's Italian population. The small town of Amato, in the southern region of the province of Calabria, has provided more immigrants to Winnipeg than any other town, region or province of Italy. The Italian vice-consul estimated that as many as 15 to 20 individuals (or 3 to 4 families) a day were emigrating from Amato to Winnipeg during the early post-war era. Consequently, the vice-consul believes that Winnipeg has the largest Amatese population in Canada. My Amatese informants took great pride in

telling me that there are more Amatese in Winnipeg alone than there are in the existing village of Amato. For a large part, this Amatese enclave is located in Transcona.

Like the rest of Winnipeg society, the post-war Italian community is being drawn more and more to the suburbs. This is especially true of the second generation and pre-war first generation components of the community. Small and very new concentrations are just now occuring in the suburbs in St. James-Assiniboia to the west, Fort Richmond-Waverly Heights to the south and Garden City-The Maples to the north. Indeed, the Maples is fast becoming one of the larger and newest areas of Italian residential concentration. The suburbs appear to be attractive for a number of reasons. Younger Italians, especially second-generation Italians, see a new home in the suburbs as being a better monetary investment than a bigger and older home in the old neighborhoods. This may especially be true as the socio-economic status of these people continues to increase. The status and prestige that accrues from owning a fully modern home is also a significant factor in attracting older or first-generation Italians to the suburbs. The increasing crime rates in the city core neighborhoods and, to a certain degree, the influx of certain other ethnic groups (principally, many informants categorized North American Indians and Asians, especially Filipinos, as "undesireables") into these neighborhoods are causing many Italians to abandon their older homes for the suburbs.

And yet, the older established neighborhoods persist, especially under the impetus from post-war immigrants. It appears, that the majority of Italians are satisfied with their neighborhoods. This satisfaction may stem from the general economic and, especially, ethnic homogeneity of these older neighborhoods. Neighborhood homogeneity is often augmented by the presence of relatives congregated in and around the same neighborhoods. As in other major centres of Italian settlement, like Toronto, even though this community is relatively small and fairly dispersed throughout the city, Winnipeg's post-war Italian community can be described as

> a stable, relatively segregated, population,
> almost all home-owners, and almost all satisfied
> with their homes and their neighborhoods, tending to
> feel very settled..., with a commitment to the local
> neighborhood, which, among the immigrants is likely
> to contain other Italians, and kinsmen.
> (Ziegler, 1972:63)

In other words, the social networks within the post-war Italian community are closely bound, if not often limited, to the residential neighborhood.

While in their broadest sense, social networks extend to and are maintained with relatives and friends still in Italy through letters, telephone calls and the occasional visit, almost all my informants identified their neighbors as their closest or most frequent friends and/or acquaintances. With the high proportion of relatives, paesani and fellow countrymen residing in these neighborhoods, this situation of close neighborhoods is a significant phenomenon in providing a buffer between the immigrants

and the strange new society that surrounds them.

> The somewhat greater degree of spatial
> homogeneity of social network among persons
> whose network is also ethnically homogeneous may
> point up the significance of ethnic neighborhood
> not only as a buffer in relation to the world
> outside its borders, but also as a more
> satisfying and meaningful social universe,
> self-contained, than non-ethnic neighborhoods.
> (Ziegler, 1972:74-75)

The homogeneity of the ethnic neighborhood constitutes the "peer

group society" as defined by Herbert Gans (Gans, 1962:36).

This peer group society is composed of "people of the same

sex, age, and life-cycle status..." of which "the family is its

most important component" (Gans, 1962:37). In this respect,

Winnipeg's post-war Italian community, as with the communities in

Toronto (Ziegler: 1972) and Boston (Gans: 1962), continues a

pattern of informal association that was present in the pre-war

community and in Italy itself, whereby an individual most commonly

identifies kindred as "friends" and therefore associates more

intensely and frequently with relatives than with non-kin.

Relatives, indeed, account for a major section of the social

networks within the neighborhoods and the overall community and

account for "a good deal of the time spent in social contact

activities outside work every week" (Ziegler, 1972:73).

After the family, _paesani_ constitutes the next most important

component of the peer group society within Winnipeg's post-war

Italian community, followed by friends and acquaintances from other

regions of Italy. Taking the close association between relatives,

paesani and countrymen together, a picture of dense ethnic homogeneity

emerges for the post-war community. When asked to identify their

best friends, all of my informants named fellow Italians. This

situation appears to conform to the Toronto case where

1. most of their acquaintances are Italian;
2. their three closest friends are Italians; and
3. they rank their three closest friends, from one to
    three along ethnic lines, being most likely to claim
    an Italian as best friend and least likely as third
    best friend (Ziegler, 1962:66).

As mentioned above, ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods, in

cushioning the immigrant from his new and alien surroundings, play

a significant part in orienting and establishing the immigrant

within the city.

Residentially, the attraction of this homogeneity has

already been discussed. However, the impact, influence and

involvement of the neighborhood has often manifested themselves

in a more "grass roots" level. In this respect, the close

social networks within the ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods not

only attracted the new immigrants, they very often actively

provided for the housing of these people. The network of relatives

and paesani often boarded new immigrants in their own homes.

Through the network, valuable contacts, advice and assistance have

been made available for those wishing to purchase their own

homes. Relatively speaking, more post-war Italian families have

been able to purchase their own homes and, so I am told, in a

much shorter time than their pre-war counterparts.

One of the primary reasons for this situation has been the

relative ease with which Italian immigrants have been able to find employment. The majority of these immigrants came to Canada full of hope and determination, seeking a fresh start, new employment and an increased standard of living after the humiliation of the Second World War. For the most part, though below Canadian standards, these immigrants had more education and worldly exposure than those immigrants of the pre-war era. And perhaps more importantly these post-war immigrants had arrived at a time when Canada's industry was hungry for manpower.

This desire for a higher standard of living and the accessability of employment has often resulted in a situation where more than one member of the household is employed. This usually entails the older children taking after-school jobs to help with the family finances (D'Antini, 1976:3) and the increased employment of wives and mothers. As in the pre-war era, the entrance of Italian women into the post-war labour market was virtually unheard of back home in Italy. However, to realize their plans, the Italian community quickly overcame their former attitude and began to accept and appreciate this new source of income.

The finding of employment, especially one's first job, usually utilized the social networks of contacts within the community. This network, in effect, operated as an informal liaison between the willing Italian labour pool and the eager Canadian labour market. The new immigrants relied upon the

assistance and advice of other Italians to find them jobs. This situation has resulted in ethnocentric work environments whereby Italians generally work alongside other Italians and can speak Italian during working hours. As Ziegler suggests (1972:68), this situation serves to further homogenize the ethnic community.

The "homogenization" of the work environment, and of the community in general, has had significant repercusions. While it does tend to buffer the new immigrants from their urban setting by providing a familiar socio-economic milieu in which to live and work, it nevertheless tends to restrict the Italians' access to and interaction within the Canadian mainstream. Language is a major restriction.

> Given their high residential and occupational
> segregation, a large majority of Italians live and
> work among their own kinsmen, and thus have little
> opportunity to speak English. This becomes a
> vicious circle: their lack of English forces them
> to stick together but by so doing they lessen their
> chances of learning English.
> (Jansen, 1971:210)

The language barrier also restricted access to white collar jobs for many Italian professional workers; the lack of sufficient English language skills obliged them to take lower status jobs (Jansen, 1971:210). Although this group originally constituted only a small minority within Winnipeg's post-war Italian community, the situation is just now being alleviated through increased education and recognition of the validity of Italian degrees, diplomas and certificates.

As with the pre-war immigrants, it appears to have been a rather common occurence for the newly arrived post-war Italian immigrants to work at whatever jobs they could get. As before, these jobs were usually in the construction industry, the garment industry and in the railway yards and shops. Often holding down two jobs at once and working six days a week, these Italians worked for minimum wage and under generally poor and strenuous conditions. Like those before them, these immigrants accepted the low wages, the menial jobs and the poor conditions because they had nothing but their poorer, often rural, experiences in Italy with which to compare. And yet, for some this situation was only temporarily endured until they could manage to set themselves up in their own businesses.

Businesses, according to Price's definition (1975:38), are institutions because they provide services to people. In that businesses are either commercial or industrial enterprises that are concerned with the supplying and distribution of commodities for the payment of monies, they can be described as economic institutions. To paraphrase Driedger (1978) and Price (1975), once an ethnic group assumes control over such institutions then these institutions cease to be institutions of the general public and become ethnic institutions. Such control arises from competing successfully with other non-ethnic or extra-group institutions by providing similar goods and services desired by the ethnic group and catering to a clientele composed of group members. In this way, an ethnic institution attracts significant

usage and interaction from within the ethnic group and therefore
further homogenizes the ethnic community. A number of ethnic
institutions, including economic, religious, political and
educational institutions, have been developed within the post-war
Italian community of Winnipeg.

B. Ethnic Institutions

A degree of affluence has come quickly for some through the
establishment of small businesses which require little skill in
the English language. In this regard, the post-war community
has witnessed a growth of distinctly Italian businesses unprecedented
in the history of the city. Examples of such businesses include
restaurants, clothing stores, bakeries, gift stores and realty
offices. Some Italian businesses are quite unique to the
Canadian market. One such business is that of Bridal Salons.
These salons cater specifically to the tastes, desires and demands
of their Italian clientele in providing floral arrangements,
banquet arrangements, music and attire (Spada, 1969:133).
This particular business has since become quite popular among
non-Italians. Other Italian businesses have also experienced
this type of success. The popularity of Italian fashions did much
for the success of many Italian clothiers.

> On their arrival in Canada in the early fifties the
> Italian taste in dressing seemed odd, and was
> readily criticized. Their fashions -- particularly
> their pointed shoes -- were, at first, derided and
> shunned by the Canadian public. Suddenly every
> well-dressed person was wearing [pointed] shoes...

> Ladies performed miracles of balance on
> their spiked heels, notwithstanding the strain
> on their ankles.
> (Spada, 1979:132)

The popularity of Italian restaurants, especially the small

neighborhood pizzerias, continues to escalate beyond the Italian

community.

The truly Italian restaurant is a phenomenon of the post-war

influx of Italian immigrants. Reflecting the large Southern

Italian composition of this influx, these restaurants are generally

described as "Napolese" and serve southern cuisine. Like their

pre-war counterparts, these restaurants are not true ethnic

institutions (Price, 1975:38) in that they all must rely upon

and cater to a large non-Italian clientele. However, unlike those

pre-war restaurants which were merely owned by a few Italians,

the post-war restaurants offer Italian foods for consumption.

The major component of the lucrative Italian restaurant business,

in the post-war era, has been the pizzeria; but in recent years

more and more Italian restaurants are being established to serve

more diverse and authentic cuisine.

Also, the post-war restaurants attract a larger Italian

clientele than their pre-war predecessors. They are generally less

ostentatious and expensive than the pre-war "grande cafes" and yet,

they are more appealing than the earlier railyard luncheon counters.

While many patronize other ethnic restaurants, most of my

informants preferred and always returned to the Italian restaurants.

There are many reasons cited for this preference. Generally neighborhood ventures, these restaurants are in easy access to their Italian clients. Being in the neighborhood, they are often operated by friends, kinsmen or neighbors. These restaurants offer a comfortable, intimate and familiar environment to eat Italian foods, to drink Italian wines and to converse in the Italian tongue. The attraction to these restaurants can be summed up by the fact that they are, if nothing else, Italian.

Another phenomenon of the post-war community has been the emergence of the Italian specialty grocery store. At the time of this study twenty-five such stores were in operation. Most of these are small, family ventures, just making a living in the trade. However, a few have become highly successful businesses with at least one store being able to expand into other neighborhoods. In the pre-war era it was virtually impossible for the Italian community to get specialty foods. After the war, the first stores could deal with the large wholesale houses in Toronto and Montreal to get items not available in Winnipeg. Later, Winnipeg stores banded together with other Italian stores from across western Canada to establish their own wholesale distribution warehouses to lessen expenses in shipping goods directly from Italy and California. Now such familiar foods as Italian olive oil, pecorino and romano cheese, wine grapes and preserved chestnuts are readily available to Winnipeg's Italian community. The use

of Italian employees to provide as much personal and familiar

service as possible has also been attractive to the Italian community.

The attraction of these stores has done much to guarantee

a regular clientele. While more and more Italians shop in bulk

and for the sales at the large Canadian food chains, they

nevertheless return to the Italian grocery stores for specialty

items used in special dishes and for entertaining. Even after

they move away from the old neighborhoods, many Italians return

each week to the familiar neighborhood specialty grocery store to

do their shopping. While shopping remains the chore of the

Italian woman, going to the store has become very much a family

activity. The neighborhood store is an informal community centre --

an intimate and comfortable centre for socializing and gossiping. .

Thursday, Friday and Saturday, both day and night, are the busiest

times. While the children play up and down the aisles, the women

chat among themselves while they shop and the men gather in

the back to talk sports, politics, work and news. The store

provides the neighborhood an opportunity and a place to interact,

to speak freely in Italian and to affirm their identity.

By providing distinctly Italian goods and services to a

distinctly Italian clientele, the Italian grocery stores have

come very close to being true ethnic institutions. And yet these

institutions are having to shift to a greater extent towards

becoming institutions of the general population. Many of these

food stores have had to adapt their stock and services to cater to

an increasing number of non-Italian customers as the ethnic

mix of the neighborhoods expand to include Greeks, Portuguese,

Filipinos and other Asians.

One Italian business which is truly an ethnic institution is

the neighborhood coffee shop or bar. Again a phenomenon of the

post-war era, there are at least half a dozen of these bars in

Winnipeg. These coffee shops are ostensibly imitations of the

coffee bars popular throughout Italy. However, there are a few

important differences. While the coffee bars in Italy primarily

just sell coffee, with a few licensed to serve liqueurs and wines,

Winnipeg's coffee bars are all involved in other activities and

enterprises. These other activities invariably include the use of

pin ball machines, pool tables and card tables. Some of the Italian

coffee bars in Winnipeg are registered as "clubs" or "associations".

These, though, are not true voluntary associations since they are

privately owned and operated for personal gain. The appellation of

"club" is used as a device to circumvent the government's laws

concerning gambling, another popular activity offered through many

of these shops. Many coffee shops therefore have separate rooms

restricted to members only.

The identification of these shops as clubs has done much to

dissuade non-Italians from patronizing them. However, other coffee

shops, which do not call themselves clubs, report that their

customers, too, are almost exclusively Italian. For many customers,

the distinctly Italian espresso and capuccino coffee served at these

shops is the main attraction.   The billiards, pinball machines

and gambling per se are often cited as secondary attractions.

Italians frequent these shops because they are comfortable,

intimate, and familiar.   They come to see friends, to drink coffee

and to relax over a game of pool or cards.   They come for an

opportunity to talk Italian with other Italians -- to talk sports,

weather and politics.   While Italian women do not usually go to

these shops, coffee bars attract a large and regular clientele from

among the men of the neighborhood.   This clientele reflects a

good mix of the economic spectrum within the Italian community, from

businessmen to construction workers to the unemployed.   Through

the interaction among this varied clientele, these coffee shops

have come to serve a function beyond that of viable economic

enterprises and of informal community meeting halls.   They have

come to serve as clearinghouses for job opportunities, housing

prospects, social announcements and news from back home.   The

Italian coffee shop has therefore become an important feature of

Winnipeg's Italian community, providing a locus for informal

association and ethnic identification.

Three other significant ethnic institutions have emerged or

continue to operate in the post-war community.   These institutions

include the Italian media, the Italian banking service and the

Italian church.   In terms of the local Italian media, while most

Italians read the English newspapers, listen to English radio

stations and watch English television programs, a significant

proportion of the Italian community utilize the ethnic forms
of these media.

Winnipeg's Italian community has made three attempts to
establish a bi-weekly ethnic newspaper over the course of the
post-war era: Il Messaggero Italo-Canadese (1968-1971), Umanitas
(1971-1972) and Il Progresso (1973-1976). Besides these community
newspapers, subscriptions to Italian newspapers and magazines from
Montreal's and Toronto's Italian communities and from Italy have
been increasingly popular in Winnipeg's community. These
subscriptions have been the primary downfall of the local newspapers.
Winnipeg's small Italian community apparently cannot support the
professional staff to match the high calibre publications from the
larger Italian centres. There are not enough local sponsors to
pay for such a publication through advertisements. Also, there is
not enough local news to warrant a community publication. General
news, even if it concerns Italy or other Italian communities, is
already available through the larger Canadian and Italian ethnic
publications.

The ill-fated local newspapers have made important
contributions to Winnipeg's Italian community nonetheless. While
they have tended to be more informative than editorial, these
newspapers provided a much needed vehicle through which to
promote certain voluntary associations and organizations, to inform
their readers of outmoded traditions and customs concerning the
role of women, dowries, and arranged marriages, and to assist in
the learning of the English language by printing articles in both

English and Italian.

The emergence and success of the local Italian radio
program has also contributed to the demise of the local newspapers.
Radio coverage of the news overlaps that of the papers and is
generally more current and more readily accessible. The first
radio show aired just prior to 1956. Encouraged and organized
by Father Cimichella of the Holy Rosary Church, the voluntary
staff, technicians and announcers taped these early shows in the
basement of the church on Sherbrooke Street and aired the programs
on the C.B.C. French radio network in St. Boniface. By 1960
the production facilities for the show, "The Italian Voice", were
moved from the church to the St. Boniface station.

Today the radio program is broadcast on the multinational
station of CKJS. This radio program has had phenomenal success,
with an audience estimated at 85% of the Italian community.
Originally broadcast for ninety minutes a week, the demand for and
response to the program has increased this airplay to one hour
every day. An offshoot of this radio program has been the
emergence of a weekly television program of the same name -- The
Italian Voice (Oro Italiano). These forms of Italian mass media
provide the community with travelogues on Italy, talk shows in
Italian, and popular Italian music and performers. This ethnic
media, including the ethnic press, has done much to alleviate the
intense nostalgic feelings of the Italian expatriate community
in Winnipeg. It offers essentially exclusive Italian content

directly to the Italian populace and therefore has done much to bolster and consolidate the sense of Italian identity throughout the post-war era.

Another ethnic institution that has emerged and flourished during the post-war era, and that has contributed much to the identity and solidarity of Winnipeg's Italian population, is the Italian banking facility. In the early 1960's, Father Fiori of the Holy Rosary Church, and a few concerned members of the community decided that it was feasible and indeed necessary for the community to look after its own resources. As one informant put it: "If the French could do it, and do it so successfully, then so could we!" With encouragement of the Italian church, which could not get actively involved per se, the Holy Rosary Credit Union was created in 1963. The name of the church was used because the annual meetings were to be held in the church basement and it was felt that the name would instill a sense of trust in the members and appeal to the community. The credit union started out with less than 400 members and was operated out of the home of the managing director. It was open to all members of the Italian community, with no regional affiliation.

In 1966, the name was changed to the Italia Credit Union, and banking facilities were moved to a renovated store in the Fort Rouge-Crescentwood neighborhood. This location was chosen because it is essentially central to the overall Italian community, easily accessible by public transport and in an area of the city

familiar to most Italians. By the time of this research, the
credit union reported a capital investment of approximately
two and one half million dollars and an ever increasing
membership. Recently, the credit union has built a new quarter-
of-a-million dollar building, again in the Fort Rouge-Crescentwood
area, has expanded to computer banking services, and has increased
its staff. This staff is hired locally from the Italian community
since the Italia credit union still almost exclusively caters
to an Italian clientele.

The only exceptions to exclusive Italian membership within
the Italia Credit Union apply to any non-Italians who are,
nevertheless, members of the Holy Rosary Church. The Central
Credit Union of Manitoba, the parent institution to which the
Italia Credit Union is affiliated, has been trying to encourage
the Italia Credit Union to open up its membership to all non-Italians.
So far, the Italia Credit Union representative on the board of
the Central Union has been able to successfully block this
encouragement. My informants expressed the concern that if
membership to the Italia Credit Union was thrown open, then the
credit union would have to operate in English and this would defeat
the main prupose of the credit union -- to provide good financial
services to the Italian community in their own, familiar language.

Perhaps the most significant and pervasive ethnic institution
especially in the first two decades of the post-war era, was that
of the Italian church. This position of the Holy Rosary Church

as the focus of Winnipeg's Italian Community, was a continuation and expansion of its role within the pre-war era. Emerging from the war years as the sanctuary of Italian identity and interaction within the city, the Holy Rosary church automatically became a socio-religious pivot around which "the life of the Italian community in Manitoba with all its aspirations and in all its manifestation evolves..." (Spada, 1969:334).

As has been mentioned, the Holy Rosary church, in the early years of the post-war era, played a crucial role in the creation of the ethnic institutions of the Italian media and the Italian credit union. As in the pre-war era, the church also became involved in the social interaction of the community by allowing its parish hall to be used for dances, teas, banquets, bingo, card tournaments and club meetings. Similarly, the church once again became involved in providing informal social security for newly arriving immigrants by letting them sleep in the church basement until they could find their own homes and by trying to find them employment. These new immigrants, as indeed the already established Italian populace, naturally turned to the church for help rather than to the Canadian government.

For both the new immigrants and the established populace, the church has been a familiar institution in contrast to the new, and somewhat aloof, municipal, provincial and federal Canadian government agencies. As in the pre-war era, a large proportion of the post-war era Italian community tend to describe

themselves as being rather relaxed religious practioners; the
majority of the regular congregation is composed of women and
pre-adolescents. Yet the majority of Italians nevertheless
identify themselves as devout Catholics. While the spirituality
of the Holy Rosary church is a significant attraction for the
Italian community, the fact that it is the one and only Italian
parish is also a major consideration.

   While some Italians may attend other Catholic churches
in their neighborhood for the sake of convenience, they
nonetheless return to the Holy Rosary periodically because, as
my informants reported, "it is the church of our people". The
attraction of having the services offered in Italian is often
cited as one of the reasons for returning.. The important religious
celebrations of Easter and Christmas always attract large numbers
of people from the community, who come to partake of the old
and familiar traditions. People from all over Winnipeg, as well
as Manitoba, come to the church to be baptised, married and
buried. Many never attend services at the church, but the Holy
Rosary draws them to it for these great life events. First
communion and confirmation are also well attended. The group
ceremony of receiving the sacrament brings the community together
in their worship. In this respect, the church provides a common
bond throughout the community, especially in times of need.
This bond to the Italian church is a significant contribution to
ethnic identity within the community. The Holy Rosary church also

provides a common place for both formal and informal community

interaction. Formal interaction is achieved through ceremonial

joint worship. Informal interaction occurs socially after the

services when the congregation has an opportunity to mingle,

reaffirm friendships and acquaintances, and gossip about the

week's events.

In 1967, the Holy Rosary church moved from its old facility

in the West End to new quarters in Fort Rouge-Crescentwood.

This new church was the community's Centennial project in honour

of their new land's centenary; the project was funded entirely

from activities and donations within the Italian community.

This new location was decided upon, as in the case of the credit

union, because it is more central to other Italian neighborhoods

throughout the city; it is easily accessible by public

transportation; and it is in an area familiar to most Italians

in Winnipeg.

Ultimately, this move was to herald drastic changes in the

relationship between the church and its community. All my informants

noted that the church, in fact, lost much of its Italian flavor

after the move. The church stopped its assistance programme for

immigrants; it withheld its facilities from use by secular

associations; and it disbanded or reduced many of its own lay

organizations. This has alienated many Italians from their church

who feel that the church should be more involved, working and

sharing with the community. The most common result of this

alienation has been the further decline in regular attendance from

among the Italian congregation.

An unprecendented occurence within Winnipeg's Italian community in relation to this alienation from the Holy Rosary church, has been the numbers of Italians leaving the Catholic faith. While some of these apostates have joined various Anglican or Protestant churches, more and more are being drawn to the more zealous evangelical sects which operate in the city. Recently, the Jehovah's Witness has attracted many converts from the Italian community. In fact, this movement has been so successful as to warrant the establishment of an Italian Kingdom Hall in one of the larger Italian neighborhoods in Winnipeg's West End. Although this place of worship provides its own focus for identity and interaction among this small group of Italian believers, these converts have been effectively ostracized from the larger Italian Catholic community. Even among the other Italians who do not attend Catholic services, these converts are seen as traitors to their people and their heritage. As such, apostasy has become somewhat of an issue in the bolstering of Italian solidarity and identity throughout the post-war community.

The Italian businesses and institutions that have emerged or continued to operate during the post-war era have all done much to bolster community solidarity and ethnic identity. Their goods, services and content are primarily geared towards attracting and maintaining a largely Italian clientele. Their operation,

their location and their impetus for informal social interaction
contribute to the general ethnic homogeneity of the overall
Italian community. This homogeneity is expressed through the
strong ethnic bonds which exist within the work place, the
neighborhood, the ethnic institutions and, especially, the social
network of kith and kin. The overwhelming majority of my
informants stated a preference for being in the company of other
Italians, be it in marriage, in friendship or in informal contacts
and encounters. This preference extends to include the
patronizing of ethnic businesses, institutions and formal voluntary
associations.

To a certain extent, this interactive preference is found
among the existing pre-war members of the post-war Italian ·
community and their children, the second-generation Italo-Canadian
population. These components of the current Italian community
have been in Canada for a longer time than the remaining immigrant
component. They have, therefore, been affected most by the
Canadian mainstream society and culture. Yet they nevertheless
maintain at least some contacts with their heritage and their
ethnic community.

The second generation of Italo-Canadians have, for a large
part, taken advantage of the sacrifices, desires and achievements
of their parents. Often these advantages include the acquisition
of higher education and higher status jobs, which have in turn
removed them from the ethnically homogeneous work place. These

people, as well as many from the existing pre-war component, also
make up the largest number of Winnipeg's Italian suburbanites,
which has removed them from the ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods.
Yet most return, albeit periodically, to the old neighborhoods
to shop at the ethnic stores, to relax at the ethnic restaurants
and coffee bars, to bank at the ethnic credit union, and to
worship at the ethnic church. While the attitude towards marriage
to non-Italians has grown more tolerant among these components,
and they identify a higher number of non-Italians as friends, the
value of and the bonds between the family and the ethnic peer
group persist. They are maintained through involvement with
these ethnic businesses and institutions, and, to some extent,
the formal ethnic voluntary associations that exist throughout the
Italian community.

As with the ethnic businesses and institutions, the post-war
era has witnessed a proliferation of Italian formal voluntary
associations representing a broad range of interests throughout
the community. While some of these associations, organizations
and clubs have been continued from the pre-war era, the majority
have newly emerged from the post-war situation. Many of these
associations are pan-Italian in their scope and objectives. Many
others are more restricted in their appeal and aims. Together,
these organizations are evolving into a vital media for ethnic
identity, interaction and solidarity. The next section of this
chapter is devoted to a description and discussion of these formal
voluntary associations.

B. Formal Voluntary Associations

1. Introduction

As was the case for the pre-war immigrants, the post-war immigrant was often alone in his new country, unsure of, and unable to ensure, his integration into the new society. "His only way to deal with the anonymity of the new structural conditions is to operate through the only channels he possesses, namely his kin network" (Johnson, 1975:60). Confronted by similar conditions of separation, economic distress, and culture shock, the network of kinsmen has also had to adapt to the new society and yet respond to its perceived and expected obligations to and demands from its members. Within the present study group, this dilemma has been alleviated through heightened informal association. The importance of association to a disoriented primary group such as the family is exemplified by Axelrod when he writes:

> The extended family may have lost its function as
> an economic producing unit in the city, but
> relatives continue to be an important source of
> companionship and mutual support ...
> (Axelrod, 1956:17).

This companionship and support has been expressed through the residential patterns, employment trends, institutional patronization and social activity that has occured throughout Winnipeg's post-war Italian community.

The Italian kinship network is, on the whole, formally structured and characterized by strong solidarity. However, it is

not the only social group active within the community. There is

also the multitude of peer groupings of friends and acquaintances

who share "distinct sub-cultural characteristics such as language

or dialect, religious beliefs, eating habits, music and the like"

and who "will interact within the same ecological setting" of

the neighborhood, the schools, the factory floor, and the church

(Johnson, 1975:53). These groupings of peers often intersect,

augment and/or supplant the role and functions of the family.

In situations where the family group has become disjointed, as

encountered by many immigrants, there is a "need to establish

new integrative mechanisms" (Johnson, 1975:53). The peer group,

assuming the importance of a surrogate primary group, can become

such a mechanism. Although much more informal in its make up

and activity than the family group, the peer group is

nonetheless characterized by similar "solidarity and collectivity

orientation" (Eisenstadt, 1956:187). The role and value of

paesani throughout the history of Winnipeg's Italian community

reflects the importance of the peer group within the community.

The immigration process is only one factor responsible for

the fracturing of kinship ties and the breakdown of traditional

reliance on the primary kingroup. Industrialism and urbanism have

also been significant factors.

> The emergence of an industrially-based society
> involves a re-organization of the rules of behavior
> into a more complex framework. Such a society is

characterized by the emergence of discrete sets
of norms which have a particular focus -- the
organization of production, the allocation of
political power, education, relationship to the
supernatural and the like. These several distinct
foci of norms represent societal problems that are no
longer capable of solution within the confines of one
all-embracing instituional area. Similarily there
emerge distinct social structures such as factories,
political parties, schools, churches and so on. With
economic change the harmony of the former system is
destroyed or becomes irrelevant. The "family-community"
complex (Smelser, 1963:36) is no longer a self-contained
whole but is part of a much wider structure. And with
economic change there is a real problem of cooperation
between the various newly specialized segments. Given
these new sectors of participation, the former principles
of integration which ideally rested on the local
kinship and community structure no longer suffice
(Johnson, 1975:52).

With the majority of post-war Italian immigrants coming from

a situation of agricultural subsistence in Italy, the confrontation

with industrialism in Winnipeg created problems of orientation and

survival which the traditional primary group was incapable of

controlling, let alone of alleviating.

Similarly, urbanism tends to undermine traditional forms

of social action and solidarity (Hammond, 1972:17 and Gans, 1962:45).

Again, the majority of post-war Italian immigrants have come from

closely nucleated rural environments revolving around the local

agro-town and the densely clustered kingroup. In such a situation,

not only are the rules for social behavior very explicit, predicated

on agricultural subsistence, but so too are the very participants

within this behavior. Urban environments, such as Winnipeg, with

their multitudes of disparate citizens, provide for a radical

expansion of all possible social networks. Within the urban milieu

traditional forms of ascriptive social ties, behavior and status

lose much of their meaning and significance in favour of those

forms based on achievement. Achievement is often expressed in

terms of successful industrial and urban adaptation (see Kerri,

1974:12-15, for a discussion of Kenneth Little's work in this

matter).

Successful adaptation and indeed survival in the unfamiliar

urban-industrial environment often requires the creation of new

interactive mechanisms. "New roles are created whose fulfillment

necessitates the interaction of individuals on a basis of common

interest in such things as wages, education, religion, and politics

rather than genealogical origin and descent" (Little, 1970:1).

To a certain extent, some of these new roles can be assumed by the

peer group with extended reliance upon one's network of friends

and neighbors, as in the Italian concept of paesani. However,

such informal forms of social interaction, identity and solidarity

may not be enough to meet all the immigrant's needs. The

immigrant may find it necessary and propitious

> to exert himself by joining with others of
> similar interest into organized groups to
> obtain his ends. This results in the enormous
> multiplication of voluntary organizations directed
> towards as great a variety of objectives as there
> are human needs and interests.
> (Wirth, 1981:49)

In terms of new integrative mechanisms addressing new roles,

the creation of formal voluntary organizations provides important

alternatives to the more informal peer group/kinship complex

of social networks. These voluntary associations can be described

as "replicate social structures".

> The idea of the replicate social structure asserts
> that associations become "organized bodies that
> reinforce and supplant the historical institutions"
> of the community at least in part with the result
> that the traditional social structure persists but
> is overlain by a duplicate associational structure,
> the replicate social structure.
> (Kerri, 1974:11)

By attracting a body of members, through addressing a mutual

concern, voluntary associations do replicate the traditional

social structures of the family and the peer group at least to

an extent by providing a focus for social interaction, identity

and solidarity.

Before integration can be effected

> there is required a system of relationships which
> will link the old with the new structure. This is
> needed because, the gap in terms of social values
> being very wide, traditional roles have to be
> adapted and the fresh social institutions integrated
> within a wider social system than previously prevailed
> (Little, 1970:1).

Formal voluntary associations are systems of relationships that,

albeit covertly in many cases, perform adaptive or integrative

functions in times of disorientation, ennui and social change.

These associations bridge the gap between the traditional

structures and the new urban-industrial forms by channelling the

interaction, identity and solidarity of their membership towards

social security, social stability and/or social action.

On reviewing both the anthropological literature (see

Hammond, 1972; and Kerri, 1974) and sociological literature

(see Amis and Stern, 1974) on voluntary associations, there
appears to be a consensus that this issue can be approached from
two directions. These directions are: (1) emphasizing the
importance of the voluntary nature of these organizations
(Little, 1970:1-2); and (2) emphasizing the importance of the
purpose of these associations (Johnson, 1975:55).

In terms of the former emphasis, voluntary associations are
seen as being

> the wide range of organized groups whose
> membership results from an act of joining.
> Membership in them is not the automatic consequence
> of birth or adoption like membership in the family
> or territorial unit.
> (Hammond, 1972:1)

Proponents of such an orientation concern themselves with the
voluntarism of becoming a member of such organizations, the
voluntarism of participation within such organizations, and the
voluntarism of the aims, objectives and activities of these
organizations independent from any external affiliation, coercion
or direction. These proponents would exclude political interest
groups, business and trade associations, unions, and church
groups as examples of "voluntary" associations.

Proponents of the latter orientation generally do include
the above groups in their discussions on voluntary associations.
Their objection to an emphasis on voluntarism can be so illustrated:

> Overwhelming advantages of membership in a given
> "voluntary" association can make "choosing to
> participate" comparable to the proverbial "offer
> you can't refuse". Similarly, one can refuse

> to participate in and withdraw from almost
> "involuntary" organization if one is willing
> to pay the costs.
> (Amis and Stern, 1974:91-92)

As such, these researchers take a "common interest" approach
to the study of voluntary associations whereby "association
consists of a group of individuals who are united consciously
for a specific purpose or purposes..." (Stern and Noe, 1973:473).
It is the particularistic nature of such organizations as the
National Hog Breeders Association, the Parent-Teacher
Association, the Royal Canadian Legion and the local badminton
club which is of importance to this orientation. However,
there are objectives to this particularistic emphasis in that a
mutual interest is not necessarily sufficient for the formation
of a distinct voluntary association. "That which people have in
common must also be a basis for concerted action and of sufficient
importance to outweigh possible competing interests and loyalties"
(Hammond, 1972:18).

For the purpose of this study, it is not important to
identify whether it is true voluntarism or common interest
which is of primary significance to the creation and operation of
Winnipeg's post-war Italian formal voluntary associations.
What is of importance is the fact that these associations do
exist and that they do have an impact on the ethnic community. As
such, I prefer a synthesis of the two extreme positions cited
above as suggested by James Kerri (1974:10). He defines a
voluntary association "as a private group voluntarily and

more or less formally organized, joined and maintained by

members pursuing a common interest, usually by means of part-time

unpaid activities" (Kerri, 1974:10).

2. The Italian Example

Suzanne Ziegler (1972:68-70), in her discussion of

"associational activities" within Toronto's Italian community,

has noted that there is a poor representation of ethnic voluntary

associations within her study group. She has estimated that

just under half of her study group belonged to any organization at

all, but that half again of this group identify membership in

either labour unions or some other sort of occupational/professional

association. She discounts such organizations from consideration

because, although membership in them may or may not be compulsory,

joining them is a prerequisite to obtaining and/or maintaining

employment, and therefore they cannot be described as truly

voluntary. "If we exclude labour unions from the category of

voluntary organizations for this reason, we then have 24% of

our sample belonging to a voluntary organization -- most of

these classified as sports or social clubs" (Ziegler, 1972:70).

Ziegler attributes the relatively poor development of voluntary

associations in her study group to the prevalent attitude towards

and reliance on the traditional value and role of the primary

family group. This situation is supported by an ancillary

attitude of mistrust towards strangers and officials.

Herbert Gans (1962), in his study of the Italians in
Boston's West End, reports similar findings and voices similar
interpretations as Ziegler. In this work, Gans discusses a variety
of community oriented voluntary associations, including lay
religious organizations, regional associations (eg., the Augusta
Society), non-ethnic organizations (eg., the American League), and
social clubs. There are basically two recurring themes in
Gans' discussion of these voluntary associations. One theme is
the limited number of such organizations. For example, while
there were three lay religious organizations within the Italian
parish -- the Holy Name Society, the Catholic Women's Society
and the St. Vincent de Paul group -- "By contrast, the Polish
church, which served a smaller congregation, had ten such satellite
organizations" (Gans, 1962:114). The second theme, which is
closely related to the first, is the lack of community support for
these associations.

Gans (1962:108-110) attributes this lack of support for
voluntary associations to the pervasive and informal structure of
the peer group. To begin with, while Gans recognizes the
existence of numerous social clubs, he states that these
organizations are "clubs" in name only. They are ostensibly
formed to provide a reason and a place for people to come together,
but their activities are essentially indistinguishable from
those pursued by informal peer groups (eg., card playing, drinking,
dancing, and sexual pursuits). It is basically this informality

which in fact undermines community participation in that the
"West Enders are not adept at cooperative activity. The peer
group must, above all, give life to the individual, and cooperative
action directed toward a common end detracts too much from
this central purpose" (Gans, 1962:108).

In terms of formal voluntary associations, this attitude
is seen as engendering a reluctance among Gans' study group for
forming member-officer relationships. In broader community-
oriented terms, this reluctance is expanded to include and avoid
leader-follower relationships. These relationships are characterized
as detracting from the "individuating function" of the peer group,
requiring subordination to, if not dependence on, a leader
figure. Within Gans' study group, leaders, as are all officials,
are suspected of manipulation for purely personal gain. In Gans'
study,

> if group tasks, especially those of a novel nature
> are suggested, people become fearful that they will
> be used as pawns by an individual who will gain the
> most from this activity. Consequently, the inability
> to participate in joint activities does inhibit
> community organization ...
> (Gans, 1962:89)

Jeremy Boissevain (1970:21-25), in his study of the Italian
community in Montreal, does not support Gans' viewpoint.
While Boissevain stresses that there is not, and very likely
could not be, a one person leader figure for his study group (as
much a result of the competition and factionalism as of mistrust
and suspicion), there is nonetheless leadership within Montreal's

Italian community. This leadership is seen as coming from the ranks of the officers of the community's voluntary associations.

> Through their roles within their respective
> organizations they co-ordinate the numerous
> activities which enable persons of Italian descent
> to renew and extend their personal contacts. They
> also represent the interests of the rank and file
> to other associations and to the Italian community
> at large, as well as to the rest of Canadian
> society.
> (Boissevain, 1970:21)

Although Boissevain concurs with Gans' and Ziegler's findings that voluntary associations are poorly represented within the community in terms of actual memberships (Boissevain cites 13% of Italian immigrants and 28% of Canadian-born Italians within his study group as belonging to voluntary associations), he nevertheless contends that these organizations are a significant social phenomenon. In this regard, these organizations "provide another set of institutional bones which give form to the network of interpersonal relationships based on kinship, friendship, the neighborhood and marketplace" (Boissevain, 1970:21).

To illustrate the importance of these associations to the community despite the relatively low number of members, Boissevain describes briefly the many and varied associations that actually do exist within the community. While the categories are not necessarily exclusive, these associations include mutual aid societies (eg., the Sons of Italy and the Order of Italo-Canadians), regional associations (eg., the Sicilian Association), church groups (eg., the Roman Catholic Association of Italian Workers),

occupational and professional organizations (eg., the Italian
branch of the Clothing Workers Union, the Canadian Italian Business
and Professional Men's Association, and the Association of
Italo-Canadian Professional Men), and social clubs (eg., The
Casa d'Italia and the Bella Vista Golf Club). Although these
groups cater to disparate interests, and therefore attract
specific types of members, their mutual and combined importance
reveals itself in providing a locus for social interaction and
ethnic identification, as well as for social solidarity and
integration.

> Italian associations not only act as the
> organizers and focal points for much of the
> social activity within the Italian community,
> but also as pressure groups which make known to
> agencies and authorities outside the community the
> current problems and thoughts of their members.
> (Boissevain, 1970:24)

Based on field research, it appears as if the Italian
voluntary associations within Winnipeg's Italian community maintain
relationships with and serve purposes for the Winnipeg ethnic
community similar to those described by Boissevain in Montreal.
In this respect, while no reliable statistics have been compiled,
it is apparent that a relatively low proportion of the overall
community actually belongs to voluntary associations. It should be
noted here that among those who do identify membership to an
organization, some belong to non-ethnic voluntary associations
like the Y.M.C.A. These people, however, appear to make up a very
small minority within the community and therefore such organizations

are not dealt with in this paper. The remaining organizations
that are dealt with here do constitute true ethnic voluntary
associations. As in Boissevain's study, although overall
representation of the Winnipeg Italian community in these
organizations is relatively low in terms of membership, the
representation of voluntary associations within the community is
surprisingly high. Over the course of the post-war era, thirty
voluntary associations have been formed throughout the Italian
community, of which 21 are currently in operation.

These post-war voluntary associations can be divided into
7 general categories including church groups, mutual aid
societies, veterans associations, sports clubs, regional
associations, cultural/educational/social organizations and ·
political associations. Representing such a broad range of interests,
these organizations serve an important function within and have
significant impact on the ethnic community.

Through their formal operation and their sponsored community
events, they do provide important media for social interaction.
By being ethnic organizations, created for, operated by and
catering to Italians, these organizations are indeed true ethnic
institutions which generate significant ethnic identification.
In addressing mutually perceived and common concerns these
organizations not only attract formal support in the form of
members; they also attract informal support from the general

community by way of donations to their cause, attendance at
their functions and endorsement of their objectives. This support
in pursuit of these concerns engenders a sense of group integration
as well as promotes and ameliorates social adaptation to the host
society. By organizing activities and mobilizing support in
the address of perceived concerns, these voluntary associations
provide leadership for the entire ethnic community. They "are
able to interpret the various shades of Italian opinion both
to each other and to the world outside the Italian community"
(Boissevain, 1970:25).

3. Winnipeg's Italian Voluntary Associations

What follows is a description and discussion of the formal
voluntary associations within Winnipeg's post-war Italian
community.

Lay Religious Organizations: As has been pointed out, the Holy
Rosary Catholic Church has played a crucial role in the
development and nurturance of the Italian ethnic identity and
community solidarity in Winnipeg. Being the only Italian
parish within the city, this church and its priesthood have
historically acted as a beacon for the Italians whose faith has
traditionally focussed around the worship of the matriarchal
Virgin Mary. This faith has drawn the Italians together and
has set them apart from their North American Anglo-Saxon
counterparts who are characterized by their veneration of the

patriarchal Trinity. As the focus of their faith and as a readily accessible and familiar vestige of their homeland, the Holy Rosary church automatically assumed the position as social centre for the emergent Italian community. Both in the pre-war era and during the early years of the post-war era, the newly arrived Italian immigrants naturally turned to the church of their people for assistance. The Holy Rosary church became deeply involved in the provision of housing, food, clothing and employment for these people. Throughout the post-war era, the church has continued to be actively involved in the Italian community by providing the impetus and support for the creation of the ethnic media, the ethnic credit union and most of the post-war ethnic voluntary associations.

Of the voluntary associations, 53% are or have been lay religious organizations. These organizations include all of the church groups which emerged initially in the pre-war era plus two rather short lived groups -- the Holy Rosary Guides and the Holy Rosary Brownies. Of the sixteen lay religious groups which have operated during the post-war era, only eight organizations existed at the time of this research. The Third Order and the Trustees have remained virtually unchanged from the pre-war era. The Catholic Men's Advisory Committee became the Parish Council in 1967 but has continued in its function as budgetary and maintainance caretaker for the church. The Knights of the Altar are no longer organized into prided sports teams, but are relegated

to their original task of providing ceremonial assistance. The
Legion of Mary Praesidium is no longer sub-divided into two age
grades, but continues its apostolic functions through the energies
of a much older consolidated membership. With approximately
550 students and some 50 teachers, the Sunday school activities
of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine persist. Indeed, as
the mandate of the Holy Rosary church has crystallized over
the past few years around the provision of spiritual guidance
rather then social security and activities, the Confaternity has
flourished into one of the most successful of the lay religious
organizations.

There are two other successful church groups which do cater
more towards the social than the spiritual needs of the
congregation. These are the Catholic Women's League and the
Sherbrook Social Club (now formally known as the River-Norquay
Club). These groups are responsible for organizing and operating
social events among the congregation, primarily geared towards
the older members. Besides the Thursday night bingo games, these
social events include two or three teas, dinners or dances a year.
The monies raised are being used to pay off the new church's
mortgage. In this respect, these groups are the chief fund
raising organizations within the laity. These groups are
finding it difficult to compete with the other secular community
events in attracting attendance, however.

Most, if not all, of the lay religious organizations are

finding it difficult to attract both participants and members.
The lack of interest and support from within the church and
congregation in particular, and from the community in general, may
account for the demise of half of the lay organizations in
operation during this post-war era. The Congregation Men of
the Blessed Sacrament, the Congregation Ladies of the Holy Rosary,
the Catholic Youth Organization, the Choir, the Little Servants
of Mary, the Sanctuary Guild, the Holy Rosary Girl Guides and
the Holy Rosary Brownies all became defunct between 1964 and
1968. This period is significant for it was at this time that
the church moved to its new location in Fort Rouge-Crescentwood
and the church began to alienate itself from the secular community.

This alienation appears to have taken two directions. First,
my informants complained that the church began to support and,
introduce programs which were not seen as having relevance to
the ethnic composition of the congregation. The creation of the
Guides and Brownies have been cited as examples of this. Second,
the church itself admitted to an active policy of closing its
door to secular associations and of curtailing the secular
aspects within its existing church groups. As one contact within
the church put it: "The secular associations have been discouraged
because they can convene and socialize anywhere; but worship
must be kept separate and centralized and strong". For years
all the secular associations utilized the parish hall for their
dances and meetings, but after a time the church felt that its

premises were not appropriate for these activities and that
these associations were overly dependent upon the church. The
church therefore closed its doors to these organizations in an
attempt to get these people out on their own. Unfortunately,
the members of these associations saw this move as flagrant
ostracism.

The resultant feelings of ill will and resentment continues
to make itself felt throughout the community. Many of my
informants feel that the church has let them down and so they no
longer support the church's programs. However, this sentiment
is not universal. Many other Italians still feel a stong
allegiance to their parish and continue their membership in its
lay religious organizations. My informants among this group feel
that more of their own personal needs are being met through these
church groups than through any of the other Italian clubs. By
being strongly and actively involved in the religious and
spiritual activities of the church, they feel that they can do
more for the overall community through the church groups than
through the secular ethnic associations.

Mutual Aid Societies: Shortly after the armistice, with impetus
from renewed immigration, the Rome Mutual Benefit Society was
resurrected in Winnipeg's Italian community. Initially it was
attempted to restart the Society in its original capacity of
dispensing social services and security. However, this endeavor
received virtually no support from the community, especially among

the newly arriving immigrants. As my contacts from within this Society stated, "Such aid was no longer needed."

There appears to be a number of factors involved in this lack of support for the mutual benefit society. First, the initial members of the resurrected Rome Society came from the original pre-war community. These people, as with the overall Italian community in Winnipeg immediately prior to the war, had become economically secure in their own right. Therefore the established Italian community appears not to have needed mutual aid itself. The post-war immigrants appear not to have needed a formally organized ethnic mutual aid organization either. Most immigration to Canada and to Winnipeg during this era had been sponsored by relatives already established in the community. By the 1950's and 1960's, this informal network had become quite large. And, since sponsorship required assurances of employment for the newly arriving immigrants, the obligations and functionings of the family and peer groups, supported by the church, were successfully competing with the need and support for a formal mutual aid society.

Another competing factor, which successfully undermined the mutual aid programs of the new Rome Society, was that of the more liberal attitude of the Federal and Provincial governments towards social security. The first two decades of the post-war era saw the emergence of such governmentally run social security programs as unemployment insurance, worker's compensation, welfare,

job referal/placement services, job training programs, and
health/hospitalization plans. These services and programs were
made readily available to all Canadian citizens, as determined
by both birth and naturalization.

With the failure of its social security activities, the
post-war Rome Society has since become a socio-cultural club,
continuing to attract members from the older, pre-war components
of the community. The membership, at the time of this research,
numbered about sixty individuals. However, I was told that the
membership fluctuates continually depending upon the attractions
offered by the club and the personalities of its executive. One
of the first endeavors of this new socio-cultural club was the
acquisition of an old church on the corner of Sargaent Avenue
and Furby Street, in the West End, to establish a community centre
for the Italian community. Unfortunately, the active rivalry,
suspicion and mutual opposition which existed between the different
Italian clubs at this time (ca. 1967) thwarted this ambition.
At the time of this study, the Rome Society was thinking of
sponsoring a soccer team.

Veterans Associations: There are two distinct Italian Veterans
Associations in Winnipeg which emerged out of the Second World War.
Both of these associations are primarily social clubs in nature.
It is interesting to note that these veterans clubs represent both
"sides" of the war.

The Monte Casino Legion, Branch 178, is a clearly recognized
chapter of the national Royal Canadian Legion organization. It was
one of the first post-war organizations established in Winnipeg's
Italian community. This branch was formed just after the Second
World War (pre-1949) by a group of Winnipeg Italian men who
had joined the Canadian Armed Forces to fight Fascism and to prove
their loyalty, and the loyalty of other Italo-Canadians, to
Canada. The Holy Rosary Church, under the impetus of Father
Borelli, encouraged the creation of this Legion. Since the church
could not allow drinking on its premises (a member's "wet bar"
being one of the major attractions of the Legion), Father Borelli
helped the Legion find a secular hall in the heart of Winnipeg's
largest Italian neighborhood at the time. The Legion continues to
operate in the West End on Notre Dame Avenue. The major
activities of the Legion replicate those of the other branches
of the parent organization: a club room for drinking, dancing,
socializing and bingo, programs to assist and support infirm
members and the widows of veteran members, as well as parties and
picnics for the children of the members.

The Alpini is Winnipeg's second Italian military veterans
organization. Founded in or around 1971, this organization arose
out of that unit of the Italian Army which specialized in
mountain warfare in World War Two. The Winnipeg association is
strongly associated and affiliated with the parent organization
operating in Italy. Only veterans of the last war serving in this

specialized military unit are allowed membership in this

association. In a way, the mountain oriented basis of the

original army unit, and hence the affiliated veterans organizations,

has resulted in a generalized regional restriction to membership.

Only people who came from mountainous regions, who had mountain

climbing and survival experience, were allowed to join the

military unit and, therefore, the veterans associations. While

this geographic stipulation cross-cuts most of the northern and

central regions of Italy, in Winnipeg the majority of the Alpini's

members are from the Venetia-Fruili and -Julia regions of the

north-east and the Abruzzi-Molise regions of the east-central

provinces of Italy. While this club operates a number of

social attractions for its members, the major event of the

association is its annual November 4th memorial mass for their

fallen comrades.

Sports Clubs: The Italian sports clubs which have emerged in

post-war Winnipeg are all soccer clubs. There are essentially

four such clubs in the community; the Italinter (an abreviated

form of the "Italian Internationals"), the Juventas, the Lucania

Sports Club and, to a certain degree, the Bari Society. It

should be pointed out here that the Bari Society is in effect a

regional or territorial association and not a sports club per se.

It is simply mentioned here because one of its major activities

is that of sponsoring a soccer team by the same name. Soccer,

after all, is the primary feature of these clubs. These clubs

and their teams compete among each other as well as in the
Manitoba Soccer League, inter-provincially in the Western
Canadian Soccer League, and, in many cases, internationally.
Competition between these clubs is rigorous; a successful soccer
team brings significant prestige and popularity to the sponsoring
association.

Membership in these clubs is usually open to all members
of the Italian community, irrespective of region of origination.
Successful clubs become popular and can attract greater numbers
of members. Through larger membership, these clubs can raise
enough money to continue, develop and enhance their sponsorship
of their teams, their proficiency and their success. These clubs
are able to raise substantial amounts of money through the
levying of steep membership fees and dues as well as operating
numerous and lavish banquets and dances. These social events
are almost always available only to the membership; this is also
seen as a major attraction to joining these associations.

The first such sports club in the Italian community was the
Italian-Canadian Club, founded in 1953. This club was established
by forty concerned individuals to promote sports in the Italian
community. There were no regional restrictions and so the club
attracted members from the entire community. The first soccer
team sponsored by this association was called the _Italia_. This
team primarily attracted post-war immigrant youngsters
interested in playing the game. With increased support from the

club's members and sponsors, the Italia was able to compete

in inter-provincial matches by 1967. At this time, the team

changed its name to the Winnipeg Internationals and then soon

after to the Italian Internationals or the Italinter.

The Juventas Soccer Club was formed in 1973 with approximately

thirty founding members. The number of members and the club's

operation and objectives has essentially remained the same over

the years. Their only function is to promote soccer and, to

support their team; membership fees are one hundred dollars per

person per year. This fee has been the prime factor in limiting

membership. The club is named after one of the most popular and

successful soccer teams in Italy. Even though the name implies

a certain age grade (i.e., Juventas means Juveniles), the club

attracts members of all ages. The club offers no social events.

It has no regional affiliation; membership is open to all Italians;

and it was named the best team in Manitoba by the Manitoba

Soccer League at the time of this research.

The Lucania Sports Club is named after a specific region in

Italy in Tuscany around the town of Lucca. However, its

membership is not restricted. Begun in 1974 with an original

membership of twenty individuals, this club is again more

concerned with the playing of good, competitive soccer than with

hosting social affairs.

These sports clubs play an important role in the community.

They bring people out in support of their teams. By supporting

their teams vocally on the playing fields and financially
through their memberships and their attendance at fund raising
social events, these clubs provide the Italian community a focus
for their identification and a forum for their interaction and
involvement with their own people and in their own traditions.
Unfortunately, the competition of the game has often escalated to
out-and-out rivalry between the clubs. This rivalry for prestige
and prominence has, at times, resulted in serious schisms
throughout the Italian community whereby much needed intracommunity
communication and involvement has been forsaken over ostensibly
petty disputes, suspicion, pride and envy.

Regional Associations: Many of the disputes which occur between
sports clubs are ultimately "regional" in nature in that they
manifest, in the Winnipeg Italian community, the age-old dichotomy
that still persists between North Italy and South Italy. This
dichotomy between these areas is principally a result of
educational and economic differences which do, to a large extent,
exist between them. The more urbanized, industrialized and
educated North feels and expresses a certain degree of superiority
over the South. Meanwhile, the poorer, rural agrarian and under-
educated South feels and expresses a degree of envy and
resentment towards the North. Linguistic differences have done
much to exacerbate regional dichotomies. There are virtually
thousands of dialects and sub-dialects throughout Italy. Stories
abounded during this research about villages just a few ·

kilometres apart that were mutually unintelligible. This
plethora of dialects is a result of the historic conquests that
divided Italy between Greek, Albanian, Spanish, Austrian and
French influences. While the institution of a universal "
"Mother Tongue", after the 1860 Unification of Italy, has done
much to retard linguistic difficulties, differences, especially
as regards noticeable accents and phrasings, persist and continue
to be a source of derision in Winnipeg as in Italy.

While the rivalry and hatred that has historically arisen
from these territorial differences has softened somewhat through
the mutual experience of immigration, adaptation and survival,
regionality is still the largest barrier to full intra-community
interaction, identity and solidarity for Winnipeg's Italians.
The defamatory jokes, stereotypes, suspicions and factioning
continues. The old rivalries can and do re-emerge on the soccer
fields, as when the "northern" Lucania team competes with the
"southern" Bari team. Territorial animosity also exists between
the many regional clubs and their members that have emerged within
the post-war Italian community.

While Winnipeg's Italian population is still largely
Calabrese and Sicilian (i.e., southern) in content, many more
regions are now represented in the community since the war.
Many regional clubs have therefore been formed to meet the concerns
of these people; the old territorial schisms have been reinvigorated.
It is a recurring sentiment that a club from one region could

not possibly be able to address and promote the same interests

as another club from another region. "What they see or feel to

be important is not what we see or feel to be so" appears to be

the prevailing attitude. As such, disputes occur within the

community, between the various regional clubs, over perceived

differences in aims and objectives; these disputes are often

couched in derogatory and prejudical socio-cultural stereotypes.

It was repeatedly pointed out to me by my informants that

all Italians, from whatever region, province or town, are very

stubborn and cliquish. While this stubborness may account for

continued regional conflict, cliquishness does appear to

manifest itself through the various regional clubs. As one

informant put it, "Our people tend to stay with their own kind.

In Italy, their little valleys are their world. Here, these

clubs get strong support from their people because they are the

homeland now." In the Winnipeg Italian community, there are four

true regional clubs, with three pseudo-regional clubs.

Perhaps the most peripheral of these pseudo-regional

clubs is that of the Rome Society. Formerly the Roma Societa di

Mutuo Soccurso, we have seen how the lack of need for such a

mutual benefit society in the post-war community forced this

society to change its aims and objectives to that of a socio-

cultural association. Arising out of the pre-war community

and being, at least initially, managed by members from the

pre-war community, this post-war association has been perceived
by many Italians in the community as essentially a Calabrese
club. Even though membership in the Rome Society is not
regionally restricted, and its objectives are generally aimed
at the betterment of the overall Italian community, this
perception of regionality has done much to retard membership and
support.

Another pseudo-regional club which has already been
discussed is the war veterans' club. Being based on a mountain
warfare military unit which drew recruits from the mountainous
regions of Italy, this association, by definition, can only
attract and allow membership from this militray unit and,
therefore, only from specific regions in Italy. This association
provides an interesting twist to the usual regional conceptualization.
It provides a medium through which Italians from the northern
mountains can interact with Italians from the southern mountains.
In effect, the Alpini can be described as a topographical
rather than a territorial association.

The Lucania Sports Club is the last of these pseudo-regional
clubs. As has been seen, this club is essentially a sports club.
However, this club is named for a specific town in the north-
western Italian province of Tuscany. Immigrants from this region
did not begin to arrive in Winnipeg till after the Second
World War. At the time of this research, there were an estimated
200 people from around the town of Lucca in Winnipeg. These
people have been described to me as being incredibly close-knit--

a trait cited as the prime motivating force behind the creation

of their club. As one informant stated, "One day they just

decided to get together formally to sponsor socials, dances,

dinners and soccer games. And they did!" Founded in or around

1974, this club began with an estimated membership of two-thirds

of the Lucania population of the city. In comparison to other

Italian clubs in Winnipeg, this is an amazingly high level of

support. Since this time, although membership is now open to all

Italians, the majority of members in the Lucania Sports Club are

still from this particular region.

The Bari Society, another sports club, is a true regional

club in that membership is restricted only to those people from

the immediate vicinity of the small town of Bari in the south-eastern

Italian province of Apulia. People from this region began to

arrive in Winnipeg in 1967, with guarantees of employment in the

city's garment industry. The society was founded in 1969 with

about 70 charter members. Besides sponsoring a soccer team, this

regional club also directs its activities towards sponsoring

numerous social events for its membership. These events are

characterized by the eating of regionally traditional foods, the

singing of traditional songs, dancing traditional dances, and

speaking the regional dialect.

Another true regional association in Winnipeg is the

Fratellanza Amatese or the Brotherhood of Amato. This society

was formed by and for people from and around the small Sicilian

village of Amato, near Palermo. This society is one of the oldest

post-war Italian associations in Winnipeg, founded in 1949

with approximately 28 charter members. The majority of the

founding membership were pre-war immigrants, since immigration

from Sicily was just beginning again so close to the end of the

war. The society was established in direct competition with

the "Calabrese" Rome Society, to provide assistance and support

for the large numbers of Amatese immigrants who were arriving

in Winnipeg daily at this time.

Today, this society is primarily a social club, providing

many formal opportunities for its members to meet, talk and

celebrate socially in their own customary way and dialect,

promoting intra-group participation and morale. Although the

largest number of members come from the dense Amatese

neighborhoods of Transcona, members come from all over Winnipeg

to attend these meetings and events. With a Sicilian population

estimated at between 2,000-3,000 people, most of which is Amatese,

support for this club is strong within the Winnipeg community.

People from the north western province of Venetia, around

the city of Udine in the pre-Alps region of Friuli have been

living in Winnipeg since before the war. However, it was not

until the major influx of these people (many posing as

Yugoslavian refugees to circumvent the staggering immigration

bureaucracy at the time) occurred in Winnipeg after the war that

a regional association was established. Started by between 20-40

newly arrived immigrants and refugees, the Fogolar Furlan was

founded in 1959. The name of this association loosely·

translates into English as "people from the fireplace of Fruili"

and is therefore a true regional club, restricting its membership

to people from this particular region of Italy.

The Winnipeg Fogolar Furlan is but one chapter of an

internationally based parent Italian organization.

> Throughout the world there are about 30 independent
> associations. They succeed in maintaining cuisine,
> traditions, songs, dancing and folklore. Members
> keep in touch through a monthly publication,
> Friuli nel mondo, published in Uldine, Italy.
> (Spada, 1969:105)

While each chapter of this international "brotherhood" is

independent of each other and of the parent group, there is,

nonetheless, close liaison between them. For example, the various

chapters will co-operate in the sponsoring of Friolani performers

to make world tours so as to perform for their compatriots in

other countries. Similarly, as in 1976 when earthquakes devastated

this area of Italy, the various chapters including the Winnipeg

club raise and send funds for the relief and support of their

less fortunate countrymen.

Essentially a social club, providing many social events for

the involvement and enjoyment of its membership, the Winnipeg

Fogolar Furlan has achieved a high level of success. Incorporated

in 1973 as a non-profit organization, this association has been

able to invest in property near the small town of Anola,

Manitoba (just 20 miles from Winnipeg). On this property, the

society has built a picnic area, kitchen facilities, band shelter,

dance pavillion, swimming pool, lawn bowling greens, soccer field and cross-country ski trails. These facilities and attractions are available only to the membership. While the Friuli community in Winnipeg numbers around 1,000 individuals, in-group factioning, quarrelling and competition has resulted in an active membership of only approximately 110 members.

At the time of this research, a new regional association was in the process of formation. This new society was to represent the interests and concerns of the 400-500 people from the east-central Italian province of Abruzzi living in Winnipeg. This society was seen by almost all of my informants in Winnipeg's other Italian clubs as being redundant and likely ineffectual, considering the small population it will serve. Many felt that the Abruzzesi Society would indeed hurt the overall Italian community by adding yet another source of factioning to it. However, the existing divisions are bringing the Abruzzese together. They insist that they are a minority and, as such, they do not fit into any of the existing clubs. They see these other clubs as not being able to properly represent and promote their unique interests and concerns; they feel a need to create their own regional association.

This sense of exclusion, of uniqueness and difference, continues to foster the formation and survival of regional clubs in Winnipeg's post-war Italian community. This sentiment also appears to retard any substantial, mutually co-operative, overall

community programs and ventures. Poor communication between

these organizations generates poor intra-community involvement.

As one informant said, "There are no real close friendships

between the regions. Italians can work together, they can even

live in the same neighborhoods together, but they just do not

want to get involved with one another". The emergence of regional

associations is the embodiment of this sentiment. In essence,

these organizations are created for their own members' sake.

On the whole, though, the preservation of territorial

identities is a good thing. Regional clubs offer a focal point

for people sharing the same customs to interact. They provide a

forum through which their members can give and get news, reminders

and a sense of their home land. In this way, they provide a

medium, a reason, for cultural retention and identification. What

has been missing until recently from this situation is overall,

pan-Italian harmony throughout Winnipeg's post-war Italian community.

Socio-Cultural/Educational Organizations: Besides regional

dichotomy, conflicts arise through the Italian community that

can perhaps be described as "generational" in basis. This

conflict involves the difference in attitudes, standards, values

and behavior of three general age groups found within the community:

the pre-war immigrants, the post-war immigrants and the

Canadian-born citizens of Italian descent.

The surviving pre-war immigrants generally constitute the

oldest age group within the community. They have survived through

the Depression and at least one world war. Coming from this

historical environment, these people have a different conception

of life and their role within society. They appear to perpetuate

a more conservative, rural, set of values and behaviors. This is

especially so in family and money matters. As compared to their

standards, they resent the changing status of women in the

community supported by the younger generations; they resent

inter-ethnic and inter-faith marriages; and they resent the

perceived waste and foolishness in spending of the newer generations.

There is a definite tendency within this group to judge by their

own attitudes, values and opinions. They expect the post-war

immigrants to act and react the same way as they, to come from

the same situations, and to have the same ambitions, outlooks and

highly competitive nature. This not being the case, the older

generation sees the post-war immigrants as "soft", "cocky", and

"spoiled".

The post-war immigrants, to a large extent, have had it

easier than their predecessors. They have had more education, more

worldly exposure, more guarantees of employment and social

services than the pre-war immigrants. And yet, they share a

common bond with the older generation of survival and adaptation

in the immigration process and in getting established in a new

and strange land. As such they find it hard to accept the attitude

of resentment confronting them by the pre-war segment of the

population. They tend to describe these people as "old-fashioned",
"narrow minded", "reactionary", "closed" and "hard-nosed".

Perhaps the greatest division occurs between these two
immigrant groups and the Canadian-born Italians. This generation
of Italians has never had to undergo the disorientation of
immigration. They are seen as not even being able to conceive
of or appreciate the ensuing hardships of this process. The
Canadian-born are perceived as never having had to struggle to
acquire the things they wanted, let alone the things they needed.
To a large extent this is true; the Canadian-born Italians generally
do have more opportunities, luxuries, and material things than either
of the immigrant groups. They do have a different set of values.
While this affluence is often the result of the active sacrifice
and doting of their elders, this group is nonetheless characterized
as "spoiled" and "ungrateful".

The most popular reason cited for the schism between these
groups appears to be that the immigrant groups see the Canadian-born
group as not understanding what it means to be Italian. By
growing up in Canada, by going to Canadian schools, having
Canadian friends and being exposed more to Canadian society, it
is felt that the Canadian-born Italians have little in common with
the first generation immigrants. They associate with a different
social group. They do not attend community soccer games, clubs
or social events. Many do not attend the ethnic church. Many
have not learned the Italian language. There is still some degree

of family involvement, but this too is decreasing, especially
with regards to the third or fourth generation Italians. On the
whole, these Canadian-born Italians are seen as having become
separated from their heritage.

On the other hand, the Canadian-born Italians, who
generally make up the younger segments of the overall Italian
community, do find it difficult to accept and cope with the
"Italian" temperment. They find it difficult to adjust to or
deal with the attitudes, values and behavior of the immigrant
groups, whom they perceive as being "twenty years behind the times".
Many of these people, especially the young academics and
intellectuals, find it hard to understand the hesitancy of the
immigrant groups in organizing themselves under political or
social banners. Very often the result of all this is that when
they come of age, these Italians leave the community.

Many members of the Italian community see this schism
between age groups and generations as being potentially more
devastating to the identity and operation of the community than
the problem of regional division. These people feel that the
young Canadian-born Italians could be the promise for the
community's future existence. To guarantee this promise
and this future, many Italians have banded together to form
socio-cultural and educational associations to teach the youth
of the community their language and their heritage. By
promoting pan-Italian culture, it is also hoped that a degree of

understanding, acceptance, interaction and harmony between the
immigrant groups, and, especially, the regional groups, can also
be generated. There are four such socio-cultural/educational
associations in Winnipeg's post-war Italian community.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, the reinstated
Rome Society evolved into a socio-cultural association by the
early 1960's. Although this society maintains a membership of some
60 individuals (primarily from the older, pre-war immigrant group),
it has not really been actively involved in community wide
programs since the failure of its attempt to establish a
pan-Italian community centre. At the time of this research, this
society was content in providing a few social events for its
membership as well as support for the aims, objectives, and
activities of the other socio-cultural/educational associations in
the community.

In 1953, the Leonardo da Vinci Society was formed. While
this society represented no particular region, the majority of
its founding members came from the pre-war immigrant group.
Membership was, however, restricted to businessmen and professionals.
It was created to provide a social environment in which community
professionals and businessmen could interact. It was also
originally hoped that by establishing such a "professional"
association this segment of the community would be stimulated into
community participation and involvement. In this respect, the
society's main objectives were the promotion of education and

other related cultural events. Unfortunately, as a professional

association, the society met with little success and so the

membership was thrown completely open and the society became

a full-fledged socio-cultural/educational association.

Currently, this society has a small membership of between

30 and 35 individuals, with only a dozen being continually

active. The society's main function is providing a small bursary

of between $100.00 and $150.00 to a promising Italian high

school student, usually graduating from one of the private

Catholic schools and entering university. Culturally, this society

is active in sponsoring lectures on the Italian arts. Socially,

the da Vinci Society hosts four annual banquets for its

membership: a banquet put on by the members' wives, a banquet to

present the bursary, a banquet to honour those Italian-Canadians

over the age of 70 years, and a Christmas party. The society

sponsors a bowling league and tournament. This society also

meets to confer over matters of community interest. At the time

of this study, the da Vinci group was investigating the

feasibility of building, with provincial government assistance,

an Italian senior citizen's home.

It is interesting to note that in 1972 a second professional

association was formed. This association was a local chapter

of the national Italian-Canadian Professional Businessmen

Association. Most members were Canadian-born Italians. This

association only lasted one year. They began strong, full of

enthusiasm and with good community support. However, fundamental problems arose which caused this organization to disband. First, the association included members from widely disparate businesses and professions, ranging from barbers to lawyers. As such, the differences of opinion, concern and interest were insurmountable. Second, the term "professional" appears to have been narrowly defined since certain businesses were not allowed to join. This discrimination caused disasterous resentment among the business community and towards the association. Third, this organization refused to acknowledge professional certificates and diplomas issued in Italy. This attitude alienated many people, professionals and non-professionals alike, from this association. Initially, it appears as though the community saw this association as providing leadership for the community, particularly in terms of liaison with Winnipeg's major non-Italian commercial and government institutions. However, the community soon became disillusioned with this group, describing it as "elitist" and "opportunistic".

Although this association has theoretically disbanded, it has never been officially annulled. In fact, the association still maintains a bank account for organizational funds. While there has been no meetings called for this group, many Italian businessmen and professionals still feel that it might resurface sometime in the future. In the meantime, many of its 50 charter members have been absorbed by the Leonardo da Vinci Society.

While membership in the da Vinci Society is effectively open
to all, most members continue to come from the business and
professional community. In fact, some of these members are the
wealthiest and most influential people in the City of Winnipeg.

In the mid-to-late 1960's, an informal Italian Youth
Organization was formed. This organization was essentially a social
club, composed almost exclusively of Canadian-born Italian youths.
While this generation did not participate in community programs
and activities, it did see a need to address the social
blossoming of the young Italian Canadians. This club began to
provide a medium through which friendships could be started and
liaisons between the sexes could be arranged.

Three factors have been cited by my informants within this
group as the catalyst to the formal creation of the Italian
Student Youth Organization in 1976. First, through assisting
with the establishment and operation of the Italian pavillion
at Winnipeg's annual multi-cultural celebration of "Folklarama",
many members of this organization began to rediscover their
heritage. Second, while there were only approximately 10
Italian students registered at Winnipeg's community colleges and
universities in 1970, by 1976 there were 60 such students. Many
of my informants expressed the opinion that post-secondary
education helped to broaden their attitude and acceptance of
their heritage as well as to provide insights and direction as to
how to apply their education for the benefit of their community.

This last factor proved to be significant in light of the third factor -- the discontinuation of Italian language classes at the University of Manitoba. This class had brought many of the Italian students together and had augmented their rediscovery of their heritage. The discontinuation of this class disappointed many of these students to the point where they decided they should organize and do something about it.

The resultant organization had 19 founding members. It continues to promote social activity but it has also begun to get involved in community and cultural affairs. In this respect, the organization has three main objectives: (1) to provide a vehicle for young Italians to meet, interact, socialize and communicate, (2) to promote Italian culture, and (3) to help the Italian community by encouraging the involvement of both the young and old in the unification of the community by breaking down the old barriers of generation, language and regionality. The popular idea behind these objectives is that by getting the young interested and involved now, the way to community unification and harmony will be made clear as they grow older and assume positions of authority in the community.

The first full year of operation of this organization was oriented towards survival. The social events, such as dances, picnics, coffee houses, ski trips and curling bonspiels, were stressed to raise money and attract members. At the time of this research, the organization was beginning to address the concerns

of community identity and interaction. They were attempting to
raise money to donate to a worthwhile community cause or charity,
and in this way, hope to show the community just what they could
do and possibly get other associations to follow suit. Also, the
organization is actively encouraging the community to contribute
and donate Italian books to the Winnipeg Centennial Library in
the hope of establishing a separate Italian library section.
This organization is one of the most vocal proponents of the
establishment of a pan-Italian community centre with its own
library facilities. They are also actively involved in teaching
the Italian language under the auspices of one of the other
socio-cultural/educational associations, as well as helping this
association lobby for the teaching of the Italian language, history
and culture at the University of Manitoba, as well as in the public
schools.

In 1977, the membership was opened up to include all Italian
youths between 16 and 30 years of age and not to restrict
membership to just students. The membership is divided into two
categories: associate members (those who have not attended
post-secondary school) and regular members (those who have attended
such an institution). Membership fees are fifteen dollars a year,
and membership has expanded to 35 members. The student
membership still constitutes the majority of active members.

The Italian Student Youth Organization has generally been well
accepted by the community. There is still some opposition to it

from some of the more conservative clubs and their members. The

major argument and complaint against them is the justification

of supporting an organization which publicly advocates the

dissolution of a number of established clubs. These dissenting

clubs are the more segregationist regional clubs, which many

Italians agree are the major cause of factioning within the community.

As such, many more Italians from within the community are quite

proud of the Italian Student Youth Organization is taking an

active interest in the community and their heritage. These people

feel that the organization provides a refreshing perspective and

impetus to the community. The involvement and participation of

Italian youth in this organization is unprecedented in the entire

three-quarters of a century history of Winnipeg's Italian

community.

With a charter membership of approximately 40 people, mostly

post-war immigrants, a local chapter of the Italian international

Dante Alighieri Society was formed in the Winnipeg community in

1966. This socio-cultural/educational association is open to all

Italians. There are branches of this association all over the

world and throughout Italy. The shared constitution of the parent

organization and its chapters stipulates that the name of the

society (named after one of Italy's most famous poets) must never

be changed, that no affiliate is allowed to amalgamate with

another association, that no affiliate is to share its finances,

and that no affiliate is to sponsor anything other than cultural

events. This international association operates under the auspices of the Italian Ministry of External Affairs. As such, the Winnipeg group acquires much of its funding through grants and loans directly from the Italian government. It is also supported by the Canadian Arts Council, by membership dues and by the community.

Primarily concerned with disseminating and promoting the Italian language and culture, the Dante Alighieri in Winnipeg sponsors lectures of Italian history, art and customs throughout the community. With the other chapters, it sponsors tours for Italian entertainers to travel to Winnipeg and perform for the community. The Winnipeg group also sponsors local theatre productions of Italian plays and operettas, especially those put on by its own theatre group the Gli Amici del Teatro. Also, this society sponsors a community day care centre. However, the greatest objective and achievement of Winnipeg's Dante Alighieri Society has been its educational program of teaching and promoting the Italian language.

The first attempt at teaching the Italian language in the post-war community was in the 1950's, at and through the Holy Rosary church. Using the church's facilities, a small group of volunteers endeavored to establish evening classes for adult instruction and summer classes for children. It was not until after the formation of the Dante Alighieri Society and their taking over this task that these classes began to enjoy some

measure of success. In 1972, the society began operation of a
summer school class in the Italian language. Utilizing members
of the Italian Student Youth Organization as teachers and
supervisors, the Dante Society has been able over the years
to co-ordinate as many as six different schools throughout
the city to offer their facilities in support of this program.
Enrollment, especially in the West End neighborhood, has been
as high as 200 to 300 students. As an added attraction this
summer school also offers social and recreational programs for
its students.

With the success of the summer school program, the Dante
Society has branched into various other educational forms. The
Society has four teachers in its employment. All these teachers
are adult Italians with Italian teaching diplomas. Because the
provincial government does not recognize these diplomas as
valid, these people cannot get regular jobs teaching at the
public or private schools. The society now operates a successful
Saturday morning class for elementary school children over the
winter months. The Dante Society also attempted to establish
an "after-school" program for junior and high school students on
week day evenings. This program did not succeed. Being originally
offered at a number of different schools, the enrollment was
dispersed too thinly. Now this program has been consolidated
and centralized at Daniel MacIntyre school in the West End.

The society also operates a successful night class in Italian

for adults. These classes are held at three schools in the
city, primarily in those neighborhoods of high Italian population -
the West End and Fort Rouge. This night school mostly attracts
Canadian-born Italians who are not conversant in their mother
tongue. The students from this class comprise the Gli Amici del
Teatro who put on plays in their newly acquired Italian language.
The society attempted to establish similar evening classes at
the University of Manitoba but, due to the distance, attendance
was poor and the classes were dropped. The Dante Society is,
however, unrelenting in pursuit of this program. They are
endeavoring to have established a regular course in the Italian
language, if not Italian history and culture as well, at the
University. In this endeavor they are avtively lobbying to have
either a separate Department of Italian Studies established or,
at least, to have these courses offered through the Department
of Romance Languages.

The lobbying activities of the Dante Society are not
confined just to the universities. For many years now the
society has been pressuring the Manitoba Department of Education
to teach Italian at a few of Winnipeg's public schools as a
regular feature of their curriculum. Manitoba's legislation on
language use in the schools allows the community the right to
establish such a program of language eduoation if and when
they can demonstrate and justify a need for it. The Dante Society
has been actively involved in soliciting strong support from the

Italian community. Such support has, until recently, been variable. Initially the community was enthusiastic, but then it slowly began to lose interest and impetus.

However, succeeding in forcing the matter to a formal referendum on behalf of the Department of Education in 1977, the Dante Alighieri Society has once again fanned the fires of community enthusiasm. To ensure community awareness and support, the society instigated a massive publicity campaign throughout the community. This campaign consisted of advertisements and public announcements through the ethnic media, announcements after Mass at church, handouts, posters in the grocery stores, restaurants and coffee shops, a phone campaign, and door-to-door surveys, polls and solicitations. All of this was aimed towards compiling a petition listing the names of those parents with children in the school system who were desirous of formal Italian language education. This campaign was also aimed at bringing the community out to public meetings with officials from the education department. All in all, the response to this campaign was very good.

The Dante Alighieri Society has been fortunate in developing and maintaining good relations with the Department of Education and the neighborhood school boards. As early as 1972, at the request of the Dante Society, a formal class in Italian language was offered to grades 7,8 and 9 at Earl Grey School in the Fort Rouge/Crescentwood neighborhood. This class is still doing well with a steady enrollment. In 1973 the Department of Education,

Curriculum Branch, established an Italian Curriculum Committee

to investigate the establishment and implementation of Italian

language education in other Winnipeg schools. In a report to

the Department, this Committee reported that

> 97.8% of the respondents interviewed stated a
> desire to see the Italian language in the public
> schools. These respondents felt that such a move
> would lessen the "cultural alienation" and
> subsequent conflicts developing between Italian
> children and their parents.
> (Italian Curriculum Committee, 1977:1)

It should be noted that this report substantiated the findings

of an earlier report, "A Brief on the Need of a Program of

Italian Language in Public Schools", submitted to the Department

of Education by the Dante Alighieri Society in 1976.

The Committee's report went on to state that "there are a

minimum of fifteen Winnipeg Schools with sufficient numbers of

Italian students to make feasible the establishment of more

Italian language classes", at the elementary, junior and senior

high levels, centering on "the study of the Italian language,

culture, and heritage" (Italian Curriculum Committee, 1977:3).

In this regard, the Italian Curriculum Committee's opinions

and objectives parallel those of the Dante Alighieri Society.

While it is unlikely that all Winnipeg schools could offer Italian

classes, the Dante Society is endeavoring to have these courses

offered at those schools in neighborhoods of high Italian

population concentration. Also, while at least one school offers

such classes at the junior level, the society is trying to get

similar classes instituted at the elementary and senior high levels. An informant within the Department of Education reported that the Department is prepared to spend an estimated $10,000.00 for the purchase of Italian textbooks and other educational aids and materials.

Some of my informants expressed anxiety over the lobbying activity of the Dante Alighieri Society for the institution of Italian language education in Winnipeg's school system. These people felt that such activity, especially if successful, would alienate and/or antagonize other ethnic groups in the respective neighborhoods. But since Manitoba's legislation allows for any and all ethnic groups who have just cause to make similar attempts at reforming the public schools' language curriculum, my informants in the Dante Society see their lobby as opening the way for other ethnic groups to follow suit.

While the Italians have, for at least the past 70 years, made great contributions to Winnipeg by way of their physical labour, these socio-cultural/educational associations and many other Italians from within the community believe that the Italians will begin to contribute greatly to Winnipeg's scientific, artistic and governmental activities. There is strong support in the community for education; at the same time, it appears as though most Italians are concerned about the survival of their ethnic community. They are afraid of losing their heritage. All of my informants were convinced that, in time, the hyphenated

distinction of "Italian-Canadian" will disappear and the community

will become more Canadian. This is seen as a natural process.

However, many Italians are equally convinced that through exposure

to and/or education in the Italian language, history, culture

and customs their ethno-cultural heritage will persist. This is

the main aim and objective of all of Winnipeg's post-war Italian

socio-cultural/educational associations.

Political Organizations: While the Dante Alighieri Society, in

its relationships with the Manitoba government, can conceivably

be included as a political organization, its overall objectives

are too narrowly defined. That is to say, while its activity

may be political, its aims are not. There is only one association

in Winnipeg's post-war Italian community which does have

essentially political aims. This association is endeavoring to

bring all the divergent and diverse forces within the community

together and unify them into a strong single force. "Its aims

are to co-ordinate the activities of all other associations and

to speak on behalf of all Italians in the province" (Spada, 1969:336).

To achieve these aims, this organization is concerned and involved

both in all facets of the Italian community, from sports to

cultural affairs, and in all aspects of Canadian politics

and political movements. This association is the Lega Italiana

del Manitoba or the Italian League of Manitoba.

Founded in 1962, with an original membership of between

40 and 50 people who were mostly post-war immigrants, the Italian

League has maintained two general objectives: (1) to unite all

Italian clubs, organizations and societies into one body, and

(2) to co-ordinate the activities of the different Italian

associations to avoid conflict of interest and schedules. These

two aims are, for the large part, interrelated.

Initially the League began with five affiliated associations

from the community (as described in the preceding sections).

At the time of this research, almost every Italian association

was represented in the League. The only exceptions were the lay

church groups and the veterans' associations. The fledgling

Abruzzesi Society was, at this time, investigating representation.

Originally membership to the League was restricted to just a few

representatives from each affiliated association. Now the

membership is open to the general Italian community. As a result

the League's membership has swollen to almost 700 members. While

this number may not reflect a large percentile of the entire

Italian population, it is still impressive and encouraging.

Each year the general membership meets to elect an

executive. This executive is selected from the representatives

from each of the affiliated associations. Each affiliate

association is allowed two representatives in the League. The

executive of the League consists of a president, a vice-president,

a secretary-treasurer, a Cultural Affairs chairperson, a

Social Activities chairperson, Sports Activity chairperson, Public

Relations chairperson, Membership Committee chairperson, two

delegates to the National Congress of Italian-Canadians, a

delegate to the Winnipeg International Centre and a delegate to

the Citizenship Council.

Initially the organization of the League was weakened by

the regional and generational disputes and factioning which

continued between the affiliated associations. The problems

arising from these perceived and perpetual differences between

the various affiliates posed a significant hurdle to the League.

Although the League had been formed to unite these factions and

clubs, many refused membership or continually opposed the

organization. The reason most often cited for this opposition

was that these groups were afraid of losing their own identity

through adherence to and acceptance of the aims and activities

of such a pan-Italian organization.

The League has since been able to overcome the more

disruptive obstacles, although minor disputes and antagonisms

continue. Part of the problem is that while the League tries

to co-ordinate the events and activities of the other groups,

it has no real power or control over them or their own decisions.

Nevertheless, support for the League from the membership and

the community appears to be strong. The problems of inter-group

communication and conflicts of interest and scheduling have

been reduced by the League. Through the League, these community

activities are scheduled and co-ordinated weeks in advance. The

League also provides a duly convened arena for discussion and the airing of complaints. Like the parish church and the ethnic credit union, the League is coming to be perceived as "neutral grounds" where people from all backgrounds from within the community can communicate their interests and concerns and get involved in overall community affairs. In effect, the League presents itself, and is seen, as a clearing house for community ideas, opinions and events.

In the past the League has also been criticized for lack of proper and adequate direction. Some of this criticism alludes to the lack of education, "know-how" and dedication from within the executive. Some few blame the general composition of the organization for this problem. Since most of the members are primarily labourers and small entrepreneurs, then this make-up influences and impairs the activities and objectives of the League. To some extent these criticisms may be appropriate in that the League does have trouble finding experienced people who are willing to assume the demanding responsibilities of an executive office; the organization has, generally, been extremely cautious in its operation and approach.

Yet, for a community just in the process of organizing itself into a united whole, the League has an impressive record of involvements and achievements. The League has continually been active in social, cultural and educational programs offered by its affiliated associations in assisting with the promotion,

organization and operation of community banquets, dances, concerts,

lectures and exhibits. The League is especially supportive of the

Dante Alighieri Society's education policies, programs and lobbies.

The League itself puts on the Columbus Day celebrations for the

community. This used to entail arranging a large parade through

the city, but is now confined to a large formal dinner and dance.

These celebrations are always well attended, attracting such

noteworthy guests as the Italian Ambassador General. The League

has also been the impetus for and the sustaining force behind

the Italian participation in Folklarama -- Winnipeg's annual

multi-cultural celebration. Through the Italian pavilion

at this event, authentic ethnic cuisine, music, dances and

costumes are exhibited and/or offered to its visitors.

The success of this pavilion in community participation

and monetary gain, has prompted renewed interest in the League

for the establishment of an Italian Community Centre. The League

has subsequently stipulated in its bylaws that all profits

from their involvement in Folklarama be put aside for funding such

a centre. In 1977 alone, the League was able to bank $20,000.00,

mostly from Folklarama proceeds. At the time of this study,

this brought the Community Centre Building Fund up to $70,000.00.

The conceptualized plans for this centre propose the inclusion

of an Italian library facility, a community information centre as

well as offices and meeting rooms for each of the affiliated

associations. This centre will likely be constructed in one of

the neighborhoods of dense Italian population, such as the West
End or Fort Rouge/Crescentwood. Such a location is important
for community centrality, access and familiarity, as was the
case with the new Holy Rosary church and the Italia Credit Union.
With regards to the credit union, the League was instrumental
in its establishment. Although the operation of the credit union
is completely separate from that of the League, liaison between
the two is close.

Through the League and the multi-cultural activities of
Folklarama, the community is becoming increasingly aware and
appreciative of other ethnic groups. In fact, the League has
developed good relations with a number of other ethnic
communities, most notably the French and the Ukranians. The League
perceives these ethnic groups as being quite successful in their
adaptation to Canadain society while still maintaining strong
cultural identities. By liaising with and studying these
groups, the League hopes to be able to emulate their success for
the Italian community. By developing these inter-ethnic
contacts, the League is gaining recognition and respect from the
other ethnic groups within the city.

While the primary concern of the League remains the
organization of Winnipeg's Italian community, it is also
establishing close ties with other Canadian Italian communities
and associations. These ties are perhaps best evidenced
through the League's active involvement with the National Congress

of Italian Canadians. This Congress was established around 1972.
It operates out of Ottawa and involves all of the recognized,
major Italian community organizations from across Canada. The
Congress divides the country into five constituent regions -- The
Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies (including the Territories),
and British Columbia. The Congress allows for and encourages
Italians from each province to establish representative
associations for membership in the national organization. The
number of individual representatives on the Congress is defined
in terms of region and is determined by the Italian population
of each constituent province. Accordingly, the Maritimes have
three representatives; Quebec has twenty-two; Ontario, twenty-
seven representatives; the Prairies have ten; and British Columbia
also has ten representatives. Manitoba, through Winnipeg's
Italian League, supplies two delegates for the Prairies'
representation. The executive of the Congress is composed of
a president, two vice-presidents and a secretary-treasurer
(elected from the general membership) and five regional
representatives (one from each region and elected by that region's
delegates).

The National Congress of Italian Canadians is primarily
concerned with the co-ordination, promotion and encouragement of
cultural, educational and language facilities and activities.
In pursuit of these concerns, the Congress asserts the
Italian-Canadian , and not just the Italian, contributions to

Canada and Canadian Society. Because of this mandate, the
Italian League of Manitoba is hoping to approach the Congress for
financial assistance in the construction of its community
centre.

In succeeding to organize Winnipeg's Italian community, the
League has begun to move in distinctly political directions.
For example, the League endorses the National Congress position
on the advantages and achievements of Italo-Canadian cultural
adaptation. The League actively encourages the large landed
immigrant segment of the community to take out Canadian citzenship.
Associated with this promotion, the League has become deeply
concerned about the apparent disinterest in or ignorance of
Canadian politics evident throughout the community. Therefore,
the League, primarily through the ethnic media, has been attempting
to enlighten the community with respect to the policies of and
political differences between Canada's political parties, the
procedures and regulations involved in voting, and the philosophy
behind exercising this democratic responsibility.

Convinced of the domocratic rights and obligations of
political awareness and involvement, and concerned about the
ethno-cultural survival of their community, the League has spoken
out on such topics as the Green Paper on Immigration and Multi-
Culturalism. The League has also begun to consider the
possibility of sponsoring their own candidates to run for such
political offices as City Council and School Trustees. In this

regard, they are considering using an independent ticket to

avoid any political party control and alienation of any

potential community support. While nothing concrete has come of

these considerations, at the time of this research the League

is nonetheless confident that such a political move may be

necessary to and successful in stimulating the Italian community

into particiapation, mutual involvement and intensified unification.

Over the years, some Italians have successfully become

involved in Canadian politics. And yet, there has never been a

single, designated "leader" of Winnipeg's Italian community. The

League itself has had many influential and important people from

the community in its membership. But the old divisions within

the community and the inexperience of these people and the League

has always interfered with any ambitions of leadership. The

League as a whole, however, is fast accumulating experience

in co-ordination, guidance and the political process. It is

expanding its scope of involvement. It is succeeding in

realizing its objectives. With the increasing recognition of

and respect for the League, both from within and without the

Italian community, it appears as though the Italian League of

Manitoba may soon be in a position to claim and implement

leadership of Winnipeg's Italian community.

D.   Integration and Adaptation

There are a number of similarities between the post-war

Italian community in Winnipeg and the pre-war community. In both cases, immigration, rather than natural propogation, was responsible for the massive increase of the Italian population in the city. In both eras, the average immigrant had a limited education and generally came from a rural, agrarian background. The major focus of these immigrants appears to have been on survival within an alien, industrialized, metropolitan environment through employment, housing, social security, orientation, status and the preservation of familiar and comfortable customs and traditions. To facilitate personal and cultural survival, both generations of immigrants have developed, maintained and utilized similar networks of social support, services, interaction and identification. On a more informal level the networks of family and paesani have been preserved throughout both eras. In both cases, the roles and activities of these informal networks have been supplemented and augmented by the creation of more formal channels of communication, identification and interaction, as represented by the development and maintenance of ethnic institutions and voluntary associations. However, the post-war Italian community is quite distinct from the pre-war community in the proliferation of its ethnic institutions, such as the ethnic church, the ethnic media, ethnic businesses and, especially ethnic voluntary associations.

As we have seen, voluntary associations are "organized for the pursuit of one interest or of several interests in common" (Banton, 1968:357). The common interests expressed through

Winnipeg's Italian voluntary associations include religious,

social, athletic, territorial, experiential, educational, cultural

and/or political concerns mutually shared among the members of

each respective association. Such common interest associations

can reflect pre-existing traditional forms (such as the

Winnipeg Italian community's sports clubs and regional associations),

borrowings from the surrounding dominant society (such as the Holy

Rosary Brownies and Girl Guides), or completely new innovations

(such as the Italian Student Youth Organization and the Italian

League of Manitoba).

In addressing, expressing and satisfying their common

interests, these associations must stimulate membership and

community support by offering various attractions and activities.

In this respect,

> the central activity of most voluntary associations
> functions to provide one of the following values:
> (1) pleasure for the actors in the performance itself;,
> (2) sociability or communion with others, (3) symbolic
> evocation and reaffirmation of a valued belief
> system, or (4) production of goods, services, or some
> desired change.
> (Amis and Stern, 1974:95)

All of these values are expressed within the post-war associations,

with several being reflected within the same organization. For

example, "pleasure in performance" is likely evident in every one

of the Italian voluntary associations; and yet the most obvious

instances may be seen in the various community sports clubs or the

Gli Amici theatre group where performance is the essence of the

association. Sociability is also a common value of all the Italian

organizations, from the sponsoring dinners of the Intalinter

Soccer Club, to the Sherbrook Social Club's bingo games, to the

conviviality of the Monte Casino Legion. The regional associations,

such as the Fogolar Furlan, the lay religious organizations, and

the Dante Alighieri Society are prime examples of those associations

concerned with the reaffirmation of valued belief systems.

Similarly, the Dante Alighieri Society and the Italian League of

Manitoba are indicative of those associations bent on "some

desired change".

Social change is a significant feature of or factor in the

roles voluntary associations play within the community which

fosters them. "Voluntary associations become more common and

significant as societies advance in technology, complexity, and

scale..." (Banton, 1968:358). Social, cultural and technological

changes, especially in the form of the rapid industrialization

and urbanization of a relatively unprepared immigrant group, have

a distinct impact on the need for and success of common interest

voluntary associations as media for group solidarity,

interaction and identification. Society can, therefore, be seen

> not only as an adaptive mechanism (something we
> use to deal with our physiological and physical
> environmental needs) but also as constituting one
> of the things to which we as individuals and
> sometimes as groups must adapt to.
> (Kerri, 1974:22)

For the immigrant group faced with disorientation, ennui and

the disruption of familiar, traditional cultural and social forms

(some as basic as language and the existence of a primary kinship

group), common interest associations provide an attractive

and viable alternative in providing social support and orientation.

For the minority ethnic group faced with absorption into a

dominant society and disintegration, voluntary associations provide

forums for social interaction, ethnic identity and cultural

retention. In other words, common interest voluntary associations

become important integrative and adaptive social mechanisms in

the face of social change.

While many of Winnipeg's post-war Italian community's

voluntary associations may initially appear to be frivolous, such

as the soccer clubs, the social clubs, or even the regional clubs,

they nevertheless provide the ways and means of drawing their

members and the community together, integrating them into a distinct

unit through the pursuit of a mutually shared interest. This is

especially true of those religious, cultural and educational

organizations which promote and reaffirm the familiar and cherished

heritage of the ethnic community. Upon first inspection the

Italian community does appear, and even admits, to be split into

many regional, age and sexual factions characterized on the

whole by disruptive bickering, ineptitude and ineffectuality.

These factions, though, have repeatedly and successfully been

intergrated into a true co-ordinated and co-operative community.

Examples of such community integration can be found in the support

for the establishment and perpetuation of the new ethnic church

and the Italian credit union. Currently, a new source of community

integration is developing in the form of the cultural,

linguistic and political aims and objectives of many of the

Italian voluntary associations. The mutual concern over the

retention of the Italian language and maintenance of Italian

culture is gaining increasingly unified support throughout the

Winnipeg community.

'The Italian community also appears to be increasingly successful

in its adaptation to the greater Canadian society. This adaptation,

as in the case of community integration, seems to be in response

to the endeavors of the cultural/educational and political

associations within the Italian community. Once a fairly closed,

unobtrusive ethnic community, the Italians are beginning to open

up and become more vocal in matters directly pertinent to their

ethno-cultural identity and survival. The community is beginning

to compete successfully in Canadian business, politics and

educational institutions. The age old language barrier is breaking

down as the majority of Italians become comfortable and conversant

in the English language. An increasing number of Italians are

actively seeking Canadian citizenship to effectively compete in

employment and to become more involved in political matters. But

even as Canadian citizens, they are accutely aware of their

ethnic and cultural backgrounds. As one informant said: "We will

naturally become more and more Canadian, but we will also give

something of ourselves, of our heritage, to Canada". While all

my informants saw themselves not as culturally powerful as the

Ukranians, French and Jews, they nonetheless contend that their desire to perpetuate their heritage is not insignificant.

By amalgamating their desire to participate in and contribute to Canadian society, the Italians of Winnipeg may indeed be successful in maintaining their ethnic identity and community. One informant, echoing a sentiment repeated time and time again during the course of this research, concluded our interview by saying, "We are a stubborn people! We will undoubtedly lose our patriotism to Italy, but our Italianess will always be there."

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In the truest sense, it is a misnomer to refer to an "Italian" community in Winnipeg. In fact, the concept of a pan-Italian cultural group is an external fabrication. Intra-ethnically, this monolithic grouping of people is recognized as being composed of a myriad of smaller regional, linguistic, historic, cultural and, in some cases, religious groups. Although these perceived differences and distinctions have contributed to the unification and segregation of one Italian to and from another, it would be prohibitive to discuss each unique group separately in this study. Justification for combining these distinct social and ethnic affiliations into the concept of one Italian community arises from the existence of six panoramic factors that have contributed to a degree of homogeneity among the Italians in Winnipeg:

(1) A considerable number of Italians utilize the linguafranca or mother tongue of Italy. As such, these people have been able to overcome the traditional regional barriers of communication. In the presence of the more alien and disconcerting language of the dominant society, this inter-group intelligibility has encouraged intra-group dialogue, interaction and affiliation.

(2) The vast majority of Italians have come from southern

Italy. As such, they share a high proportion of general, cultural

attributes (e.g. dress, food, filiation, and other traditions).

(3) The majority of immigrants eventually took up

residence in any one of only three areas of the city (the West End,

Fort Rouge/Osborne South and Transcona), often in response to

common regional affiliation and customs, but also in response to

the presence of shared employment opportunities, Italian businesses

and/or the Catholic Church.

(4) The majority are Roman Catholics. This has provided

another medium for intra-group dialogue, interaction and

identification. Also, the location of the parish and church in

a major Italian district has regularly attracted other Italians

living in other areas of the city to that neighborhood.

(5) As immigrants, many have shared the initial poverty,

familial and social disruption, alienation and loneliness

resulting from the immigration process.

(6) In coping with the disruptions and the disorientations

of immigration, as well as the disadvantages and uncertainties

of minority ethnic group status, the Italians have, for the most

part, been attracted to the programmes offered through and by

their ethnic institutions, including their ethnic voluntary

associations.

The importance of an ethnic institution appears to be

dependent upon its context within the overall ethnic community.

Government agencies, school, churches, markets, newspapers and

clubs are all examples of institutions in that each one is

"an established social facility that provides some service, in the

broadest sense, to people" (Price, 1975:38).

The essential concept in this service function of all

institutions is the relationship between the institution's staff

and its consuming public. In the case of formal voluntary

associations, the active members and, especially, the directing

executives can be compared to the role of patrons providing

financial, social, legal, philanthropic and/or religious services

to its clientele. This clientele can be both the body of

members themselves and/or the general population of the community

in which the organization operates and who may represent

potential members.

Whereas the "patrons" in an institution need not be members

of the ethnic group they serve (e.g., the Catholic clergy which

provides the infra-structure of an Italian apostolic group), the

composition of its consumers is another matter. "Ethnic institutions

are simply those institutions in which the ethnicity of the

clients is significant" (Price, 1975:38). Similarly, although the

services provided by the patrons may be more immediately tangible,

it is the acceptance of support for, and loyalty to the patrons

and their services by the clientele which determines their

preference for one patron or institution over another. "It is this

potential competition of patron with patron that offers the

client his leverage, his ability to win support and to insist on its

continuation" (Wolf, 1966:17). Consequently,

> Ethnic institutions are social inventions ...
> with enough familiarity of common custom and
> tradition; with enough intimate contacts with the
> same people; and with enough exclusiveness,
> discrimination, and boundary maintenance to be
> satisfying [to their clients].
> (Price, 1975:50-51)

The success or failure of an ethnic institution, like a formal

voluntary organization, depends upon involving its clientele in

its operations and in addressing these operations to the specific

concerns of its clientele. Success, therefore, hinges upon the

recognized need of the clientele for that institution.

The concept of "need", here, is directly related to that of

competition between patrons, as stated above. While formal ethnic

voluntary associations provide services in the form of financial,

social, legal, philanthropic and/or religious aid or outlets for

expression, these organizations are in direct competition with

the more common manifestations of kinship-friendship networks.

"Although they do not participate to an important extent in formal

associations, most ... families ... are neither disorganized nor

socially isolated by this lack of participation" (Dotson, 1951:688).

These networks of kith and kin do provide similar services to the

same people as well as express similar relationships, albeit

usually very fluid, between individuals acting as patrons and

clients. They are therefore examples of what Price calls "informal

institutions" (Price, 1975:38). Just as "a psychologically

intimate relationship which involves frequent and regular

interaction" (Dotson, 1951:690) among peers towards the realization

of a common end describes formal voluntary associations, the

concepts of "friend" and "acquaintance" can be seen as describing

informal associations. Therefore, it can be speculated that the

degree of satisfaction obtained through informal associations

within the ethnic community will have a direct bearing upon the

need for the types of, and the consequent success or failure of,

formal voluntary associations within that community.

For many social groups, "the traditional strong family was

rarely a nuclear family isolated from 'kith and kin'...the nuclear

family requires for healthful functioning the leavening presence

of uncles, aunts, cousins, and others" (Tax, 1976:451). In this

study, these 'others' have included neighbors, the corner

grocer, workmates, close friends and casual acquaintances. Through

this network, the immigrant found employment, shelter and

companionship. These services, offered through the informal

ethnic institutions of kinship and friendship, have rivalled those

similarily offered by the institutions of formal voluntary

association, like the Rome Mutual Benefit Society and the various

religious organizations of the Holy Rosary Parish. In the face of

this rivalry, with the informal institutions meeting many of the

social and economic demands and needs of the immigrants, why then

did the community develop and support the various formal

organizations as described in the preceeding text?

It may be that certain potential problems, threats or crises

were perceived which were beyond the control of the individual

networks of informal association. As Katz and Bender suggest,

> self-help forms of organization -- natural
> "support systems"of peers, relatives, kith and
> kin, the like-minded, ...are ... salient in a
> period of much social fragmentation and unrest,
> characterized by loss of relatedness and alienation.
> (Katz and Bender, 1976:266)

For the present study group, the entire process of immigration was

characterized by social and familial fragmentation; and attempting

to achieve viability in an unfamiliar, urbanized and industrialized

society has been characterized, for the Italians, by a loss of

relatedness and alienation. While the slowly acquired informal

network of family and friends, patrons and clients, could provide

a substantial degree of economic and social assistance and

companionship (i.e., support), there were aspects of this new

life in a new environment that were beyond their individual scope

of effect.

In terms of social security no single constituent link of

an informal, associational network could adequately afford to

support an appreciable number of needy members or links

within the network. At the same time, due to the disruption of

social and family ties as a result of immigration, many networks

within the community were at least initially incomplete and i.

insubstantial. This too, affected the adequacy of informal support.

Also, for the first three decades or so of the pre-war era, the

Canadian government was not prepared to implement or handle

universal, public welfare and social security programmes. The

Rome Mutual Benefit Society, as in the case of similar groups,

can therefore be said to have emerged

> in part from exclusions and discrimination in
> a larger society -- the perceived failure of its
> institutions to provide nurturance and social
> support for the needy, the stigmatized, the
> socially isolated or nonconformist.
> (Katz and Bender, 1976:265-266)

In this respect,

> the voluntary system of sickness insurance is of
> great value. It provides for large sections of the
> working class an escape from privation, suffering
> and the dependance upon poor relief in times of stress.
> (Dawson, 1933:171)

All mutual aid societies are "institutions...of...social security

...designated to provide protection against various recognisable

threats to income and security" (Gerdes, 1975:210). By organizing

and pooling their resources in the form of the Rome Society, the

Italian community could best offset the traumatizing and financially

burdensome effects of their shared vulnerability to unemployment,

disability and death.

In terms of spiritual welfare, other than concerns for

divine redemption, the Roman Catholic church and its sundry formal

voluntary organizations have provided a much needed focus for

relatedness and identity within this alien environment. The

church and its organizations have appealed to the general background

of the Italian immigrants. They have given them something of

which they could readily become a part. Socio-religious

programmes like those offered by and through the Holy Rosary Italian

Parish, "appealed to deeply rooted values of life...[and] provided

a context in which the various activities of the individual could

find meaning" (Clark, 1948:423).

> When ... Italians began to stream across the
> Atlantic ..., they realized that they might be
> severing themselves permanently from their native
> land, but they found some comfort in the thought
> that their religion went with them ... As they
> toiled in America, amid the din and grime of
> factories, an occasional touch of the familiar
> amulet (now worn under the shirt instead of
> outside it) brought new courage with which to
> face the nameless dread created by the myriad
> aspects of American life. And in the dark, close
> rooms they now called home, their women fought
> heartbreaking lonliness by gazing now and then at
> the image of a beloved saint as they fumbled with the
> strange gear of American domestic economy.
> (Williams, 1938:146)

Similarly, the religious organizations have served to stave off

the anomie of their new circumstances by providing outlets for

intragroup interaction and identification within their traditional

faith. "Voluntary associations may serve as a legitimate focus for

the affirmation and expression of value..." (Sills, 1968:374).

Alienation, disorientation, ennui, anomie or the general loss

of relatedness are common responses to Canada's urban and

industrial society which many of Winnipeg's Italians have experienced

and with which they have had to contend. As members of a newly

arrived immigrant group or as members of an existing minority

ethnic group, these phenomena have threatened the Italians' self

image and group identity. Throughout the history of the Winnipeg

community, the various Italian formal voluntary associations have

provided media through which this identity can be readily and

successfully affirmed and expressed. "Whatever the purpose of an

association may be, the association always fosters the integration of a group" (Hammond, 1972:19). These associations have also provided important arenas for interaction among people sharing common interests and concerns. By providing a focus for identification and interaction, these associations also assume importance as adaptive mechanisms through which their members can confront, cope with and participate in the surrounding Canadian milieu.

For these greater concerns for social security, spiritual welfare, integration and adaptation, the creation of formal voluntary associations were essential in augmenting the cultural, economic, social and theological support of the community's other networks. "Normal human individuals need support; and... groups established for any purpose may be presumed to provide significant support" (Tax, 1976:449). With this supportive function of formal voluntary associations as a "common interest", these organizations may be termed as "survival oriented" (Levy, 1976:313; Katz and Bender, 1976:280). "These groups provide a refuge for the desperate, who are attempting to secure personal protection from the pressures of life and society or to save themselves from mental or physical decline" (Katz and Bender, 1976:280). The Italian formal voluntary associations have all been intent upon protecting and preserving the physical well being of their wards as well as maintaining a sense of group identity through effective integration and adaptation.

Also, the degree of satisfaction obtained through affiliation
with these formal associations appears to have a significant
impact on participation and maintenance. In his work on Jewish
associations, Koenig states,

> By far the most significant reasons ...for... becoming
> a member are social. Contact with members of his own
> ethnic group in an atmosphere in which he feels at
> home, opportunities for self-expression, for having a
> voice in the affairs of the group are undoubtedly
> among the decisive factors ... Aside from these there
> are the informal get-togethers for purpose of chatting,
> playing games, etc., all of which serve to create an
> atmosphere where acquaintanceships and friendships
> are cultivated and strengthened.
> (Koenig, 1939: 273)

All of Winnipeg's Italian voluntary associations, in both the
pre-war and post-war eras, have been successful in offering a
significant measure of satisfaction by appealing to social and
nostalgic motives and reasons for involvement.

Whether or not satisfaction is a preconceived or expected
factor in an individual's decision to join an association is not
important. What is important is that some degree of satisfaction
does at some point accrue.

> The notion that individuals seek out and join a
> voluntary association in order to find an outlet
> for an interest is oversimplified, since there is
> considerable evidence that most individuals join
> an association only after they are urged or invited
> to do so...Nevertheless, after they become members,
> it may be presumed that individuals benefit to
> some extent from the organization's program,
> whether it be the satisfaction of sociability,
> recreation, service or political action.
> (Sills, 1968:372)

By providing tangible benefits, i.e., by providing satisfaction,
an association can attract more members as well as greater
community support through personal endorsement.

In light of the initially constrained networks within the
early Italian community, aggravated by the massive influx of
more dissociated immigrants after the war, there was a definite
compulsion from the pre-established community members, the
vice-consular office and the Catholic clergy for these new arrivals
to join the various developing formal voluntary associations.
Through this compulsion and increasing personal endorsement, these
associations eventually touched the lives of a near totality of
the Italian community in Winnipeg during both eras.

The degree of satisfaction with, and therefore the presumed
success of, these formal organizations also appears to depend upon
a sense of familiarity or security for potential members.
"The formally organized clubs and societies which arouse most
interest approximate the informal association in structure and
function" (Dotson, 1951:689). The assistance programmes, the
opportunity for social interaction and the propagation of heritage
and culture offered by the voluntary associations can be seen as
approximating the traditional obligations of the family. They
assume a quasi-primary group role within the community. "There is
no doubt that some people achieve family-like satisfaction from
participation; this is the most true of lodges, fraternal orders
and ...self-help associations" (Sills, 1968:373). In terms of

participating in the religious organizations, the Roman Catholic

church, with its parish organizations, has been one of the very

few significant institutional parallels to the Italian homeland

that the immigrants left behind. The church and its formal voluntary

associations have been readily recognizable and acceptable.

Another area of satisfaction has undoubtedly been achieved

with respect to the concepts of companilismo and paesano.

As Gerdes says, in his study of African associations, "Besides

providing material assistance to those in need of help, it can be

seen that all these organizations encourage mutual self-reliance,

as well as a sense of belonging and brotherhood" (Gerdes, 1975:220).

Through these formalized outlets of social, cultural, political

and spiritual support, complete with their convivial and

recreational programmes, people from not only the same ethnic group

but also from the same regions and villages of origin have been

able to maintain this sense of belonging and brotherhood.

In their paper on Cameroon saving associations, Soen and

de Comarmond (1972) illustrate the familiar and personal contacts

within voluntary associations stating,

> People are interested in these meetings because
> of the possibility of hearing fresh news from the
> "land"...The main function of these associations is
> to serve as a liaison between the emigrants of the clan.
> (Soen and de Comarmond, 1972:1175)

Formal voluntary associations therefore satisfy the feelings of

nostaligia that members may feel for the family, the village

and/or the country they have left behind. In Winnipeg's Italian

voluntary associations the underlying social structure of <u>paesani</u>

and <u>companilismi</u> satisfies these feelings. This integration has

not been limited to the Winnipeg community, but through the broad

channels of communication, it has often included the people back

home.

Voluntary associations have been developed in the Winnipeg

Italian community over the course of the past 70 years or so

for a wide variety of purposes. Many of these organizations, like

the social, sports and regional clubs, have been fairly "expressive"

in their aims and objectives. This is to say that they have

been strongly in-group oriented through their attractions and

activities. This has been contrasted by the number of associations

whose goals have been directed outwards towards the betterment

and involvement of the entire Italian community. Associations

like the Rome Mutual Benefit Society, the Dante Alighieri Society

and the Italian League of Manitoba are examples of such

"instrumental" organizations. The basis for membership in

Winnipeg's Italian voluntary associations has also been

varied, ranging from virtually obligatory (as in the case of some

of the regional associations), to advisable or expedient (such

as the Rome Mutual Benefit Society), to truly voluntary (eg., the

Dante Alighieri Society).

All of the Italian associations discussed in this study

have been structured around the perception of some mutually

shared need, concern or interest, be it athletic, religious,

philanthropic, social, educational, territorial, experiential,
cultural, or political. The affirmation of this common interest
has distinguished each group from the others and has segregated
these groups from one another in terms of their own concerted
actions and loyalties. However, it appears as though all of
these associations have shared to some degree one generally
pervasive, common interest -- the survival and perpetuation of the
Italian ethnic identity and community.

B. Conclusions

The processes of interaction and transaction that
characterize relationships between individuals, are important to
a conceptualization of ethnic community or group solidarity and
identity. These processes ultimately affect the social fields
of activity available to any individual or group. Based upon
Johnson's work (1975) on social change and voluntary associations,
it can be said that, in a traditional, rural society, individuals
have some kind of interactional and/or transactional
relationship with everyone else in their environment. Although
these relationships can and do vary in their content, intensity
and symmetry, community "action" is maximally complete. In the
urban setting, however, a person's social environment becomes
disjointed in that he is surrounded by a multitude of strangers
with whom he has no significant action or with whom he is forced
to act in ways and situations alien to his traditional standards.

For the immigrant in such an urban situation the results can

be a blurring or loss of ethnic identity, and a weakening of group

solidarity. It can also result in re-affirmation of this

identity and a strengthening of solidarity, depending upon the

degree, extent and kind of action available to and pursued by the

individual and his ethnic group.

By analyzing the patterns of interaction and transaction of

Winnipeg's Italians in terms of social network theory, it is

possible to formulate a conception of Italian community solidarity

and identity, or ethnic boundary maintenance. This boundary

maintenance is expressed through the institutional completeness

of their formal voluntary associations and the social distance

entailed in their informal associations. According to Barnes,

> The notion of network has been developed in social
> anthropology to analyze and describe those social
> processes involving links across, rather than within,
> group and category limits. The interpersonal links
> that arise out of common group membership are as
> much part of the total social network as are those
> that link persons in different groups, and an analysis
> of action in terms of a network should reveal, among
> other things, the boundaries and internal structure
> of the groups.
> (Barnes, 1968:109)

In effect, a network, in its basic sense, is a social field

composed of relationships between people. These relationships

can be described in such terms as neighborhood, friendship,

kinship, religious congregation and club membership. Any

individual has a number of such relationships with a number of

people, who are, in turn, linked by similar relationships to yet

other people. This geometric progression of dyadic relationships
provides any individual with his greatest number of potential
contacts which often transcends specific group limits (the
neighborhood, the family, the church, the community, etc.). This
ultimately complete social field of potential interactions and
transactions is described as the "total network" (Barnes, 1968:111).
While an individual does have access to this total network,
his actual activity occurs most frequently and personally within
more limited social fields. In other words, an individual has
a smaller sphere of contacts or a smaller number of network
linkages in which and through which he functions most of the time.

These smaller spheres of activity are called "partial
networks" (Barnes, 1968:111-113), and also generally conform to
the more ambiguous concept of "sets" (Mayer, 1966:99). They are
characterized by more personal relationships than the total
network. "The image I have is of a set of points some of which
are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or
sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact
with each other ... (Barnes, as quoted in Mayer, 1966:100). It
must be stressed that people do not act indiscriminately with each
other; rather, they share certain criteria of friendship,
kinship, or some other joint interest or characteristic. Partial
networks can therefore range from simple dyadic relationships
to complex relationships of a number of people sharing group or
category membership.

The most basic partial networks consist of concrete, interpersonal dyadic relations. These relationships are composed of strong, direct linkages or contacts, and comprise what Barnes calls an individual's primary contacts, first-order contacts or "star" (Barnes, 1968:113). In the case of Winnipeg's Italians, this type of dyadic relationship has existed between members of the same family and/or members of the same village or region of origin.

Wolf (1966:10) perceives two types of dyadic relationships: (1) expressive or emotional friendships, and (2) instrumental friendships, which complement Barnes' concept of primary contacts. As we have seen, the relations between genealogically close kindred and paesani have satisfied the social and nostalgic needs of both parties in providing a buffer against or a refuge from the alienating press of urbanized and industralized Canadian life. Also, these relationships have entailed direct, one-to-one distribution of resources in the form of personal economic support and informal social security, based upon an established code of honour and sense of obligation engendered within the traditional standard of primary group affiliation. The relationship between family members and between paesani can be described as emotional friendships. As defined by Wolf, "From the point of view of the friendship dyad, emotional friendship involves a relation between an ego and an alter in which each satisfies some emotional need in his opposite number" (Wolf, 1966:10).

Instrumental friendships utilize different means for transactions which effects the pattern of interaction. "Instrumental friendship may not have been entered into for the purpose of attaining access to resources -- natural or social -- but the striving for such success becomes vital in it" (Wolf, 1966:12). This type of friendship is readily apparent in the banding together of various compaesani into formal voluntary associations in order to access religious, recreational, economic, social, cultural, educational and political resources. Whereas emotional friendship restricts the social linkages to the dyads involved, instrumental friendship requires a broadening of the social field. "In contrast to emotional friendship, which is associated with closure of the social circle, instrumental friendship reaches beyond the boundaries of existing sets and seeks to establish beachheads in the new sets" (Wolf, 1966:12). In this respect, each member of the dyad becomes a potential contact with and to other individuals beyond the original dyad; that is to say, the participants become sponsors for each other. While the integrative role of paesani and many formal voluntary associations channelized the immigrants' economic and social sponsorship into the established Italian community, other examples of instrumental relationships have included the agenti who acted as occupational sponsors for Italian labourers.

It is important to stress the role of reciprocity in instrumental

friendships, as in emotional friendships, for these relationships are as concerned with mutual assistance in an uncertain situation as the other. A show of affect is also important in these relationships to ensure trust and facilitate credit. Wolf (1966:13) maintains that reciprocity and affect are important in guarding against possible social imbalance, where overly exploitative, overly domineering or ungenerous contacts are sanctioned and the friendship bond threatened (this concept is also important to the discussion of broker and patron transactions which occur later in this work). The sponsorship of compaesani, paesani, agenti, and other contacts although often activated out of a sense of obligation, as in emotional friendships, were also concerned with gain, betterment and the broadening of social horizons. It may be said that such instrumental friendships were entered into more for reasons of economic and social maneuverability than merely for survival. The contacts established through an instrumental friend become, in Barnes' model, an individual's second order contacts. Subsequent contacts made through these people become his third-order contacts, and so on as the social distance from the individual increases (Barnes, 1968:114). This concept becomes important to a discussion of groups.

An individual has a number of first-order contacts -- both emotional and instrumental friends. In many cases, these contacts also have direct access to each other without having to go through the social linkage with their common contact. These lateral

linkages are called "primary zones" (Barnes, 1968:114). The
more lateral links that exist, the more "dense" the zone or, in
other words, the more complete the interaction/transaction of the
larger partial network. As the primary zone increases in density,
it becomes likely that more and more of an individual's
second-order contacts will become involved in network activity.
The secondary zone may then become more dense and the partial
network expands. Conceivably, this process can continue through
the other subsequent zones; but as social distance increases,
overall density weakens. "We define this measure, the density of
the zone, to be the proportion of the theoretically possible
direct links that exist in fact" (Barnes, 1968:117). The concepts
of zones and zone density form the interactional pattern of
groups, as in Wolf's (1966:15-16) description of "cliques".

As a more or less exclusive group of persons sharing the
common criteria of interest, purpose or identity, it may be said
that Barnes' zones and Wolf's cliques are similar social entities
and that they comprise another significant manifestation of action.
While Wolf claims that clique relationships are not as strong
as those of emotional friendship, he does maintain that they
are nevertheless characterized by some degree of mutual affect
among the members. Strong cliques among the Italians can be
seen in the dense primary zones of the extended family, the
paese boarding houses and the regular clientele of neighborhood
coffee shops. With regard to the level of affect within such
groups, Wolf states, "Importantly, it may reduce the feeling of

the individual that he is dominated by forces beyond himself,
and serve to confirm the existence of his ego in the interplay
of small-group chit-chat" (Wolf, 1966:15). The secondary,
and possibly tertiary, zones of neighborhoods, railway line
work gangs, shop workmates and the church congregation all
provide examples of more diffuse cliques with varying degrees of
density in terms of interaction, transaction and affect.

Regional associations such as the Bari Society, the
Fratellanza Amatese and the Fogolar Furlan are also examples
of cliques. As Wolf (1966:15-16) points out, clique membership
is highly exclusive, focussing around one primary and mutually
shared role. In terms of regional clubs, this role is common
territoriality. The Italian veterans associations, the short-lived
professional association and most lay religious organizations
can also be described as cliques. Due to the exclusive nature
of such groups, especially with regard to the distribution of
and access to resources within them, cliques express
characteristics of instrumental friendships.

It is interesting to compare the concept of cliques to that
of "action-sets".

> An action-set has an originator, Alpha, who
> makes the decision to act to achieve some specific
> goal. Alpha activates some or all of the social
> relationships in his primary star, and those
> first-order contacts he has activated respond
> by activating in their turn some or all of the
> relationships in their primary stars. Those
> of Alpha's second-order contacts who are alerted
> in this way respond by activating some of the

> relationships in their primary stars, and so
> on. The process continues until Alpha's goal is
> achieved.
> (Barnes, 1968:123)

In our example, the Catholic clergy, the Vice-Consul and

certain other members of the Italian community have acted as

"Alphas"; their goals have been to address and realize the

various concerns and interests of their ethnic group.

Endeavoring to achieve certain of these goals, grandiose action-

sets in the form of various ethnic institutions and formal

voluntary associations have been created.

Unlike cliques, such institutions and associations as the

Italia Credit Union, the Rome Mutual Benefit Society, the

Italinter sports club, the Dante Alighieri Society and the

Italian League of Manitoba neither restrict their membership to

represent one specific role nor restrict access to their resources.

In this respect, these organizations have features similar to

those of action-sets as described by Mayer (1966:108-110) in his

study of electoral action-sets in India.

Organizations like the mutual benefit society, the

socio-cultural/educational associations and most of the sports

clubs recruit membership from a broad range of roles and

criteria including those of kinship, political affiliation,

economic status and regionality. This is similar to Mayer's first

feature of an action-set: "that a wide variety of bases for

linkages are involved" (Mayer, 1966:108). All of these Italian

associations try to involve as large a segment of the Italian

population as possible, both members and non-members alike,
in their objectives and activities. For example, the Dante
Society is attempting to make Italian language education accessible
to the entire community and the soccer games of the sports
clubs are open to all spectators. This also conforms to Mayer's
research when he writes, "A second feature of the action set
is that the links are sometimes, but not always, based on group
membership" (Mayer, 1966:108).

Mayer's third feature is that "the action-set contains
paths of linkages, and is thus a combination of relationships
linking people directly to ego, and those linking people to
intermediaries who are themselves in direct contact with ego"
(Mayer, 1966:109). In other words, action-sets are interactionally
dense. This is or has been true of such associations as the
Rome Mutual Benefit Society and the Italian League of Manitoba
which have attracted or involved a near majority of the
Italian community in their operations. While many Italian
institutions and associations attract members from diverse regions,
social classes and historic backgrounds, it is their mutually
shared interest, concern or goal which distinguishes each
organization from the other. Like action-sets, these organizations
are bounded entities whose "members are aware that they form
part of a population recruited for a particular common
purpose ..." (Mayer, 1966:109).

Finally, action-sets and voluntary associations are not

permanent entities. Once Alpha's goal is achieved, the
action-set loses its focus or purpose and dissolves (Mayer, 1966:110).
Impermanence, to some degree, has been evident within the functioning
of the Rome Mutual Benefit Society. With the restriction on
immigration before the Second World War and the implementation
of universal, government operated social security after the war,
the ostensible purpose and goal of the Rome Society became
obsolete. Instead of disbanding, however, this society changed
its orientation by adopting new social goals to replace the
old philanthropic one in an attempt to justify its existence.
David Sills (1968:371) calls this "goal succession". Because of
this change, the Rome Mutual Benefit Society no longer exists.

Another significant aspect of action-sets is their
importance in executing transactions between constituents.
Action-set "linkages exist because they carry transactions
furthering in some way the interests of the parties concerned"
(Mayer, 1966:112). As we have seen, transactions in the Italian
formal voluntary associations have often taken the form of
addressing such concerns as social security, spiritual welfare,
heritage perpetuation, linguistic retention, community integration
and adaptation. With their broad interactional scope and their
expressed interest in accessing resources, action-sets and cliques,
as instrumental friendships, assume significant transactional
roles within the social networks.

This is not to suggest that the formal voluntary
associations of Winnipeg's Italian community are devoid of
emotional friendship linkages. Many close expressive dyadic
relationships are developed between members of these organizations,
especially as a result of their common role and/or interest.
Also, as in the case of action-sets, these organizations can
be created and expanded through the interaction of both
instrumental and emotional friends as the various primary zones
throughout an Alpha's extended social network are activated.
It can be argued that it is the attraction to and functioning of
these emotional friendship linkages that gives the Italian voluntary
associations their quasi-primary group character. The assumption
of quasi-primary group roles by, and the presence of emotional
friendship linkages within, these organizations does not detract
from the important transactional roles that the Italian
voluntary associations perform within their ethnic community.

Both Mayer and Wolf distinguish two types of transactions--
brokerage and patronage. "A broker is a middle-man, and the
transaction is one in which he promises to obtain favours for the
respondent from a third person" (Mayer, 1966:114). The agenti
and bossi of the Italian community can be described as brokers
in that they did not have personal and/or ultimate control over
the occupational resources required by their contacts. Rather,
they had access to those influential and powerful people, either
within or beyond the community, who did have control of these

resources. In the event of failure to procure these resources,
the responsibility did not lie with the sponsor or broker, but
rather with this third party. "When instrumental friendship reaches
a maximum point of imbalance so that one partner is clearly
superior to the other in his capacity to grant goods and services,
we approach the critical point where friendships give way to
the patron-client tie" (Wolf, 1966:16). The Catholic clergy,
the Vice-Consul, the store owners and the workplace and boarding
house padroni are all examples of patrons within the Italian
community. These people clearly had the resources which others
required and any failure to fulfill a promised transaction was
also clearly their responsibility. It is also possible to cast
the Italian formal voluntary associations into the roles of
patrons and brokers, based upon the type of transaction they
perform.

There are a number of examples of organizational brokers
within the Italian community. The lay religious organizations,
for example, tended to act as liaisons between the congregation
and the church. Through these organizations, the congregation
had access to the spiritual, as well as the economic, political
and social resources of the Catholic clergy and church. The
lay organizations themselves did not have direct control of
these resources. Similarily, the Dante Alighieri Society acts as
a broker between parents requesting formal Italian language
education for their children and the provincial government which

controls the education system and its curriculum.

The Italian League of Manitoba is another organizational

broker. Originally the brokerage transactions of the League

were performed between one Italian association and another by

coordinating and promoting the distribution of the various

clubs' activities, concerns and resources throughout the

community. Today, the League is developing its brokerage roles

by acting as the official liaison between the ethnic community

and the dominant society. It is conceivable that, if the

League can attain significant political power and authority

within the dominant society, it could develop into an organizational

patron to its client community.

With respect to such patrons, there are a number of examples

within the community. There is a definite patron-client

relationship between the Leonardo da Vinci Society and certain

Italian students in the awarding of university bursaries. The

pre-war Rome Mutual Benefit Society is also an excellent example

of an organizational patron because it had direct control of

community resources for social security. In patron-client

relations, "the transactor has the power to give some benefit which

the respondent desires; upon fulfillment of the latter's part

the benefit is made available" (Mayer, 1966:113). In terms of

formal voluntary associations acting as patrons, the resources

and benefits of these organizations are bestowed upon those

individuals who have become members, paid their dues and/or

expressed support for organizational operations and goals.

As in other forms of instrumental friendships, brokerage and patronage rely upon some degree of affect between the transactors to ensure trust, honesty and loyalty. Loyalty is especially important to the perpetuation of these types of formal voluntary associations. As stated by Wolf, in his discussion of patron-client relationships, the client "promises -- in effect-- to entertain no other patron than the one from whom he received goods and credit. The client is duty-bound not merely to offer expressions of loyalty, but also to demonstrate that loyalty" (Wolf, 1966:17).

If a voluntary association cannot instill a reasonable degree of loyalty among its members, it cannot guarantee the realization of its goals or its existence. This is especially true if there are other associations present competing for members and in the achievement of similar objectives. It may be in terms of promoting group loyalty that the emotional friendship linkages and the quasi-primary group roles engendered within all of Winnipeg's Italian formal voluntary associations assume their true organizational importance. The loyalty and solidarity that occurs within these Italian associations also have important implications to intra-ethnic group interaction and identification by mitigating competition from outside the community.

In terms of transaction, interaction and identification voluntary associations are important integrative devices that

unite isolated individuals into cohesive groups. Similarily,

through sharing common members or otherwise attracting common

support, isolated groups can be integrated into larger social

entities bound by mutual loyalties. This phenomenon is

described by D.H. Smith in Johnson's work (1975) on social change

and voluntary associations:

> ...FVOs [Formal Voluntary Organizations] in
> industrial society tend to form a vast network
> cross-cutting each other through common members,
> and individuals having multiple memberships.
> This interconnection network of FVOs diminishes
> divisiveness and promotes integration because
> common members can often serve as a representative
> of one group in the councils of another and because
> groups that desire to grow and prosper must take
> care not to damage severally the interests of
> sub-groups within them who possess additionally
> other group loyalties and commitments.
> (Smith, as quoted in Johnson, 1975:55)

While Johnson uses this quote to illustrate the integration of

migrant groups into industrialized society, it does have

applicability in describing the integration of individuals

and groups into a community structure exhibiting in-group

tolerance, dialogue, loyalty and solidarity.

This applicability can be seen in Boissevain's (1970)

description of Montreal's Italian community as a viable whole,

composed of multiple, overlapping networks of social relations

originating in the fields of kinship, friendship, neighborhood,

the marketplace, the parish and voluntary association membership.

These various institutions and associations have been integrated

into one community,

> in which a person is born and baptized, finds
> his spouse and is married, obtains work and
> companionship; where, if he is ill, he can be cared
> for ..., and where he can die. It has its own
> leaders, internal value system, and system of social
> control. The community obviously facilitates the
> accomodation of an immigrant to Canadian society
> but retards his absorption into it.
> (Boissevain, 1970:26)

In other words, the integrative functions of ethnic institutions

and formal voluntary associations channel the patterns of

transaction, interaction and identification back into the ethnic

community and away from the competing attractions of the

dominant society outside of the community.

A good example of this channalized transaction, interaction

and identification can be found in Gans' discussion of peer

groups among Boston's Italians. These people

> appear to be involved in a never ending dialectic:
> individual actions take them out of the group
> momentarily and are followed by restraints that
> bring them back only to be succeeded by more
> individuating talk and behavior. Peer group
> members act as if they were held together by ties
> of rubber, which they alternately stretch and
> relax, but rarely break.
> (Gans, 1962:81)

This density of "action" within the social networks of ethnic

voluntary associations and communities promotes ingroup

identification and solidarity while perpetuating a social gap

or distance from "outgroups". This is very similar to

Driedger's observation concerning the relationship between

ethnic identity, institutional completeness and patterns of

interaction:

> One of the reasons behind high ingroup
> identity and high outgroup social distance is
> the amount of time spent within the orbit of
> their ethnic community by high identifiers.
> Spending more of their time within the community,
> they have less time to associate with others.
> (Driedger, 1982:214).

For Winnipeg's Italians, the patterns of their interaction

and transactions, and therefore their identification, have

taken place almost exclusively within the Italian community

itself. It can be said that the Italian community has essentially

been a finite and bounded partial network. It can be considered

to be finite in that its interactions and transactions have

been most frequently and primarily reserved for other Italians.

Although situated within the more infinite or total network of

Canadian society, with some degree of access to this network

through the media of certain sponsors and contacts (e.g., non-

Italian workmates or customers in the workplaces, children in the

public shcool system, etc.), the significant orientation of

activity and identity has been inward. In Barnes' words

(1968:121-122), the community is bounded in that persons or

strangers exist outside the primary network of activity who can

not generally be reached or involved in interactions and transaction

through direct network linkages.

There is considerable evidence to support this claim that

Winnipeg's Italian community is both finite and bounded. For

example, Italians still tend to marry other Italians. "Italian"

is still the most frequently and commonly used language in the

home, in the neighborhood coffee shops, grocery stores and
restaurants, and in the neighborhoods themselves. Similarily,
other Italians comprise the majority of these people's best
friends. Their children are enrolled in the Italian language
classes and in the Italian Sunday School; and they attend the
Italian Catholic church. Also, a significant number of Italians
participate in their own ethnic institutions and formal voluntary
associations. These features are augmented by the retention
of such overtly distinctive ethno-cultural traits as dialect,
etiquette, liturgical practices, food preferences and habits,
and style of dress.

This finiteness and boundedness, i.e., the social density,
of the Italian community exemplifies the interconnection
between interaction and identification. In Driedger's (1982)
discussion of the concept of "social nearness", he says,
"Identification with a group implies commitment to an ingroup,
which in turn suggests a willingness to enter into intimate
interaction with the members of the group" (Driedger, 1982:215).
He goes on to cite endogamy, language use, choice of friends,
parochial education, and ethnic organizations as important identity
factors within interaction (Driedger, 1982:215). As illustrated
above, all these factors occur within the Winnipeg Italian
community.

It can be argued that it is this commitment to an ingroup,
through identification and interaction, that is important in the

formation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries.

> A boundary implies a contrast and a discontinuity;
> any given person is on one side of the boundary
> or the other. When we speak of membership of a
> group we are always making this contrast, for there
> are not only members but also non-members with
> whom the members are contrasted.
> (Barnes, 1968:121)

Such boundaries are established "between groups within a social

system by strengthening group consciousness and awareness of

separateness thus establishing the identity of the groups within

the system" (Lewis Coser, 1956:34).

Identification, which signals an individual's inclusion

within or exclusion from a group, has significance in regards

to that individual's patterns of interaction and transaction.

> The identification of another person as a fellow
> member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of
> criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus
> entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally
> "playing the same game", and this means that there
> is between them a potential for diversification
> and expansion of their social relationship to cover
> eventually all different sectors and dominions of
> activity. On the other hand, a dichotomization of
> others as strangers, as members of another ethnic
> group, implies a recognition of limitations on
> shared understanding, differences in criteria for
> judgement of values and performance, and a
> restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed
> common understanding and mutual interest.
> (Barth, 1969:15)

Boundaries are therefore important factors in the discussion of

ethnic group solidarity and have application to the Winnipeg

Italian study group.

The dyadic network linkages of emotional and instrumental

friendships, and the lateral network zone linkages of cliques

and action-sets within the Italian community are maximally direct,

compact and dense. There are definite shared criteria (e.g. the

identity factors discussed above) that enhance these social

relationships while dichotomizing the Italians from other ethnic

groups. The social distance between the Italian community and

other ethnic groups, especially the dominant society, is evident

in the intermediate linkages of sponsors and brokers beyond the

community. At present, these linkages are generally extended,

sparse and superficial. The perception of inclusion and

exclusion is well established. Social, and indeed ethnic,

boundaries do exist between the Italian community and the rest

of Canadian society which internalize identification, interaction

and transaction and promotes ingroup solidarity.

Strengthening group consciousness can imply conformity to

the covert value orientations of the group in terms of the

standards of morality, behavior and socialization of an individual

which are constantly scrutinized and evaluated by the other

members of the group. "Since belonging to an ethnic category

implies being a certain kind of person, having that basic identity,

it also implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself, by

those standards that are relevant to that identity" (Barth, 1969:14).

What is significant in perpetuating ethnic group identity

and solidarity is not the overt, objective "cultural stuff" of

the group; but rather it is the distinctive covert value orientation

of individuals that communicate shared affiliation, expressed
through the finite and bounded channels of interaction and
transaction. Specific ethno-cultural characteristics can change
or be replaced, without significantly affecting the perception
of inclusion vs. exclusion. Individuals and groups continue
to categorize themselves and others as belonging to particular
ethnic groups, even after cultural change has occurred. The
boundaries that encircle cultural traits and personnel, reinforced
and maintained through channelized network linkages, are
essential in perpetuating identity, solidarity and social distance.
Similarly,

> it is clear that boundaries persist despite a flow
> of personnel across them. In other words, categorical
> ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of
> mobility, contact and information but do entail social
> processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby
> discrete categories are maintained despite changing
> participation and membership in the course of
> individual life histories.
> (Barth, 1969:9-10)

Generally speaking, it is often assumed that contact between
two different cultural or ethnic groups will result in a reduction
of cultural differences. To some extent this is true since
interaction requires and generates a degree of similarity and
congruence between the groups. However, it is not always the
case that this increased similarity will result in the eventual
and complete absorption of one group into the other. For a
minority ethnic group to exist within a dominant social structure
requires only a degree of knowledge of or familiarity with that

structure, as well as certain opportunities to establish network
linkages outside of the ethnic community. As ethnic groups
retain their identity to varying degrees in contact situations,
so too do they generally structure the form, intensity, extent
and type of these situations. There is often

> a set of prescriptions governing situations of
> contact, and allowing for articulation in some sectors
> or domains of activity, and a set of prescriptions
> on social situations preventing inter-ethnic
> interaction in other sectors, and thus insulating
> parts of the cultures from confrontation and modification.
> (Barth, 1969:16)

Constant or repeated contact with "outsiders" has been to
some measure, beyond or denied many of Winnipeg's Italians. Yet
it has been deemed safe, necessary and acceptable for certain
individuals to move outside of the community and interact and
transact with non-Italians. This is especially true for many of
the individual and organizational brokers within the Italian
community. Similarily, Italian men have been able to find
occupations outside of the community and interact with non-Italian
workmates. Italian women have traditionally been discouraged
in their access to such opportunities. This difference can be
explained through the perpetuation of strict and traditional mores
and values within the Italian community. As D'Antini (1976) has
emphasized in his work on Toronto's Italians,

> a man's social status as a person with honour is
> closely linked with his ability to maintain and improve
> the economic position of his family, and to safeguard
> the purity of its women, whose virtue is bound
> inextricably to the family's collective honour.
> (D'Antini, 1976:2)

The Italian male is therefore expected to utilize and sanctioned in

utilizing any means to achieve a livelihood for his family,

including periodic transgressions of the ethnic boundary. On the

other hand, the woman's place is very much considered to be in

the sanctuary of the Italian home and not in the potentially

demoralizing workplace. This assertion has been even more

rigorous and constant concerning adolescent daughters.

D'Antini writes,

> The parents see part of their duty as preserving
> as much of Italy in their children as they can,
> which means a very stringent application and
> enforcement of the values and norms of behavior
> which they accept, but which are not necesarily
> acceptable to their children.
> (D'Antini, 1976:4)

In Winnipeg, this sentiment appears to account for the situation

whereby Italian children have been encouraged to attend non-Italian

schools and interact academically with non-Italian classmates; yet

they have been discouraged from such inter-ethnic social interactions

as attending school dances. Education translates into

increased status to the family whereas it is believed that a

girl's virute and a boy's integrity will be in jeopardy at

non-Italian social functions.

The Italian social system, structured around such mores and

values as honour, virtue, tradition and prestige, "is a system

which is secure because the patterns of behavior it enforces are

stable, accepted by the majority as time-tested, and sanctioned

by the Church" (D'Antini, 1976:2). This system exerts great

influence on contact situations beyond the confines of the
community. For instance, Italians purchase goods from a non-Italian
store owner; but they usually do not marry non-Italians. The
density of intra-group network linkages and the degree of intra-group
dependence leaves many Italians unprepared for or unwilling to
enter into such contact. For others, this intra-group density
and group identification is what attracts them back to the ethnic
community after each contact situation.

There have of course been others who, for various reasons,
have not conformed to this structuring of inter-group interaction
and transaction and who have permanently transgressed their
ethnic boundary or desire to do so. Some of these transgressors
can be described as "ethnic deniers". In Driedger's words,
"ethnic denial might include feelings of inferiority, of being
restricted by and annoyed with the ingroups, or a necessity to
hide cultural identity" (Driedger, 1976:133). As we have seen,
the embarrassment, humiliation and unease generated by the Second
World War increased a general inclination towards ethnic denial
throughout the Italian community. Currently some degree of
ethnic denial is ongoing within certain articulating segments of
the community. Through their social position as intermediaries
between the ethnic community and out-groups, inter-group brokers
can become overly attracted to the outgroup and so abandon their
own ethnic affiliation. Other articulating sectors such as the
Canadian born second-generation Italians and members of the Italian

"nouveau riche" can similarily be seduced away from the ethnic

community.

Faced with a desire to submerge their ethnic identity,

but hampered by this conceived categorization, many of these

boundary articulators become "ethnic marginals". Marginality,

as defined by Driedger,

> has generally referred to the uncertain position
> of persons experiencing two cultures but
> identified with neither; it can also include the
> idea, at the psychological level, of a discrepancy
> between ingroup members' real and ideal identification
> ...which involves a description of who a person is
> as well as an assessment of who he would like to be
> ... A low degree of discrepancy suggests that persons
> see themselves as consistently successful in meeting
> their needs according to their level of expectancy,
> while a high degree of discrepancy reveals a sense
> of being unable to meet expectancy levels...Real
> and ideal discrepancies are used as indicators of
> marginality because ethnic solidarity is perceived by
> the individual showing these discrepancies as an inferior
> goal which is not in harmony with his aspirations.
> (Driedger, 1976:133)

Ideally, many Italian articulators wish to appear more Canadianized,

but in reality they are unable to avoid their ethnic categorization.

Their ethnic affiliation, therefore, comes into direct conflict

with their social aspirations, characterized somewhat by a degree

of denying this ethnic identity, but more by a sense of not

being able to determine or affirm any one particular identity

consistently.

While "marginality" and "ethnic denial" do   pose some

threat to the solidarity of Winnipeg's Italian community, there

are other social processes at work within the community that

mitigate their effect. As Wolf states,

> the persistence of corporate groups in a society
> discourages the mobilization of friendship ties
> for mobility beyond the corporate group ...the
> individual who wishes to move beyond the orbit of
> the community...is frequently accused...as a
> deviant against whom social sanctions may be invoked.
> (Wolf, 1966:14)

Gossip and ostracism have been common sanctions used by the

Italian community against such "deviants". In such cases,

"gossip paths have a direct effect on the achievement of consensus

and the application of diffuse or organized sanctions against

deviation from this consessus" (Barnes, 1968:124). Deviants

who persisted in disregarding their identity and who, therefore,

posed a potential threat to group standards and solidarity

were effectively removed from the community interaction and

transaction through ostracism. The potential boundary vacillations

of others can be kept in check out of fear of negative gossip

and public opinion. Consequently, the overall ethnic boundary

and identity of the Italian community can be maintained, even

with the occurrence of dissidents from within the group. These

people forfeit their membership in the group and are therefore

perceived as outsiders.

The importance of the perception of inclusion vs. exclusion

in discussing ethnic boundary maintenance and identity

perpetuation must again be stressed

> By concentrating on what is socially effective,
> ethnic groups are seen as forms of social
> organization. The critical feature then becomes
> ...the characteristic of self-ascription and

> ascription by others. A categorical ascription
> is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person
> in terms of his basic, most general identity,
> presumptively determined by his origin and background.
> To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to
> categorize themselves and others for purposes of
> interaction, they form ethnic groups in this
> organizational sense.
> (Barth, 1969:13-14)

Besides categorization or ascription, integration also becomes

a significant organizational factor for ethnic groups. In

this respect, "the direction of the immigrant's integration

will to a large extent result from the forces of attraction

(positive and negative) stemming from three communities: the

community of his ethnicity, the native (receiving) community, and

the other ethnic communities" (Breton, 1964:193).

The "receiving" community, in Canada, is primarily the

two charter ethnic groups, the British and the French. In

Winnipeg, the British group has essentially dominated all major

sectors of political, legal, educational and economic

activities and institutions. Access to these sectors has primarily

been open to the members of this group. The Italians, as a

minority, immigrant group whose cultural traditions, norms,

values, and standards have been transplanted into this pre-

established social system, have access to those resources relevant

only to their ethnic group itself and only to certain designated

sectors of activity within the dominant system. Integration

into other, often equally valued, sectors has essentially been

blocked by the prevalent ethnic ascriptions generated by both

the Italians and the dominant host society. The language

barrier, deficiencies in or non-recognition of professional

and technical skills, negative stereotypes and prejudice, have

forced the Italians to accept low occupational, economic,

political and social status and have, for a large part, prevented

them from securing important positions within the Canadian

power structure. Integration into other ethnic communities

has also been impeded by the pervasive dominance of this charter

group. In this respect, interactions and transactions between

Italians and other minority groups has almost exclusively

been limited to accessing resources controlled by the dominant

group. Based on Barth (1969:31-32) in such situations as

working in the ethnically mixed sweat shops, studying in the

ethnically mixed downtown schools, or patronizing a common

neighborhood market, the significant interactions and transactions

have essentially been independent of ethnic identity.

Insecurity in the face of urbanization, industrialization

and alienation also impedes integration into communities other

than that of one's ethnicity. While initially it was social

security, currently it is cultural security which is perceived

as not forthcoming from the dominant group; other ethnic

communities are either faced with the same situation as the

Italians or are engrossed in expending all their resources on their

own communities. Embarrassment, suspicion and resentment as a

result of this insecurity, also obscures network linkages beyond

the community for the majority of group members, even in

situations where potential inter-ethnic interactions and

transactions exist. The forces of attraction to the receiving

community and to other ethnic communities, although often positive,

have nonetheless been minimal in their effect. For the majority

of Italians in Winnipeg, this situation can be explained by

the lack of opportunity, security or desire to interact maximally

beyond the ethnic community.

Forces of attraction to and integration in the Italian

community itself, though, have been strong and virtually complete.

"These forces are generated by the social organization of ethnic

communities and their capacity to attract and hold members within .

their social boundaries" (Driedger, 1977a:12). The density of

intra-ethnic network linkages throughout the Italian informal

associations of the family, the neighborhood, the parish and

the overall community, reinforced by the standards and values

engendered within the concepts of paesano, companilismo, omerta

and Catholic dogma, have indeed solidified the Italian ethnic

group. Within the Italian community, those cultural traits deemed

diacritical and stigmatic by the dominant society can be freely

and openly expressed and made the objects of interaction and

transaction. The formation of the various formal voluntary

associations have further reinforced cultural expression,

intra-ethnic interaction and transaction, and community solidarity.

The contributions of these formal and informal voluntary associations to Italian ethnic identity and community solidarity can be described in terms of "institutional completeness".

> The rationale for institutional completeness is that when a minority can develop a social system of its own with control over its institutions then the social interaction patterns of the group will take place largely within the system. Breton (1964) suggests that religious, educational and welfare institutions are crucial, while Joy (1972) adds the importance of political and economic institutions.
> (Driedger, 1977a:12)

"The result is a maintenance of group boundaries and control over systemic linkage" (Driedger, 1976:132). In this respect, the organization of ethnic institutions influences community patterns of integration, interaction and transaction. These institutions promote ethnic group identity and solidarity by providing intra-ethnic access to social, religious, political, economic and educational resources, thus minimizing the need to transgress the community.

John Price (1975:38), in his study of Indian urban institutions, argues that less formally established social features like kinship-friendship networks should be categorized as institutions. These networks are social facilities that do provide services to people and, therefore, conform to Price's definition of institutions (Price, 1975:38). It can then be said that the networks of the Italian family, paesani, and companilismi are examples of such informal social institutions within the Italian community. In that these relationships are intensive, personal,

pervasive and dense, these institutions have been maximally complete.

While non-Italian marriages and friendships may be increasing,

they are not the norm.

The establishment of the Holy Rosary Parish, with the

eventual formation of its lay organizations, made the Italian

religious institution virtually complete as well. As the

distinct Italian church, with its traditional liturgy offered

in the mother tongue, the Holy Rosary continues to service the

majority of Italians in Winnipeg. Many Italians do attend other

Catholic churches; but this practice is generally intermittent and

out of convenience. Also, while others do not attend the church

at all, many are still high Catholic identifiers. Such

institutional completeness was true for the community's welfare

institution of the Rome Mutual Benefit Society. During the pre-war

era there was no competition to this association beyond the

boundaries of the ethnic community. The Rome Society became the

only source of major social security and touched the lives of

a vast majority of Winnipeg's Italians.

Although the community through the church and then the

Dante Alighieri Society has established and utilized Italian

language classes and Italian Sunday school for educational purposes,

it has not developed a distinct parochial school system.

Consequently, the educational institution is somewhat incomplete,

although the community support for and the progress of the Dante

Society, in having Italian language, history and culture included

in the public schools' and university's curriculum promises
to strengthen this aspect of institutional completeness.
Similarly, although there are many Italian businesses (shops,
restaurants, markets, etc.), many do not cater exclusively
to an Italian clientele or provide distinctively Italian goods and
services. Also, other non-Italian businesses offering similar
goods and services as well as those offering resources outside
of the Italian sectors of control, attract Italian customers
away from their community. The Italia Credit Union, on the other
hand, is an economic institution that does provide services to
an exclusive Italian clientele. This is also true of the
neighborhood coffee shops.

In terms of the political institution of the Italian community,
its completeness is as yet undetermined. With its rising
prominence and its expanding scope of aims and objectives
towards increasingly political goals, both within and without
the community, the Italian League of Manitoba may as yet make
significant contributions to the political completeness of the
Italian community.

Canadian norms, values and standards are competing with and
replacing many of their transplanted Italian counterparts.
However, factors affecting identity and group solidarity exist
within Winnipeg's Italian community which offset these
ethno-cultural losses. One such factor may be described as
"goal succession" whereby a group, organization or community can

"adopt new objectives, perhaps to replace successfully attained
or socially outdated goals or to provide greater scope for the
...members" (Amis and Stern, 1974:93-94). A prime example of
this succession within the Winnipeg Italian community can be
found in the reorientation of the community's concerns, interests
and resources from social security to cultural awareness. Another
factor minimizing boundary transgression has emerged from the
adaptive mechanisms generated within certain of the community's
voluntary associations. The aims, objectives and activities
of such organizations as the Italian League of Manitoba and the
Dante Alighieri Society illustrate that not all aspects of
Italian norms, values, standards and behaviors have to be
sacrificed in adjusting to Canadian society. In fact, many Italian
traditions, customs, roles, attitudes, norms, and values can
successfully co-exist with their competing Canadian counterparts.
Driedger (1977b), in discussing the maintenance of ethnic enclaves,
writes, "while the core of identification may have shifted,
the group continues to identify with distinctive ethnic components
which keep it separate from others" (Driedger, 1977b:278).

Fredrik Barth (1969), in his major work on ethnic boundaries
writes, "The important thing to recognize is that drastic
reduction of cultural differences between ethnic groups does not
correlate in any simple way with a reduction in the organizational
relevance of ethnic identities, or a breakdown in boundary-
maintaining processes" (Barth, 1969:32-33). Other criteria

assume equal, if not greater, importance to ethnic group

solidarity. It is the contention of this study that in-group

interaction is a vital criterion for perpetuating ethnic identity

and boundary maintenance within Winnipeg's Italian community.

Winnipeg's Italians have been able to develop their own

patterns of interaction and transaction both within their own

partial network of the ethnic group and beyond. Network linkages

between emotional friends, instrumental friends, patrons and

clients, cliques, and action-sets have been fundamentally strong

within the community, and yet access to certain resource sectors

within the broader Canadian society have also been maintained

through the intermediaries of sponsors and brokers. This density

of intra-group formal and informal voluntary associations has

maintained ingroup solidarity and identity as well as inter-group

social distance. Identity and solidarity have been reinforced by

the ethnic institutional completeness of the community's social,

religious and welfare sectors. While the educational, political

and economic sectors remain somewhat incomplete and constitute

areas of weakness in the community's solidarity, their increasing

potential for completeness continues to affect in-group

affiliation and outgroup aspiration. Although boundary transgression

persists due to the unavoidable situations of inter-ethnic contact

and socio-cultural adaptation, the target of identification for

a large part of the community, especially through the ethnic

institutions and voluntary associations, continues to focus

on the survival and perpetuation of the Italian ethnic identity

and community in Winnipeg.

References Cited

Amis, William D.; and Stern, Samuel E.

    1974   "A Critical Examination of Theory and Functions
             of Voluntary Associations", The Journal of
             Voluntary Action Research, 3(3-4): 91-99.

Axelrod, M.

    1956   "Urban Social Structure and Social Participation",
             American Sociological Review, 21: 13-18.

Banton, Michael

    1968   "Voluntary Associations: Anthropological Aspects"
             International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences
             (David L. Sills, ed.), The Macmillan Company and
             The Free Press: New York, volume 16, pages 357-362.

Barnes, J.A.

    1968   "Network and Political Process", Local Level
             Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives
             (Marc J. Swartz, ed.), Aldine Publishing Company:
             Chicago, pages 107-130.

    1972   "Social Networks", Addison-Wesley Module in
             Anthropology, #26, pages 1-29.

Barth, Fredrik(ed.)

    1969   Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, Little, Brown and
             Company: Boston.

Berger, Graenum

    1976   "American Jewish Communal Service 1776-1976:
             From Traditional Self-Help to Increasing Dependence
             on Government Support", Jewish Social Studies,
             38: 225-246.

Blau, P.M.; and Scott, W.R.

    1962   Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach,
             Chandler: San Francisco.

Boissevain, Jeremy

    1970   "The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in
               a Pural Society", Studies of the Royal Commission
               on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, No.7,
               Information Canada: Ottawa.

Breton, Raymond

    1964   "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities
               and Personal Relations to Immigrants", American
               Journal of Sociology, 70: 193-205.

Brunvand, Jan Harold

    1974   "Norwegian Settlers in Alberta", Mercury Series,
               Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies Paper No.8,
               National Museum of Man: Ottawa.

Buetow, H.A.

    1967   "Knights of the Altar", New Catholic Encyclopedia
               (Rev. Wm. J. McDonald, ed.), McGraw-Hill Book
               Company: New York, vol.8, page 221.

Carroll, T.P.

    1967   "Legion of Mary", New Catholic Encyclopedia,
               (Rev. Wm. J. McDonald, ed.), McGraw-Hill Book
               Company: New York, vol.8, pages 616-617.

Clarke, D.D.

    1948   Church and Sect in Canada, University of Toronto
               Press: Toronto.

Coser, Lewis

    1956   The Functions of Social Conflict, Free Press:
               New York.

Dante Alighieri Society

    1976   "A Brief on the Need of a Program of Italian
               Language in Public Schools", unpublished report
               to the Manitoba Department of Education, Winnipeg.

D'Antini, Burt

 1976 "The Quiet Desperation of the Immigrant", <u>Papers on the Italian Community</u>, Ministry of Culture and Recreation: Toronto.

Dawson, W.H.

 1933 "Mutual Aid Societies", <u>Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences</u> (Edwin R.A. Seligman, ed.), The MacMillan Company: New York, vol. 11, pages 168-172.

de Palma, Rev. H.M.

 1962 <u>The Year of Jubilee</u>, Zambruck Printers: Winnipeg.

Dotson, Floyd

 1951 "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families", <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 16(1-6): 687-693.

Driedger, Leo

 1976 "Ethnic Self-Identity: A Comparison of Ingroup Evaluations", <u>Sociometry</u>, 39(2): 131-141.

 1977a "Identity and Social Distance: Towards Understanding Simmel's 'The Stranger'", <u>Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology</u>, 14(2): 158-173.

 1977b "The Anabaptist Identification Ladder Plain and Urbane Continuity in Diversity", <u>Mennonite Quarterly Review</u>, 51: 278-291.

 1978 "Ethnic Boundaries: A Comparison of Two Urban Neighborhoods", <u>Sociology and Social Research</u>, 62(2): 193-211.

 1982 "Attitudes of Winnipeg University Students Towards Immigrants of European and non-European Origin", <u>Prairie Forum</u>, 7(2): 213-225.

Eisenstadt, S.N.

 1956 <u>From Generation to Generation</u>, The Free Press: New York.

Fanning, William H.W.

 1913 "Trustee System", <u>The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine Discipline and History of the Catholic Church</u>, (Herbermann, Pace, Pallen, Shahan and Wynne, eds.), Universal Knowledge Foundation Incorporated: New York, vol. 15, pages 71-72.

Gans, Herbert J.

    1962   The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of
               Italian-Americans, The Free Press: New York.

Gerdes, Victor

    1975   "Precursors of Modern Social Security in Indigenous
               African Institutions", The Journal of Modern
               African Studies, 13(2): 209-228.

Giuliano, Bruce B.

    1976   "Sacro O Profano? A Consideration of Four
               Italian-Canadian Religious Festivals", Mercury
               Series, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies
               Paper No.17, National Museum of Man: Ottawa.

Glazer, Nathan; and Moynihan, Daniel P.

    1963   Beyond the Melting Pot, The M.I.T. Press:
               Cambridge.

Hammond, Dorothy

    1972   "Associations", Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology,
               #14, pages 1-22.

Harney, Robert F.

    1979   "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada,
               1885-1930", Canadian Ethnic Studies 11(1): 29-47.

Hartdegen, S.

    1967   "Third Orders", New Catholic Encyclopedia (Rev.
               Wm. J. McDonald, ed.), McGraw-Hill Book Company:
               New York, vol. 14, pages 93-96.

Holy Rosary Catholic Parish

    1957   "History of the Parish", pamphlet to commemorate
               the opening of the newly renovated Holy Rosary
               Parish Hall, Winnipeg.

Homans, George C.

    1950   The Human Group, Harcourt, Brace and World,
               Incorporated: New York.

Houser, George J.

    1976   "The Swedish Community at Eriksdale, Manitoba",
              Mercury Series, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture
              Studies Paper No.14, National Museums of Canada:
              Ottawa.

Italian Curriculum Committee

    1977   "Italian Language Classes", unpublished report
              to the Curriculum Branch, Manitoba Department of
              Education, Winnipeg.

Jansen, Clifford J.

    1971   "The Italian Community in Toronto", Minority
              Canadians 2: Immigrant Groups (Jean Leonard Elliot, ed.),
              Prentice Hall of Canada Limited: Scarborough,
              pages 207-215.

Johnson, Graham E.

    1975   "Voluntary Associations and Social Change:
              Some Theoretical Issues", International Journal of
              Comparative Sociology, 16: 51-63.

Katz, Alfred H.; and Bender, Eugene I.

    1976   "Self-Help Groups in Western Society: History and
              Prospects", The Journal of Applied Behavioral
              Science, 12(3): 265-282.

Kenny, J.H.

    1967   "Rosary Altar Society", New Catholic Encyclopedia,
              (Rev. Wm. J. McDonald, ed.), McGraw-Hill Book
              Company: New York, vol. 12, page 670.

Kerri, James Nwannukwu

    1974   "Anthropological Studies of Voluntary Associations
              and Voluntary Action: A Review", The Journal of
              Voluntary Action Research, 3(1): 10-25.

Koenig, Samuel

    1939   "The Social Aspects of the Jewish Mutual Benefit
              Societies", Social Forces, 18(2): 268-274.

Levy, Leon H.

1976 "Self-Help Groups: Types and Psychological Processes"
The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science,
12(3): 310-322.

Lieberman, Morton A.; and Borman, Leonard D.

1976 "Introduction: Special Issue/Self-Help Groups",
The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 12(3):
261-264.

Little, Kenneth

1970 West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary
Associations in Social Change, The University Press:
Cambridge.

Manpower and Immigration, Department of

1974a "The Immigration Program", A Report of the
Canadian Immigration and Population Study, No.2,
Information Canada: Ottawa.

1974b "Immigration and Population Statistics", A Report
of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study,
No. 3, Information Canada: Ottawa.

Mayer, Adrian C.

1966 "The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of
Complex Societies", The Social Anthropology of
Complex Societies (Michael Banton, ed.), Tavistock
Publishers: Edinburgh, pages 91-119.

McPadden, A.B.

1967 "Youth Organizations, Catholic", New Catholic
Encyclopedia (Rev. Wm. J. McDonald, ed.), McGraw-Hill
Book Company: New York, vol. 14, pages 1080-1082.

Mealey, M.

1967 "National Council of Catholic Women (W.C.C.W.)",
New Catholic Encyclopedia (Rev. Wm. J. McDonald, ed.),
McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, vol. 10, page 233.

Morton, W.L.

1967 Manitoba - A History, University of Toronto Press:
Toronto.

Patterson, G. James

    1977   "The Romanians of Saskatchewan: Four Generations
             of Adaptation", Mercury Series, Canadian Centre
             for Folk Culture Studies Paper No. 23, National
             Museum of Man: Ottawa.

Perlman, Janice E.

    1976   "Grassrooting the System", Social Policy, 7(2): 4-20.

Price, John A.

    1975   "U.S. and Canadian Indian Urban Ethnic Institutions",
             Urban Anthropology, 4(1): 35-52.

Pucci, Antonio

    1979   "The Societa Italiana Di Benevolenza - Principe
             Di Piemonte", Polyphany: The Bulletin of the
             Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 2(1):
             19-25.

Reinmann, G.J.

    1967   "Third Orders Secular, Canon Law of", New Catholic
             Encyclopedia (Rev. Wm. J. McDonald, ed.), McGraw-Hill
             Book Company: New York, vol. 14, pages 96-97.

Sills, David L.

    1968   "Voluntary Associations: Sociological Aspects",
             International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences
             (David L. Sills, ed.), The Macmillan Company and
             The Free Press: New York, vol. 16, pages 362-379.

Soen, Dan; and de Comarmond, Patrice

    1972   "Saving Associations Among the Bamileke: Traditional
             and Modern Cooperation in Southwest Cameroon",
             American Anthropologist, 74: 1170-1179.

Spada, A.V.

    1969   The Italians in Canada, Riviera Printers and
             Publishers Incorporated: Montreal.

Statistics Canada

    1971   "Population and Housing Characteristics by Census
             Tracts: Winnipeg", Census Tracts Bulletin, Series B,
             Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce: Ottawa.

Stern, Samuel E.; and Noe, Francis P.

    1973   "Affiliation - Participation in Voluntary Associations:
              A Factor in Organized Leisure Activity", Sociology
              and Social Research, 57: 473-481.

Tax, Sol

    1976   "Self-Help Groups: Thoughts on Public Policy",
              The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 12(3):
              448-454.

Treudley, Mary B.

    1966   "The Transformation of Peasants Into Citizens",
              The Government of Associations: Selections from the
              Behavioral Sciences (William A. Glaser and David L.
              Sills, eds.), Bedminster: Totowa, N.J.

Williams, Phyllis H.

    1938   South Italian Folkways in Europe and America: A
              Handbook for Social Workers, Visiting Nurses, School
              Teachers and Physicians, Yale University Press:
              New Haven.

Wilson, Bryan R.

    1968   "Religious Organization", International Encyclopedia
              of the Social Sciences (David L. Sills, ed.), The
              Macmillan Company and The Free Press: New York,
              vol. 13, pages 428-437.

Wilson, J. Donald

    1977   "The Finnish Organization of Canada, The 'Language
              Barrier', and Assimilation Process", Canadian
              Ethnic Studies, 9(2): 105-116.

Wirth, Louis

    1951   "Urbanism as a Way of Life", Reader in Urban
              Sociology (Paul Hatt and Albert Reiss, eds.),
              The Free Press: New York.

Wolf, Eric R.

    1977   "Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations
              in Complex Societies", The Social Anthropology of
              Complex Societies (Michael Banton, ed.), Tavistock
              Publishers: Edinburgh, pages 1-21.

di Voto, Bernard

    1950   "Forward", The Human Group (George Homans, author),
                  Harcourt, Brace and World, Incorporated: New York,
                  pages ix-xvi.

Ziegler, Suzanne

    1972   "Characteristics of Italian Householders in
                  Metropolitan Toronto", Research Report, Institute
                  for Behavioral Research, York University: Toronto.