

“SIAMO NUMBER ONE:”
TORONTO ITALIANS, SOCCER AND IDENTITY, 1982

**“SIAMO NUMBER ONE:”
TORONTO ITALIANS, SOCCER AND IDENTITY, 1982**

RICCARDO LO MONACO, B.A. Hons., B.Ed.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts

McMaster University © Copyright by Riccardo Lo Monaco, September 2011

McMaster University MASTER OF ARTS (2011) Hamilton, Ontario (History)

TITLE: “*Siamo* Number One:” Toronto Italians, Soccer and Identity, 1982. AUTHOR:
Riccardo Lo Monaco, B.A. Hons., B.Ed. (York University). SUPERVISOR: Professor
Nancy B. Bouchier. NUMBER OF PAGES: vii, 88.

Abstract

This study explores the relationship between soccer and Toronto's Italian immigrants throughout the 1970s to the now-mythical 1982 celebration of the Italian team's FIFA World Cup victory on Toronto's *Corso Italia*. The celebration's location in a distinctly ethnic neighbourhood is linked to concepts of 'place' and 'identity' which made it central to the construction of an Italian-Canadian identity during the era of Multiculturalism policies. Toronto's Italian-Canadians used the victory as a way of recognizing their own worth to society and to proudly and publicly solidify their integration into the Canadian multicultural landscape. Soccer helped them create and maintain a multi-dimensional transnational identity that reinforced the importance of their ethnic community. It also provided them with a visual way to relate to the nation. This study shows that this nationalism transcended traditional gender constraints and transformed this sport victory celebration into a family event, which included males and females alike. Eighteen interviews of Italian-Canadians who lived in and around the Toronto area throughout the 1970s and early 1980s reveal what they remember about the soccer-related events of that time period and how they feel about those memories now. This study also examines various Italian, Italian-Canadian, and English-language Canadian newspapers that covered specific sporting events and celebrations from 1978 to 1983, with a particular focus on the 1982 World Cup. It argues that in this case a collective memory has been created and conditioned by the way the media portrayed the event and how Toronto's Italian-Canadian cultural community sustained it.

Acknowledgements

Growing up, I often joked with my father about how one day I would write a book about life in relation to my favourite sport. For as impossible as it seemed at the time, an inkling of ambition remained and re-emerged in university when my good friend and classmate, Anthony Prochilo, showed me a book by Franklin Foer called, *How Soccer Explains the World*. As I raced through the pages, I began to understand this sport as more than just a form of entertainment; I learned how it embodies nationalities and cultures and I started questioning what I knew about the history of my own community and background in relation to this fascinating spectator culture. This changed my perspective on learning altogether and from that day forward I knew that my education should be based entirely on my interests and desires. My father was right: it is possible to write scholarly work about soccer. I wish to emphasize my gratitude for the love and encouragement I have received from both of my wonderful parents, my sister, and all of my amazing friends.

I owe so much to the tireless devotion of Dr. Nancy Bouchier, who supervised this project, and whose patience and sage guidance exceeded anything I have ever experienced in my academic career. She continues to be an inspiration and example for me, like she is for all those who have had the pleasure of working with her. I thank her for the confidence she had in me since the beginning and her instrumental role in helping this project become a reality. She is joined by the other two excellent members of my thesis committee – Dr. James Gillett, and Dr. Ruth Frager – who have also been extremely helpful and without whom I could not have taken on or completed this challenge.

A special acknowledgement goes out to all those who have directly participated in the research necessary for the completion of this thesis. Eighteen people volunteered up to two hours of their time to tell me about being Italian in Toronto. Their stories were all unique and fascinating and have influenced my thinking in important ways. This project would simply not have been possible without each of their generous contributions. I have researched all of their accounts for accuracy and adapted them into text for inclusion in this thesis. All mistakes or inconsistencies are my own. A further extension of gratitude goes to those who have lent me their assistance, expertise, or personal belongings: Alf DeBlasis, Carlo & Susie Decimelli, Carmine Marcantonio, Colin Jose, David Pridham, Elio Scarcello, Gabriele Scardellato, Michael Di Mascio, Paolo Barba, Paolo Canciani and Russell Field.

Thanks to my previous mentors at York University who have nurtured my learning throughout my undergraduate career and encouraged me to excel. Where they left off, the wonderful faculty and staff at McMaster University helped me make an effortless transition into an M.A. program where I have learned immensely. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada's assistance through the Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship has also been vital.

Finally, Stephanie Rigato deserves much of my gratitude for her patience, her trust, and her willingness to support my every endeavour. With the conclusion of one chapter in my life, she will help me begin another - for her enduring commitment and support, there are no words.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Abstract | iv |
| Acknowledgements..... | v |
| Table of Contents | vi |
| Chapter One: Soccer on <i>Corso Italia</i> : Historiographical Background | 1 |
| Chapter Two: “If it were not for the media:” The role of radio, print and picture in soccer, 1970s | 21 |
| Chapter Three: “E Ora La Coppa!” July 11, 1982 – Toronto | 33 |
| Chapter Four: “All the fuss:” Representations of the 1982 Italian victory in the press | 55 |
| Chapter Five: “Greatest day of my life!” Concluding reflections on the power of nostalgia | 72 |
| List of Figures | vii |
| List of Appendices | vii |
| Bibliography | 83 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|----|
| <i>Figure 1. Map of Toronto's Italian Neighbourhoods.</i> | 6 |
| <i>Figure 2. S. Nicola Di Bari Roman Catholic Church.</i> | 8 |
| <i>Figure 3. Celebratory Flag Waving at La Paloma.</i> | 37 |
| <i>Figure 4. Paolo Rossi Celebrates a Goal Against Brazil.</i> | 42 |
| <i>Figure 5. Dino Zoff Raises the World Cup in Triumph.</i> | 43 |
| <i>Figure 6. Dump Trucks and Corso Italia Celebrations.</i> | 49 |
| <i>Figure 7. View of the Celebration from a St. Clair Ave. Rooftop.</i> | 52 |
| <i>Figure 8. Remembering the Celebrations at the Columbus Centre.</i> | 52 |
| <i>Figure 9. Photographs hanging in A.C. Ranch on Corso Italia.</i> | 53 |

List of Appendices

| | |
|---|----|
| <i>Appendix A. McMaster University Research Ethics Board Certificate.</i> | 80 |
| <i>Appendix B. Sample Interview Questions.</i> | 81 |

Chapter One: Toronto Italians, Soccer, and Identity

Italy's World Cup win yesterday kicked off the biggest victory party ever held in Metro. Flag-waving crowds, estimated by police at about 300,000 jammed a 20-block area of St. Clair Ave. W. between Oakwood Ave. and Caledonia Rd. Jubilant fans also celebrated along Danforth Ave. between Woodbine Ave. and Coxwell Ave., forcing detours for local traffic. And a parade of banner-carrying motorists caused traffic chaos on many major roadways... "It's sheer madness," said a constable manning a roadblock. Late last night there had been no injuries or arrests. "This is a good emotional high," said Dominic Stalteri, 31. "It's been a wild week."¹

On July 11, 1982, around 300,000 people flocked to Toronto's Italian neighbourhoods to celebrate an Italian FIFA World Cup of soccer tournament victory.² Contemporary journalists hungrily seized the opportunity to exclaim that such a large gathering of people—ethnic or not—had never taken place in Canada to celebrate a sporting event. To put this into perspective, the *Toronto Sun* newspaper had called a Canada Day gathering in Queen's Park "massive" just ten days earlier, with its mere 30,000 celebrators.³ Despite its relatively recent occurrence, the Italian community in Toronto has since incorporated a narrative of the 1982 World Cup celebration into its culture as a 'collective memory' and treated it as the beginning of a tradition. Key components of the story have contributed to its legendary status. Its apparent spontaneity and peacefulness is always acknowledged, the size of the audience is remembered as unprecedented and definitive, and perhaps most importantly, the story contains a nostalgic conviction that Toronto will simply never again have a celebration as authentic or impressive as that of 1982.

This study explores the relationship between soccer and Italian immigrants in Toronto throughout the 1970s until the famous Italian FIFA World Cup victory 1982 celebration on St. Clair Avenue West – also known as *Corso Italia*. This event, which happened in the midst of Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's Multiculturalism policies, became central to the construction of a multi-dimensional transnational Italian-Canadian identity for Toronto's Italian community. The attachment of the party to a distinctly ethnic neighbourhood in Toronto is central to the formation of an immigrant hyphenated identity. This linkage of 'place' and identity leads to the conclusion that Italian-Canadians in Toronto used the cup victory as a way of recognizing their own worth to society and an occasion to proudly and publicly solidify their integration into the Canadian multicultural landscape.

Soccer acts as a vehicle for the creation and maintenance of multi-dimensional and transnational identity systems, helping to solidify the cultural existence of ethnic

¹ "Metro's biggest Victory bash over Italy win: That was SOME party!" *The Toronto Sun* [hereafter *Sun*], July 12, 1982, p. 4.

² FIFA: *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* is the official international governing body for soccer.

³ *The Toronto Star* [hereafter *Star*], July 2, 1982, A1.

communities in metropolitan spaces. It provides a visual way of relating to a country or city, rather than just through imagination and provides a way of reinforcing aspects of a person's national and gender identity. This study is based on interviews conducted with Italian-Canadians who lived in and around the Toronto area throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. It seeks to understand what they remember about the events of that time period and observe how they feel about those memories now. This study also examines various Italian, Italian-Canadian, and English-language Canadian newspapers that covered specific sporting events and celebrations from 1978 to 1983, with a particular focus on the 1982 World Cup. It argues that in this case a collective memory has been created and conditioned by the way the media portrayed the event and how Toronto's Italian-Canadian cultural community sustained it.

Over the last few decades, historians have comprehensively documented and analyzed the twentieth-century migration of Italians to Canada and more specifically to Toronto. Bruno Ramirez, Franc Sturino, John Zucchi, Robert F. Harney, Franca Iacovetta, and Nicholas DeMaria Harney are among the most prominent authors, many of whom provide similar versions of how Italian migration patterns to Canada began at the end of Giuseppe Garibaldi's *Risorgimento* in 1870, and proceeded throughout that century.⁴ The immigration happened in two main phases. The first one occurred after the newly-formed Italian government took ownership of lands previously held by the church and sold it cheaply to the bourgeoisie. This introduced a new level of economic exploitation to the southern Italian peasants, making it difficult for them to sustain a livelihood off the products of the lands they worked.⁵ For many, the answer lay in employment opportunities in the northern industrialized parts of Italy, other places in north-western Europe, or overseas in North America, causing an exodus of southern males in search of a way to support the families they left behind. Many of them resettled in New York City, or arrived in Pier 21 of Halifax and ventured inland to settle in various parts of Canada.⁶

The first wave of Italians to Canada lasted until the beginning of the First World War and consisted of mostly male immigrants who associated with the people, dialect, cultural customs, and landscape of the village they came from more easily than they did with the whole of Italy. R. F. Harney addresses this form of identity-construction, called

⁴ See, for example: Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada*, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989), Franc Sturino, *Forging the Chain: Italian Migration to North America, 1880-1930*, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1990); John E. Zucchi, "Italian Hometown Settlements and the Development of an Italian Community in Toronto, 1875-1935," in *Gathering Place: People and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, Robert F. Harney, Ed., (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985); Robert F. Harney, "Undoing the Risorgimento: Emigrants from Italy and the Politics of Regionalism," *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada*, Nicholas DeMaria Harney, Ed., *Centro Canadese Scuola e Cultura Italiana* (Welland: Soleil Publishing, 1993); Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006) and, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Nicholas DeMaria Harney, *Eh Paesan!: Being Italian in Toronto*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); and Nicholas DeMaria Harney, "Italy is Enough: Ethnicity, Community and Ambiguity among Italians in Toronto," Unpublished manuscript, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996).

⁵ *Eh Paesan!*, pp.12-13.

⁶ Covered in exhaustive and comprehensive detail in Franc Sturino's, *Forging the Chain*, pp. 49-92.

campanilismo, by explaining how immigrants replicated the elements of their hometown in their new urban neighbourhoods and satisfied their need for church parishes, mutual aid organizations and businesses that catered to their interests.⁷ His work complements John Zucchi's, arguing that these immigrants built their loyalty to an Italian national identity based on a collective dedication to their respective hometowns. Their regionally-oriented neighbourhood structures in Toronto shared commonalities with one another that, despite their miniscule differences, could each be interpreted as Italian in a Canadian context.⁸

First-wave Italian immigrants to Canada retained their regional identities when they regrouped in Toronto, but their recognition of each other's similar strife in an unfamiliar land led them to develop a new and supplementary sense of "Italianness" which drew them closer to one another, but differed from the identity of Italians who remained in Italy.⁹ Sturino tackles this problem from an anthropologically-informed perspective, with an interest in the *mentalité* of the people rather than just their traditionally dominant social structures.¹⁰ He argues that new immigrants were typically ignorant of issues of nationalism and were more preoccupied with their struggle to survive in their new homeland.¹¹ While this may be true before the World Wars, the contribution of nationalism toward social acceptance and integration became more pronounced in a post-WWII context. Emphasizing the strengths of "Italianness" compared to immigrants from other countries allowed Italians to gain advantages in work and education, so the conscious promotion of nationalism can be reconsidered as a survival mechanism in the 1970s rather than just a property of identity.

The second main phase of Italian-Canadian immigration began after WWII as a result of changes to Canadian immigration policies. The federal government passed the 1952 *Immigration Act*, slackening restrictions against family reunification in Canada and encouraging an influx of more than 440,000 Italians - mostly to Ontario - between 1951 and 1971.¹² Bruno Ramirez records that 487,310 people of Italian origin were in Ontario by 1981, making up 65% of all of the Italians in Canada.¹³ Italian people were second

⁷ "Undoing the Risorgimento", pp.107-8.

⁸ "Italian Hometown Settlements and the Development of an Italian Community in Toronto, 1875-1945," p.140.

⁹ 'Italianness' should be taken to mean an essence of existence deriving from customs and traditions relatable to Italy. In other words, possessing 'Italianness' is equitable to 'being Italian,' however it can imply different things in different contexts. For example, this paper contends that Italianness in Toronto is as simple as participation in the newly constructed Canadian-Italian ethnic community, and based on language, food, recreational interests, and symbolic commonalities.

¹⁰ Anna Green and Kathleen Troup explain that the concept of a historical time frame motivated by events and human actions was introduced in the 1940s by a student of the *Annales* school of history-writing, Fernand Braudel. This developed into more detailed anthropological styles of history that brought the assertion that *mentalité* (mentality or agency) played an important role in the larger patterns observable over the course of long period of time; Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 88.

¹¹ *Forging the Chain*, p. 4.

¹² *The Italians in Canada*, p.7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.10. Quebec hosted 21.9% of those who came to Canada, but this amounted to only about one third of the number that went to Ontario.

only to the British in number, but were part of a much larger cohort of more than 1.5 million continental Europeans who arrived during this time.¹⁴ As this wave of Italian immigration peaked in the 1960s, the government eliminated prohibitions excluding people based on racial criteria, creating the image of a more accepting, non-discriminatory Canadian society.¹⁵ In his analysis of changing immigration policy, Brian Kelvin Ray identifies the hypocrisy in these policy amendments. He argues that discrimination and prejudice continued despite policy changes, claiming that the program designed to help immigrants re-unite with their families was implemented with British and western European people in mind, not Italians. In his estimation, policy changes were, “undertaken out of concern for Canada’s international reputation, not a desire to increase flows from these euphemistically labelled ‘non-traditional’ regions.”¹⁶ As a result of their miscalculation, an unpredictably large number of unskilled workers from relatively backward regions of southern Italy came to Canada and the Anglo-European people and institutions that welcomed them fostered what often proved to be insidiously unwelcoming and oppositional attitudes - thereby increasing ethnic and intercultural tensions in urban centres of high Italian concentration like Toronto.

As a result of the transformation in immigration laws, especially during the 1960s, the second wave of Italian immigration differed slightly from its predecessor. Most of the people who came arrived via kinship networks and through sponsors, with pre-arranged jobs and places to live in urban centres like Toronto, and with more women and children than before.¹⁷ Ramirez explains this seemingly illogical phenomenon of settling in cities, considering that most of them were peasants from the unindustrialized Italian south, by indicating that many of these people had lived in or near small towns and villages in Italy. They were therefore not estranged from living in communities and sought the abundant work opportunities in the city.

These ‘New Canadians,’ as the immigrants were often termed, faced numerous difficulties integrating into society. Franca Iacovetta explains that many of them had arrived believing Canada would be the answer to all of their problems, not anticipating the “hard cold truth about housing shortages, living costs, unemployment, and language problems.”¹⁸ Canadian professionals conditioned the integration process with a set of expectations for the immigrant workers they employed.¹⁹ Those who chose to assimilate were required to meet these specific expectations and become a certain kind of committed, docile, and hard-working labourer. Iacovetta demonstrates that this had various effects on the identity of Italian immigrants who found themselves caught in between conflicting desires to preserve the identity they arrived with and adopt the pre-

¹⁴ Britain supplied more than 800,000 new immigrants; See, *Gatekeepers*, p.6.

¹⁵ Brian Kelvin Ray, “Immigrants in a ‘Multicultural’ Toronto: Exploring the Contested Social and Housing Geographies of Post-War Italian and Caribbean Immigrants,” Unpublished manuscript, (Kingston: Queen’s University, 1992), p. 93.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁷ The intricacies of the immigration process into Canada are explained in meticulous detail in *Such Hardworking People*.

¹⁸ Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, p. 49.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

established Italian-Canadian identity they required in order to integrate effectively into the new society. The southern rural areas of Italy, where many of these immigrants originated from, had not undergone extensive industrial transformation yet, so when they arrived in major cities like Toronto they discovered a modern industrial centre, starkly different from the pre-modern world they were accustomed to.²⁰ In many cases the process of adapting to Canadian society was traumatizing for Italians who underwent an accelerated process of modernization in order to adjust to the new society they found themselves in. This proved to be a difficult task for unskilled workers who oftentimes could not even speak English.

To ease the process of settlement in Toronto, Italians gravitated towards certain neighbourhoods in search of support networks - learning the language, buying goods they knew how to use, finding work, etc.²¹ Affordable housing attracted Italian immigrants who did not earn as much money due to the obstacles that they faced owing to their ethnicity. In his autobiography, Frank Colantonio identified these obstacles as the lack of facility with the English language, the inevitably lower wages immigrants were given, and the unsafe work conditions they had to brave through in order to earn a decent living.²² Living in a community with others facing similar problems was an effective way of creating support networks through family and friends to help overcome these kinds of obstacles.²³ Italians were also constrained to find housing in places where they could afford to live, based on their sub-par salary.²⁴

Over half of the Italian population in Ontario had settled within urban Toronto by 1961, causing the area along College Street between Ossington and Bathurst Streets to become so saturated with Italians that people soon started calling it *Little Italy*. This small area boasted upwards of 16,000 Italian residents who patronized the Italian-owned and operated storefronts, bars, and social clubs that had replaced the jewellery and other types of stores that had previously existed. There Italian men interacted with other Italian men; playing card games, discussing their life and labour struggles, and conversing about their other social or recreational interests, often in the Italian language. Even the churches had Italian-speaking priests in this highly concentrated area.²⁵ Iacovetta points out that people commonly retained their regional ties within their settlement patterns, with various parts of Italy represented throughout different areas in Toronto as they sprawled primarily Northward along Dufferin Street.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

²¹ *The Italians in Canada*, p.11.

²² Frank Colantonio, *From the Ground Up: An Italian Immigrant's Story*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1997).

²³ Nicholas Harney writes, "Between 1962 and 1977 Canadian immigration statistics note that on average 76% of Italian immigrants intended to enter low-status manual jobs upon entry to Canada." "Italy is Enough, p. 28.

²⁴ But this was not the only reason they ended up living in the ethnically-oriented pockets of Toronto. John Zucchi's study of Italian neighbourhoods identifies a system of causes from itinerant workers and labour agents to the chain migration mechanism of recruiting Italian workers to Toronto; see "Italian Hometown Settlements and the Development of an Italian Community in Toronto, 1875-1935," p. 122.

²⁵ See, for example, Jordan Stranger-Ross. "An Inviting Parish: Community without Locality in Postwar Italian Toronto." *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, 3, (September 2006), pp. 381-407.

A second Italian neighbourhood, twice as large as *Little Italy*, grew westward out of the St. Clair Avenue West and Dufferin Street intersection in the 1950s.²⁶ Before postwar immigration laws changed in 1952, British and Jewish entrepreneurs ran the St. Clair commercial district, but increasing numbers of Italians settling in this area soon stamped it with their own very different ethnic cultural characteristics. This area became known as *Corso Italia*, literally translated as ‘Italian course,’ but more symbolic in the way it recalls Rome’s famous *Via del Corso* - the 1.5 kilometre-long street running straight through the core of the capital city of Italy. This kind of symbolic linkage in combination with Italianized shop façades and monuments helped to superimpose an added sense of Italianness on this otherwise Canadian urban space. It created a place of reunion for the Italian community in Ontario during organized events like the ‘Good Friday’ religious processions and more casual sporting celebrations like the 1982 World Cup.²⁷

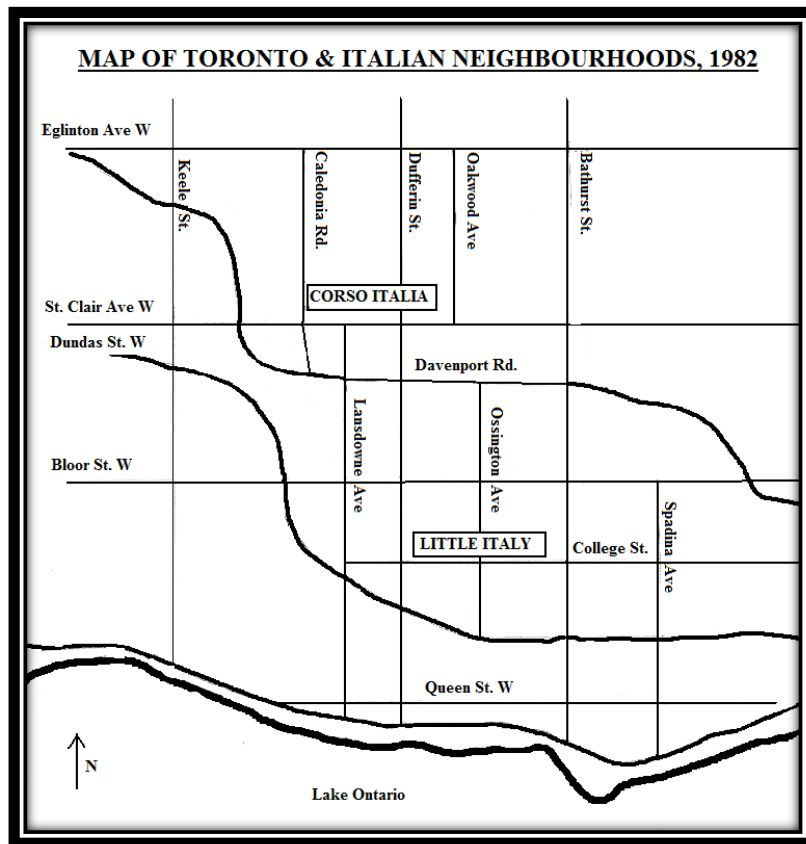


Figure 1. *Map of Toronto’s Italian Neighbourhoods.* The section of St. Clair Avenue between Caledonia Rd. and Oakwood Ave is the area known as *Corso Italia* and where the highest concentration of Italians went to celebrate the 1982 World Cup victory.

²⁶ *Such Hardworking People*, p. 57.

²⁷ Good Friday on the Roman Catholic calendar is held in memory of the crucifixion and death of Christ, three days before his resurrection celebrated on Easter.

In applying insights from historical geographers to the formation of Italian neighbourhoods in Canadian urban space, Nicholas Harney's study of Toronto's Italian neighbourhoods shows how the specificity of a 'place' is not determined by historical facts or traditions. Rather, a space is converted by the social interactions played out within it and the way it helps to maintain or replicate those social constructs.²⁸ In other words, the reoccurring activities resulting from the relationships maintained within the boundaries of a certain space are what redefine that space as a 'place.' His study of the Italian neighbourhood on St. Clair Avenue West shows that it became marked by the Italians who chose to reside there.

Michael Buzzelli's research reveals that over the course of the three decades between 1950 and 1980, what had previously been known as *Little Britain* became physically transformed into *Little Italy* by the change in business ownership along the main commercial strip, as well as the residential occupation of the surrounding areas.²⁹ He accounts for the physical changes to the buildings lining the street where Georgian architecture previously dominated. Large central windows installed in newly opened café bars mimicked the street-side patios found in Italy, and - more impressively - newly renovated façades used stucco and archways to make buildings look more traditionally Italian.³⁰ Jim McKay's study of Toronto's Italian-Canadian soccer clubs dwells on the functions of the espresso bars, providing contemporary insight into the important role of sport in Toronto's new Italian places throughout the 1970s, including the use of Earls Court Park, at the intersection of St. Clair and Lansdowne Avenues, for soccer games that attracted Italian spectators.³¹

²⁸ Nicholas DeMaria Harney, "The Politics of Urban Space: Modes of Place-making by Italians in Toronto's Neighbourhoods," *Modern Italy* Vol. 11, No. 1, February 2006, p. 27.

²⁹ What had been about 75% British or Jewish and 11% Italian in 1951 became 66% Italian and about 12% British or Jewish by 1982. See, Michael Buzzelli, Table 2: Ethnic changeover in ownership of St. Clair businesses, 1951-1991, in "From Little Britain to Little Italy: an urban ethnic landscape study in Toronto," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27, 4 (2001), p. 580.

³⁰ "From Little Britain to Little Italy." pp. 580-3.

³¹ Jim McKay, "Entity vs Process Approaches to Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Identity: A Case Study of Ethnic Soccer Clubs in Toronto's Italian Community," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 12:3 (1980), p.64.



Figure 2. *S. Nicola Di Bari Roman Catholic Church.* This photograph of a church constructed in 1967 illustrates the Italian-style architecture used to transform St. Clair Avenue West into a distinctly Italian neighbourhood. This is achieved in the use of stucco facades such as that depicted above, which mimic the arches and designs commonly found on buildings and churches in Italy. The Italian names given to the churches and stores also contribute to this effect.³²

The connection of the social espresso bar and recreational park activities to the urban Toronto landscape is essential to understanding ethnic settlement in part as a conversion of public spaces into ‘places.’ Nicholas Harney explains this process as an imposition of Italian culture onto the landscape of an urban Canadian neighbourhood.³³ Italian espresso bars and sidewalk patios emulated the kinds of social gathering spots found in Italy, and the types of interactions that took place in these spaces converted them into Italian places. He also identifies and explains the tensions involved in Italians claiming these spaces, and how public opinion held a dim view of them. Italian men gathering on street corners around a transistor radio, attempting to intercept signals from Italy to follow a live soccer match, were often told to disperse by police officers for fear that they were involved in illegal activities.³⁴ Given these struggles over ownership of space, celebrations and public displays can be seen as significant declarations about civic participation and citizenship. Harney’s analysis also focuses on monuments erected in the Italian neighbourhoods of Toronto to commemorate points of Italian pride on Canadian land.³⁵ The simple practices of naming streets or local churches in a particularly

³² Photograph taken by Riccardo Lo Monaco, *S. Nicola Di Bari Roman Catholic Church*, Toronto (June 9, 2011).

³³ “The Politics of Urban Space,” pp. 27-8.

³⁴ He explains that when Italy won the 1982 World Cup and people poured into these same spaces, it was an “epiphanic moment in which Toronto’s Italian community claimed public space it was once told by police to abandon.” See: *Eh Paesan!*, pp. 159-160.

³⁵ See the *Toronto Corso Italia* website for a discussion of the opening of *La Sem* in 1963, <<http://www.torontocorsoitalia.com/page.php?id=790>> .

ethnocentric way - like *Piazza Santa Chiara* - also contributed to the ethnic flavour of a neighbourhood and helped create the aesthetic conversion from a public space in urban Toronto to a distinctly Italian ‘place’ where ethnic residents felt a sense of home and comfort. Indeed, Doreen Massey and Pat Jess argue that people often feel more closely tied to a certain aspect of their identity once they are physically in a place.³⁶

A discussion of places can extend into the residential areas and the role of gender within them. Historians have understood first generation Italian-Canadian men and women to occupy different spheres of public and private space, each with a different set of gender-based expectations and responsibilities. According to the work of both Harriet Perry and Franc Sturino, women lived in patriarchal family units where they were equated with the honour of the household.³⁷ They were charged with keeping the house clean, cooking and feeding the family, and raising the children within it. Perry argues that for a woman, the concept of honour involved the responsibility to uphold a functional, clean, and healthy household as a way of protecting family honour. It required preserving her husband’s honour as well - as suggested by her fidelity to the sexual nature of their alliance.³⁸

The privacy of the home existed away from public spaces of sport and recreation, where men dominated. The World Cup of Soccer, for example, began in 1930 and was played strictly by men until 1991, when the first FIFA Women’s World Cup tournament was held.³⁹ Sport studies scholars have shown how the extravagantly male culture bred in stadiums and on the pitch characterizes the spectatorship experience.⁴⁰ There men were expected to exhibit aggressiveness and a desire to outcompete their opponent. Violence and foul language often resulted from the athletic clashes. As Ilena Molle points out, players and spectators targeted their adversaries with slurs that challenged their masculinity, suggesting that it takes a certain standard of manliness to be involved with the game.⁴¹ The family structures discussed in Bruno Ramirez’s history of Italians in Canada and Franca Iacovetta’s gendered perspective of Italian postwar labour history

³⁶ Doreen Massey and Pat Jess, *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures, and Globalization*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

³⁷ Harriet Perry, “The Metonymic Definition of the Female and the Concept of honour Among Italian Immigrant Families in Toronto,” Caroli, Betty Boyd, Robert F. Harney, and Lydio F. Tomasi, Eds., *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*, (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978); and Franc Sturino, “Family and Kin Cohesion among South Italian Immigrants in Toronto,” Caroli, Betty Boyd, Robert F. Harney, and Lydio F. Tomasi, Eds., *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*, (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978).

³⁸ “The Metonymic Definition of the Female,” p. 230.

³⁹ Professional soccer in general has been devoid of female players for much of its existence, largely due to the British Football Association’s banning of women from its sanctioned stadiums from 1921-1971. A women’s international soccer match would not be played until 1972. On women’s soccer, see: Jean Williams, *A Game for Rough Girls? A History of Women's Football in Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2003).

⁴⁰ For example, David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round : A global history of soccer*. (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008), p. 180; Richard Giulianotti, *Football: a Sociology of the Global Game*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p.152; Ilena Molle, “Identity and Social Participation: A Case Study of Chileans and Soccer in Toronto,” M.A. Thesis, (Toronto: York University, 2007).

⁴¹ “Identity and Social Participation,” p.98.

contain descriptions of the gender divisions within the Italian household which allow for an analysis of how women became integrated into the male world of soccer.

There are various forms of identity beyond gender that can apply simultaneously to a single person in relation to a larger group or community. Cornell and Hartman explore general conceptions of immigrant identity, listing the factors that define a person, like race, age, gender, class, etc. They theorize that there are two main types of identity present in the makeup of a human character. The first is the assumption that identity is fixed and unchangeable, inherited at birth, while the second is known as the ‘constructionist’ approach to identity formation, which allows for the possibility of a changing and developing sense of self according to external influences.⁴² Jim McKay takes a similar approach, arguing that ‘ethnic’ identity is not static for immigrant groups; it changes, fades, appears and disappears according to external forces and internal requirements.⁴³

Reinforcing national identity is possible through the creation of current and traditional symbols.⁴⁴ Eric Hobsbawm traces the way governing figures of nation-states and empires have *created* a history for themselves in order to fortify their power over their populations. Many of the supposedly ‘old’ traditions and customs people base their existence upon are in fact quite recent, and purposely maintained for the benefit of those in power. A governing body is thereby able to justify the idea of nationhood and keep its subjects loyal. The traditions associated with sports are not far removed from this phenomenon. Hobsbawm argues that hegemonic involvement in ritualized sporting activities provides participants with a symbolic activity to share with one another. This leads to the belief that they all derive from the same place and common history, which in turn can evidence a national and social solidarity between people. He suggests that an examination of the rituals associated with a widely regarded national event like the FA Cup Final can reveal important information about the development of an urban working-class culture that other, more typically used sources cannot.⁴⁵

The premise that people base their national identity on a common history also applies to Italians in Canada. Aside from the many religious and cultural festivals organized by Italians in the Toronto area to further promote their ‘national’ traditions and

⁴² S. Cornell and D. Hartman, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, (Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press, 1998).

⁴³ “Entity vs Process Approaches to Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Identity,” p. 59.

⁴⁴ “Identity and Social Participation,” p. 10.

⁴⁵ In his introduction, Hobsbawm refers to one example concerning the English Football Association’s (FA) annual League Cup final. Prior to kick-off, it is customary for the crowd to sing along with the first and last verses of the Christian, and—through its origins—decidedly English hymn, “Abide With Me.” This practice is specific to this one match and regarded as traditional in its annual repetition alone, implying an indefinite continuity with the ancient past despite the fact that it has only happened since 1927, and the song only written in 1847. The lyrics to the first verse of this hymn, penned in 1847 by Henry F. Lyte, are as follows: “Abide with me; fast falls the eventide;/ The darkness deepens; Lord with me abide./ When other helpers fail and comforts flee,/ Help of the helpless, O abide with me.” Complete text and music can be found at: <<http://www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/a/b/abidewme.htm>> [accessed August 6, 2011]; Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.1, 12, 288.

customs, Italians looked to their ancestors for inklings of their common past.⁴⁶ R. F. Harney is informed by Hobsbawm in his discussion of *filiopietism*. He suggests that when Italian immigrants were subjected to racist prejudice and other hardships while integrating into Canadian society, they were able to identify with each other in a defensive context by finding references in the past that indicated a ‘positive Italianness’ to prove that they were not inferior. Examples include the re-Christening of important people like John Cabot with the Italian version of his name, Giovanni Caboto, to imply an Italian heritage. Like this, the Italian community created an imagined sense of self that they could share and define themselves with in relation to ‘others’. Soccer is part of this world of self-identification.⁴⁷

Italians in Canada believed that they had something in common with other immigrants arriving from the same place of origin since they shared ancestry and traditions, spoke the same language, ate the same foods, and were interested in the same sorts of activities - soccer was included in the latter category for many of them. At the same time, however, they felt like outsiders in a snowy world of hockey, watered-down coffee, and what many of them perceived to be hostile Anglo-Saxons. Ernest Gellner, like Hobsbawm, sees many of these traditional ethnic identifiers as ‘invented’ or ‘falsified’ in order to establish the necessary commonalities for internal ethnic cohesion.⁴⁸ Benedict Anderson’s theory, although similar, rejects the notion of ‘invention’ for one of ‘imagination.’ According to him, the dialectic of self-perception and identity presents the first hurdle for achieving assimilation or acculturation. Using common histories and traditions, cultural practices, language, and food, people ‘imagine’ their affinity to others who share these same traits; they imagine that they are brothers and sisters, hypothetically speaking, even though they are unlikely to ever interact with many of them.⁴⁹ Anderson’s discussion of imagined communities is central to any fair assessment of ‘Italianness’ within a Canadian context because of the way it depicts a popular understanding of nationality.

Anderson’s theory can be contextualized through visual representations of soccer in the media. Vic Duke and Liz Crolley argue that sports are one of the simplest forms of illustrating nationalism.⁵⁰ They show how the mechanics of a soccer match effectively capture nationalism, suggesting that it is a powerful representation of nation when eleven men put on team uniforms marked by national symbols to compete against another

⁴⁶ On religion and religious festivals, see: Jordan Stranger-Ross. An Inviting Parish: Community without Locality in Postwar Italian Toronto. *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, 3, (September 2006), pp. 381-407; Marchetto, Fr. Ezio. “The Catholic Church and Italian Immigration to Toronto: an Overview. *Polyphony*, Vol. 7, no. 2., 1985; and Nino A. Scavello. Italian Popular Piety and the North American Immigration Experience: A postwar comparative analysis. Unpublished paper: York University, 2006.

⁴⁷ The fact that Italy had already won two World cups in 1934 and 1938 would have helped to confirm Italy’s proud presence among the best nations competing in the World Game - honours that Canada had never come close to achieving, and England only once

⁴⁸ Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p.169.

⁴⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1983), pp.6-7.

⁵⁰ Vic Duke and Liz Crolley, *Football, Nationality, and the State*, (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1996), 4.

national team.⁵¹ The sense of community between one person and thousands of other people following a match in unison, whether it is live through radio, television, or refracted by newspaper reports the next day, provides the common cultural activity that symbolically embodies the nation. Raymond Boyle and Richard Haynes' treatment of media representation of sports leads them in the same direction. They conclude that football is a method of narrating a history of the past which supports nationalism in terms of tradition.⁵² The mediation of this history 'legitimizes' things that happen in the present and justifies an understanding of self and community in relation to the nation as a whole.⁵³ In effect, the media's interaction with sport perpetuates a visual representation, for example, of Italian nationalism, for consumers.

Italian immigrants have found a consistent source of recognition in recreational identity-construction through soccer throughout the course of the twentieth century. After an initial boom in popularity and the launch of a domestic league around the turn of the century, the game became integral to Italian social interactions after the Second World War. While not all Italians necessarily were spectators, the game nevertheless pervaded Italian culture and thus it had the ability to affect all Italians in some way. An engagement with soccer could also be understood as a declaration of the desire to retain a sense of ethnicity. Canadian soccer historian Colin Jose explains that in the 1970s and 1980s soccer automatically implied ethnicity to the Canadian general public – a reality that was perpetuated by the press. In 1981, sport sociologist Nigel Chamberlain began studying the inherent connections between Italians and soccer in Canada as a response to the increasing popularity of local leagues in Edmonton and nationwide exposure to this global sport. He found soccer to be a model for Canadian multiculturalism. He argued that leading media companies, like the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), took a special interest in broadcasting the game at that time in order to reproduce cultural meanings for Italians living in Canada, while corporations looked to capitalize on it.⁵⁴

This cultural connection with soccer in Canada was not exclusive to Italians. Local leagues featured plenty of other immigrant groups, including British proponents of the game who took up most of the administrative positions.⁵⁵ Jose explains that this

⁵¹ Ibid. p.4. The same holds true for hockey, the Canadian national sport, which is an obvious method of declaring an interest in Canadian culture and quite a popular one at that. Hockey Night in Canada remains one of the most popular forms of sports entertainment, even in the Italian community. On nationalism in hockey, see, Richard Gruneau, *Hockey Night in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

⁵² Football is the most common name for the product of English Association Football, which continues to be played globally today. In North America, however, because of the creation of a different game also known as football but more reminiscent of rugby, where players handle an oval-shaped ball with their hands, the traditional kicking version has been re-named 'soccer.' In this essay, unless specified as different within the context of the writing, all instances of football, soccer, and the Italian word, *calcio*, should be taken to refer to the traditional Association Football variety of the game where the ball is kicked with the feet.

⁵³ Raymond Boyle and Richard Haynes, *Power Play: Second edition*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p.199.

⁵⁴ Nigel Chamberlain, "Soccer, Multiculturalism and the Canadian State," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Alberta, 1983, p. 149.

⁵⁵ Colin Jose explains in an interview that the 1950s saw the emergence of many ethnically-oriented soccer teams like Calabria, Ulster, etc., that participated in the National Soccer League and ensured the alienation

happened because the void left over from the many lives lost in WWI was filled by immigrants. Thus during a period of increased racism and prejudice during the Interwar years, Canadian society pushed soccer to the periphery and wrote it off as an ‘ethnic’ game, negative connotations intact, where it remained for many years after the war.⁵⁶ Italian people did not exclusively own soccer, but having won its world championship twice - an impressive feat on its own - and possessing one of the world’s strongest leagues, external observers and internal participants ‘naturally’ connected Italians to the game.

The Italian-Canadian community in Toronto interacted with soccer in two main ways. The first was playing the game at the local level, and the other was in spectatorship practices either locally, regionally, or nationally. Iacovetta explains how many Italian men located their regional ties by playing soccer in leagues that ranged from church intramural competitions to the semi-professional organization called the National Soccer League (NSL).⁵⁷ Some of those who were too old or busy to play the game kept interested by following the live games of the NSL, where teams like *Calabria* embodied nationalism against Yugoslavian, British, or other ethnic teams on local Toronto fields. The development of local and international soccer spectatorship within the Italian-Canadian community in Toronto is a way of addressing the lacuna in world soccer scholarship generally. Where all topics have been covered exhaustively from the game’s inception to its rapid global spread and rise in popularity, the most prominent soccer historians, like James Walvin, Bill Murray and David Goldblatt, have all avoided tackling in detail the meaning of soccer for immigrant groups in North America.⁵⁸ For Italians in Toronto, soccer was not merely recreational. The nationalism present in local soccer leagues and spectator exercises shows that the sport represented the identity of an expatriate group, far from their place of origin, many of whose voices have been lost amidst the struggle to understand what Canadian nationalism is and where it fits in the global scheme.

When immigration laws and policies were reformed after WWII, Canada officially became a nation of immigrants. The changes resulted from an increasing recognition of the importance of abolishing racial discrimination and prejudice. As Sarah Wayland asserts, the 1962 elimination of racial criteria in the recruitment of new settlers became a vital step toward the success of ensuing multiculturalism policies.⁵⁹ Many attribute Canada’s adoption of these policies to Pierre Trudeau, when in fact they came at the end of a process of reformative recommendations and movements begun long before

of Canadian players and spectators. This kept soccer an ethnic affair even at the local level. Other interview participants in this research confirmed these observations, with one explaining how all of his childhood coaches were of British origin.

⁵⁶ Colin Jose and William F. Rennie, *The Story of Soccer in Canada*. Lincoln, (ON: W.F. Rennie—Publisher, 1982).

⁵⁷ *Such Hardworking People*, p.152-3.

⁵⁸ James Walvin, *The People’s Game: The history of football revisited*, (London Mainstream Publishing, 1994); Bill Murray, *Football: A History of the World Game*, (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994); Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round*.

⁵⁹ Sarah V. Wayland, “Immigration, Multiculturalism, and National Identity in Canada,” *International Journal on Group Rights* 5:33-58 (1997), p.45.

he was elected Prime Minister. This included a series of human rights movements led by minority groups in the 1950s.⁶⁰

By comparison to the perceived American ‘melting pot’, which implied assimilation by mixture of culture into a common one shared by all citizens, Canadians have preferred to identify their nation as the ‘cultural mosaic’. In the words of Clifford Jansen, the cultural mosaic, “postulates that the newcomer should be allowed to carry out a number of activities within his group of origin while at the same time making a contribution to the larger society of which he is part.”⁶¹ Informed by John Porter’s argument that Canada’s cultural mosaic operates in hierarchical fashion, with more privileged cultures like the British occupying a more prominent place than others, Brian Kelvin Ray uses Toronto’s Italian and Caribbean ethnicities as examples of the inconsistent treatment each minority group in the city faced; they and other cultural groups in Toronto never did achieve equal regard. The popular illusion of Canada being a successful culturally pluralistic society, he argues, hides the persisting racial tensions and inequality between the more privileged Anglo- and French-Canadians and other less favoured groups.⁶²

By 1982 a series of factors had begun to build up and cooperate with one another to provide Italians living in Canada with a renewed confidence in themselves. The introduction of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* at the end of March in that year, for example, guaranteed for all Canadians many previously neglected liberties which contributed to the permanence of multiculturalism.⁶³ Nicholas Harney also notes the emergence of Italy as a major economic power according to a 1981 report in *The Economist*, which would have been an excellent point of reference for the growing sense of competence among Italians.

Meanwhile, in Canada, Italians generally experienced economic success and upward mobility, coupled with increased stability in living conditions, work, and education that provided them with a reason to feel like an integral and contributing part of Canadian society. Carmela Patrias and Ruth Frager explain it is important not to lose sight of the role of minority ethnic groups that fought for the improvement of living conditions in a series of human rights campaigns in the decades after WWII, preceding the 1982 celebration. These efforts catalyzed the elimination of discriminatory laws in Canada and “initiated a fundamental reconsideration of the concepts of democracy and equality that guided postwar reconstruction.”⁶⁴ Multiculturalism policies could only truly be introduced after the immense work carried out by these human rights efforts, which simultaneously prepared better living conditions for ethnic groups like the Italians to find upward mobility by the 1980s. Nonetheless, it is important to consider that these

⁶⁰ Carmela Patrias and Ruth A. Frager, “‘This is Our Country, These Are Our Rights’: Minorities and the Origins of Ontario’s Human Rights Campaigns,” *Canadian Historical Review* 82, 1, March 2001.

⁶¹ Clifford J. Jansen, “A Study of Multiculturalism and Italian Media,” *Wintario Citizenship and Multicultural Program*, (October 1977), p. 2.

⁶² “Immigrants in a ‘Multicultural’ Toronto”, p. 353.

⁶³ “Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms,” < <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/charter/FullText.html> > [accessed July 18, 2011].

⁶⁴ “‘This is Our Country, These Are Our Rights’”, p.19.

‘improved’ conditions manifested themselves differently for Italians, who were characteristically white and Christian and often deemed more preferable to other more visible ethnicities or those with different religious beliefs. Italians arguably experienced a more privileged and accelerated path to integration than others did. The build-up toward multiculturalism in Canada from an Italian perspective, as propagated by the media and protected by the law, helped create an opportune moment for Italian-Canadians to ‘celebrate’ publicly in Toronto when the Italian national team impressed on the international stage at the World Cup.⁶⁵

Notwithstanding the sense of Italianness felt within Toronto’s immigrant community, people also felt a strong sense of regionalism. Nicholas Harney and Franca Iacovetta explain how smaller communities aligned by regional affiliations and acted as the sub-structure of Toronto’s Italian neighbourhoods.⁶⁶ Italians found these ties through participation in various social clubs and mutual benefit associations which were defined by regional affiliations.⁶⁷ Regionalism also extended to soccer spectatorship; however it did not dictate one’s team allegiance. The Italians living in Canada who continued to follow club soccer from Italy’s premier league, the *Serie A*, often did not primarily support teams from their homeland. Calabrian immigrants, for example, did not always wholeheartedly follow the Calabrian team, *Reggina*. In many cases, they chose one of *Inter*, *Milan*, or *Juventus* instead - all teams from the industrialized north, which topped the standings annually.⁶⁸ Italian Canadians, attracted by victory, supported successful teams.

In his book, *The True Believer*, Eric Hoffer provides a seemingly unrelated political theory which is applicable to the shifting regional allegiances through soccer and the occasional melting away of regionalism in favour of nationalism. His theory explains why the more undervalued people in society tend to join mass political movements. Although originally designed to explain how Fascism and Communism became successful, this theory can be reconceptualised and applied to Italian-Canadian identity and soccer spectatorship in a compelling way. Hoffer argues that immigrants have shown a tendency to desire assimilation when they are significantly outnumbered or made to feel fundamentally inferior by their host society. His evidence of this is in the way the ‘lowest

⁶⁵ *Eh Paesan*, p. 160.

⁶⁶ *Eh Paesan!*, p. 87; *Such Hardworking People*, p.152-3.

⁶⁷ On such regional sports clubs in London, Ontario, see, Robert D. Day. “Ethnic Soccer Clubs in London, Canada: A Study in Assimilation.” *International Review of Sport Sociology* 16, no. 1 (1981), pp. 37-52.

⁶⁸ There is no standardized reason for why people chose to support certain teams; they often attributed their love for these powerhouse teams to their childhood when they were just following the example of their older relatives, or stumbled upon some sort of artifact which caused them to become ‘die-hard’ and life-long supporters of teams which had no connection to their regional homeland. Two things can be ascertained from this: the first is that regionalism does translate into a peculiar form of pride for the immigrant Italian, but does not permeate into the world of sport to any significant extent due to the second important observation: that people are attracted to victory. If *Reggina* were a successful team, Calabrian settlers would have no reason to seek one of the big three. Victory provides people with a sense of pride and joy which is not only desired, but often relentlessly sought-after. This translates to the world of national soccer and world cups, where an Italian World Cup victory would have the ability to melt regionalism away into a common Italianness, since everyone desires the feelings inherent in victory.

and poorest' immigrants to the United States of America have adopted an American identity as their own and tried to blend in with the rest of the population. If these immigrants had arrived with superior self-perception, or in his words, if they were "the cream of the countries they came from" - implying the most educated, affluent, etc. - he contends that they would have tried to maintain their cultural identities.⁶⁹ This was a reality for many pre-1980 Italian-Canadians in Toronto, especially immediately following the effects of the Second World War on Canadian ethnic communities. This research reveals how the World Cup win in July of 1982 and the ensuing public celebration helped Italians achieve a previously unknown sense of equality – if not superiority – in their vicarious experience of victory through soccer. According to Hoffer, this would have worked with the forces mentioned above – upward mobility, strengthening Italian economy, and more widespread awareness of Italian cultural richness – to counteract the necessity of imitation. As a catalyzing force, the Cup victory in 1982 contributed to the Italians' self-confidence, helping to proudly preserve and promote their culture as an integrated and valuable component of a multicultural Canada.

Italian integration is apparent in the growth of ethnic media opportunities through mainstream broadcasting channels in the 70s and 80s. Much of this work has been conducted using the oral testimonies of eighteen people who lived in and around the Toronto area in the 1970s and early 1980s. Aside from contemporary newspaper, radio, or television reports, there are few other documented materials that provide deep insight into this aspect of Toronto and Italian immigrant history. The mental recollection of those who participated in the events is a superb form of evidence in this case because the many problems associated with using memory as history contribute to the main arguments made in this study. Informed by the work of historians who have dealt with memory, specifically Richard Johnson and Graham Dawson, this study maintains that people tend to structure their memories into a usable truth. The events people use to fabricate a story of their existence with are often precisely that: fabricated.⁷⁰

Critics of oral history argue that unless the evidence is verifiable and accurate beyond doubt, there is no way of justifying historical recollections as anything more than fiction. A person giving an oral account of the past can condition what he or she says in whichever desirable way. American historian, Ron Grele, insightfully laments the tendency of informants to construct a 'usable past' out of their memories. In other words, people often recollect their experiences in a way that will make sense in the present, and often for specific reasons, which in fact distorts the accuracy of what happened. In order to tell these 'usable' stories, informants impose a more logical or coherent narrative structure onto their memories where it might not make sense to do so. Memories are often incoherent and unstructured, so bridging the gaps in order to convey a story is a way of distorting the truth of what happened and translates into a flawed historical account.⁷¹

Revisionists like Luisa Passerini reject these negations of the practice of oral history by bringing attention to the way it helps the more traditionally unheard voice to

⁶⁹ Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), Section 80.

⁷⁰ Richard Johnson and Graham Dawson, *Popular Memory: Theory, Practice, Method*, p. 207.

⁷¹ Ron Grele, "Listen to their Voices," *Oral History*, 7 (1979), p.41.

emerge in historical writing.⁷² By this, she means the underprivileged and the misrepresented—like women and the working classes. In the absence of written historical records for these people who may have been illiterate or lacked the opportunity to write, historians are constrained by the need to resort to the memories of the individuals who experienced an event in order to write a history of it. There is also the unspoken socio-psychological aspect in the subconscious of these people's accounts which tells historians a lot about the culture in which they lived. People's memories are informed by collective understandings of who they are - what they remember is often what the 'collectivity' remembers, as stories are told and retold, then standardized as part of the mythology of the group. This research examines the stories created through widespread exposure to print publications, the photographs they contain, and the visual culture resulting from video and television. Popular discourse is also important to the formation of this collective civic memory. The premise behind this argument is that the stories become increasingly alike, based on the same surviving images of an event and articles written by those deemed to be 'experts' until a collective memory of an event becomes a standardized facet of the dominant culture of a social group. The 'collective memory' does not necessarily need to be based on truthful facts - only consensual ones. Proponents of the memory selectively incorporate the stories and memories needed in order to support the appropriate identity. This operates in similar fashion to Hobsbawm's argument about inventing tradition; however it occurs from the bottom up, among the members of the population and not through a hegemonic ritual promoted by the governing body of the nation-state.

Collective and civic memories are not easily definable or clear-cut. Michael Kammen warns against assuming they have any "cohesion, clarity, and retentiveness," arguing that contributing individual memories have differing capacities and perspectives.⁷³ Jonathan Steinwand adds that the imagination often supplements the memory "to create a more aesthetically complete and satisfying recollection of what is longed for."⁷⁴ Moreover, memory can be conditioned by other events. This study is unavoidably conditioned by the more recent World Cup in 2006, the only Italian victory at this competition since 1982, when the celebrations at the centre of scrutiny in this research were famously mimicked by a blend of the original supporters from 1982 and a new generation of Italian fans. The lens provided by the more recent event not only conditions the memory of those who look at the 1982 event as separate and different from the 2006 event, but also provides an appropriate method of comparison. Nonetheless, here lies one of the problems of dealing with oral history, as the memories of those interviewed can be affected by the more recent event, which lives more lucidly in their minds because less time has passed since its occurrence. It is quite possible that some of the stories told of the 1982 event will in fact be from 2006, or even a muddling of the two.

⁷² Luisa Passerini, *Memory and Totalitarianism* (Oxford, 1992).

⁷³ Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1991), p. 10.

⁷⁴ Jonathan Steinwand, "The Future of Nostalgia in Friedrich Schlegel's Gender Theory: Casting German Aesthetics Beyond Ancient Greece and Modern Europe," in *Narratives of Nostalgia, Gender, and Nationalism*, edited by Jean Pickering and Suzanne Kehde, (New York: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 9-29.

To this day, Italian-Canadians who were around for the 1982 World Cup celebration in Toronto remember it as an enormously joyous occasion. For many, the memory is emblematic of the entire community and deeply engrained in the fabric of their identity. When asked which celebration was better—that of 1982 or the most recent Italian World Cup victory of 2006 — all the informants to this study opted for the former. They all marvelled in their nostalgia for this legendary moment that united them with each other on the basis of their nationalism. Liz Crolley and David Hand rightly point out that a person *shares* his or her national identity with others and that it is not an innate possession.⁷⁵ They argue that this sharing is made possible by the mediation of news sources reporting on events of national concern. In a physical sense, the collective ways in which they gathered to watch Italian national soccer matches—in *Maple Leaf Gardens* in the 70s or celebrating en masse on St. Clair Avenue West in 1982—demonstrates the shared nature of nationalism. The Italian-Canadian community embraced the ethnic orientation of their beloved game and allowed it to exhibit qualities of Italianness in the way journalists wrote and consumers read about it.

Yet there is a persisting inconsistency between the evidence and what can be considered useful when dealing with media. Although people were undeniably exposed to newspapers, radio programs, and television shows, there is no way of gauging whether or not they believed everything they were told or how deeply the ideas of multiculturalism and identity discussed by journalists affected those it targeted. This is a persisting problem when working with media and propaganda, as experienced by Simon Martin in his work with Fascist propaganda in Interwar Italy. He concludes that there can be no closure on this question, only the assumption that since this type of media was produced in the first place, it must have been done with the intentions of selling to consumers who likely subscribed in some capacity to the ideas they consumed. Therefore, for the ‘collective’ memory to be constructed, the whole of the creating culture must be considered, including all media perspectives which result from dominant ideas and sentiments in the community. Oral testaments confirming many of the ideas found in these newspapers may be a suitable method of testing the absorption factor of what was communicated in the news—and reveals much about the way people selectively did so in examples of people not recalling any arrests, but remembering the large numbers of people and the extreme representation of pride involved.

Using Kammen’s theory that, “Nostalgia, with its wistful memories, is essentially history without guilt,” and Janelle L. Wilson’s assertion that nostalgia is a longing for a past that may not exist, this study argues that the contributions of various media sources in the creation of the memory of the 1982 World Cup celebration in Toronto have relieved Italian-Canadians of the responsibility to consider any of the negative and potentially detracting realities of this event.⁷⁶ The surviving memory is a reflection of the consensual reality fabricated and consumed by this ethnic group as early as July 12, 1982,

⁷⁵ *Football, Europe and the Press*, p.8.

⁷⁶ *Mystic Chords of Memory* p. 688; Janelle L. Wilson, *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*, (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1995), p. 36.

to establish a collective identity and gain the confidence required to envision themselves equals in Canadian society.

New and changing technology augmented this integration process, which exposed people to a new visual culture of nationalism - first in print, then on the radio, and finally through television. This study benefits from examinations of contemporary newspapers, both ethnic and Canadian, that provide insight into the marketable opinions of the time. Italian-Canadian political newspapers that had not usually covered soccer in any significant detail suddenly produced ‘special editions’ after the World Cup victory that were flooded with pictures and articles about the triumph. Likewise, the front page of Canadian editions that did not usually feature ethnic groups for any positive reason were now saturated with Italianness as people marvelled at the spontaneous outbursts of celebratory ethnicity in the city. This shows that the FIFA World Cup of 1982 was not an isolated event known only to Italians, but that it was of national importance to the Canadian public.

Since many Italian-Canadians made their new homes in the Toronto area, and the celebration was most heavily concentrated there—despite there being celebrations recorded nation-wide—this study focuses primarily on Toronto. The 1982 FIFA World Cup final is chosen because it is a global event highlighting representatives from different nations and, aside from the eventual Italian victory, is particularly effective for showing how the symbolic development of Italianness is possible by relation to others.⁷⁷ Future studies may find it useful to compare the World Cup to other soccer events to find congruencies or differences in the ways people reacted to games in times of victory as well as defeat.⁷⁸

Four chapters follow this introduction. Chapter Two, “If it were not for the media:” The role of radio, print and picture in soccer, 1970s, examines the development of the soccer-covering media in relation to the Italian-Canadian community in Toronto. It emphasizes the role of both Canadian and ethnic newspapers in eventually creating and sustaining ideas of Italian nationalism in connection with the victory celebrations in Toronto. The analysis of these media sources is supplemented with oral accounts from people who remember the experience of consuming them while living in Toronto during the 1970s and 80s. Others, who were involved in the development of these media efforts,

⁷⁷ International soccer has many more events in its annual schedule, including an extensive preliminary qualification round for the World Cup itself, involving all of the nations registered under FIFA. There are also continental tournaments, like the UEFA European Championships, which are played every four years and staggered from the World Cup by two years. Italy is a regular participant in this tournament, which arguably generates interest that is comparable to the World Cup. Another avenue of international competition, albeit modelled in an entirely different way, is that of domestic European club leagues and international tournaments involving them. Club teams do not embody nationalism the same way national teams do, since they can have players of various nationalities on their roster, but they still draw widespread interest and are worthy of analysis. Aside from the World Cup tournaments, played every four years from 1970-1982, the other international soccer events remain unexamined here.

⁷⁸ The only other instances of major international Italian victories aside from the 1982 World Cup are the 1934, 1938, and 2006 World Cups, and the 1960 European Cup. Since none of these trophies came during the important formative years of multiculturalism policies in Canada, the intersection of the two in 1982 is appropriate for carrying out this case study.

are also incorporated in the discussion to provide more context for an explanation of how and why certain media ventures developed in the ways that they did. Chapter Three, “*E Ora La Coppa!*” July 11, 1982 – Toronto, reconstructs a narrative of the proceedings on the day of the 1982 World Cup finals through a series of oral accounts. They are combined and interwoven with one another and analyzed through the contextualization offered by contemporary newspaper accounts. It uses a ‘thick’ description to work with the stories to explore the people’s motivations and the lasting effects of the celebrations.⁷⁹ The data suggests that the 1982 World Cup victory celebration in Toronto was an essential component of the consolidation of Italian-Canadian identity. This event helped create a visual realization of Canadian multiculturalism which allowed Italian-Canadians to prosper in the years to follow as an integral part of the Canadian metropolitan scene. Chapter Four, “All the fuss:” Perspectives of the 1982 Italian victory through the press, examines the post-celebration articles released by newspapers in the ensuing days. It compares the various news sources - Canadian, Italian, and Italian-Canadian to reveal the effect of perspective on the establishment of memory, with the celebration acting as the case for examining such an argument. The final chapter, Chapter Five: “Greatest day of my life!” Concluding reflections on nostalgia, combines the conclusions made in each of the preceding chapters to synthesize an overall analysis of the importance of the 1982 World Cup celebration to the Italian-Canadian community in the Toronto area. Through a direct comparison of the earlier event to its recent re-occurrence in 2006, the qualities that make the former one unique and especially necessary in the consolidation of Italian-Canadian identity are highlighted and discussed in detail. It links print media, memory, and identity-construction in relation to conversions of space into place, and reveals how changing media and political realities in the 1970s transformed soccer spectatorship in the Italian community from a male-oriented recreational activity that happened outside the home to something also happening inside the home, including females and the whole family.

⁷⁹ Clifford Geertz’s theory on ‘thick description’ is indispensable to ethno-histories such as this one. For more, see “Thick description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp. 2-30.

Chapter Two: “If it were not for the media:”
The role of radio, print and picture in soccer, 1970s

Time destroys everything and it would have extinguished and buried all of our sweetest memories in its harsh daily realities if it were not for our perseverance and the media (radio, television, newspapers) which help us to feel closer to our distant Italy.⁸⁰

Italians understood the power of the media in helping them to preserve their Italian identity while intending to integrate into Canadian society and become effective contributing citizens, but the newspapers, radio, and television could do more than just conserve ethnic identity. They also showcased the opinion and perspectives of the groups which produced them. For this reason, Canadian press articles about Italians are just as important to the creation of Italian-Canadian identity as the ethnic sources are. When Italians saw themselves reflected by the society in which they lived, they gained an understanding of their own existence in relation to others. To see a positive article about the Italian-Canadian community published in a mainstream Canadian newspaper would have produced an encouraging way of conceptualizing the value of Italians to Canadian society and a negative story would have demanded a retaliatory sentiment, often represented by their own media sources. A third dimension of media consumption occurred in the community, and this was the media produced in Italy and imported for those living in Canada who cared to maintain a direct connection to their land of origin.

The quintessential Canadian media source since 1936, the CBC, aimed to integrate the values of the nation into what it produced. Operating through radio and television, the CBC sought to preserve the cultural values it deemed Canadian and protect them from the ever-growing threat of the much stronger media-producing entities from the United States.⁸¹ The concept of Canadian cultural values, central to the CBC's mandate, was not static or easily defined. By the time of Clifford Jansen's 1977 study of media, Canadian nationalism increasingly became associated with multiculturalism. Investigating the media's role in promoting multiculturalism, Jansen determined that federal and provincial governments, although recognizing the necessity and desire for a national multicultural state, had little idea of how they could promote it or successfully work their vision into Canadian society. Jansen illustrates the Canadian government's inability to understand the steps necessary for making this policy successful, citing the ineffective effort to promote multiculturalism through advertisements, which read, “Multiculturalism depends on you.”⁸² Bureaucrats believed that the existence of ethnic

⁸⁰ Nick Isabella, “Essere canadesi rimanendo italiani,” *Forze Nuove*, July 1974, p.11; All translations [hereafter Trans.] from Italian to English by Riccardo Lo Monaco: “*Il tempo distrugge tutto ed avrebbe spento e seppellito nella realta' quotidiana anche quei dolci ricordi se a questo punto non fossimo stati dotati di una grande forza di volonta' oppure aiutati dagli attuali mezzi di comunicazione (radio, televisione, giornali) che ci fanno sentire abbastanza vicini a quella nostra lontana Italia.*”

⁸¹ Clifford J. Jansen, “A Study of Multiculturalism and Italian Media,” *Wintario Citizenship and Multicultural Program*, (October 1977), p. 7.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

media alone could sufficiently promote multiculturalism, when in fact it simply ensured the preservation of the original immigrant culture without much regard for its social integration.⁸³ The ethnic media played a large part in creating and sustaining individual, gendered, and collective Italian identities for immigrants in Toronto by exposing Italian-Canadians to local cultural events and making it possible for them to access information that would allow them to participate in civic life, even if participation meant simply reading or learning about the activities of the community.

In small part to sustain a more consolidated community that retained its Italian orientation, and in much larger part to provide what was deemed to be ‘authentic’ news and entertainment to the members of that community, some of Toronto’s earlier Italian immigrants began importing newspapers and periodicals from Italy throughout the Interwar years. The most famous or popular editions were included, but few varieties were available until after the 1960s. Italian-Canadian journalist Paolo Canciani remembers buying the newspapers, *Il Corriere della Sera*, its offshoot sport edition, *Il Corriere dello Sport*, and *La Gazzetta dello Sport*.⁸⁴ Of the three, two of them were sport newspapers. This is important because the mere presence of sport newspapers amongst the limited varieties of imported papers suggests a demand for it in the Italian-Canadian community. That they figure so prominently in Canciani’s memory suggests that they were among the most relevant to his interests, as they likely were to the other participants in this research who were also able to recall issues of sport-related publications like *Guerin Sportivo* and *La Gazzetta dello Sport* before any other newspapers.⁸⁵ This provides a useful perspective for observing patterns of development in the media content produced by Italian-Canadians, who, beyond the standard requirements of their community in the departments of daily news stories, weather reports, and classifieds, needed to produce sports sections that included Italian sport results as well as local ones.

Toronto’s first domestically produced Italian-language newspaper efforts date back to 1929 with *Progresso Italo-Canadese*, and the early 1930s with *Emigrato* and *Il Lavoratore*, none of which ran for long before folding. Others attempted similar productions, but the first prolonged run of publications did not come until a well-respected pioneer of the Italian-Canadian media, Dan Iannuzzi, founded the still-in-print *Il Corriere Canadese* in 1954. This newspaper’s self-proclaimed goal of being “Fiercely Canadian, Proudly Italian,” attempted to instil integrationist ideology to all members of the Italian-Canadian community, while helping them to maintain Italian culture and keep current with events occurring in Italy. Thereafter, a variety of papers emerged, ranging from the politically-inclined to the culturally-themed with varying levels of success.⁸⁶

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Paolo Canciani interview.

⁸⁵ Both of these titles refer to newspapers which reported only sport-related stories. Interviews with Agostino Grande, Luigi DiMario, Carmine Marcantonio, and Davide D’Angelo yielded similar results to Canciani’s in terms of recollection of available newspapers.

⁸⁶ Clifford J. Jansen’s study of Italian-Canadian media in 1977 documents and explains the nature of the following newspapers: *Comunita Viva* (free voice monthly, founded in 1971); *Corriere Canadese* (daily newspaper in the Italian language, founded in 1954); *Forze Nuove* (leftist monthly political review addressed mainly to working-class Italians, founded in 1970); *Il Giornale di Toronto* (designed to promote multiculturalism and provide initiative for Italians, founded in 1966); *Mosaico* (a freely-distributed forum

Jansen argues that the one thing all these papers had in common was the effectiveness with which they addressed the Italian news and cultural needs. They were apparently less concerned with featuring Canadian content, so Jansen questions their effort at making multiculturalism a practical reality.⁸⁷

Using Jansen's analysis as the lens with which to consider this topic is useful because it provides an emic understanding of the role of Italian-Canadian media, having been conducted in 1977, before the *Multiculturalism Act* of 1985.⁸⁸ Jansen's publication, created for the Wintario Citizenship and Multiculturalism Program, was part of a government endeavour to understand Italian media and gauge the success of multiculturalism efforts. His opinion is conditioned by his responsibility to identify suggestions for improving multiculturalism. This shows that the Canadian interpretation of the Italian media in the 1970s is that they were self-serving enterprises that, despite claiming to serve multiculturalism ideology, did not actually attempt to. Yet, a look at a 1974 edition of *Forze Nuove* - a newspaper acknowledged by Jansen - shows an entire section devoted to integrating Italians in Canadian society most effectively and helping them to see themselves as part of the multicultural whole.⁸⁹ This shows a disconnection between policy makers and the actual ethnic groups involved – in this case Italian-Canadians.

Other evidence suggests that these Italian-Canadian media sources, like most others, were at least partially dependent on sport for survival. Liz Crolley and David Hand indicate that many European newspaper publications could not have been sustained without their dedication to soccer coverage; such is the interest in the sport in countries like Italy.⁹⁰ Italian-Canadian news sources likewise needed to cover those soccer events that had helped keep Italian media companies in business. Doing so simultaneously acted as an added way of perpetuating the Italian affinity with the sport. Crolley and Hand consider the media's sport coverage as essential to creating a shared collective identity through its use of metaphor and 'emotive vocabulary.' It provides a language for nationalism through its coverage of the visual form in sport.⁹¹ Blain and Boyle explain, "media do far more than report the outcome of football matches and explain the technicalities of the game. Football is mediated as an extension of social structures and

for Italian-Canadians to voice their ideas, founded in 1974); *Occidente* (conservative free-voice monthly addressed to educated and business class Italians in Canada, founded in 1975); *Il Tevere* (originally a weekly, then a daily local Toronto newspaper for Italians designed to encourage economic and political integration and success, founded in 1972); *Vita Italiana* (main objective of this weekly was to encourage leadership among younger members of the Italian community in Canada, founded in 1967); Also, The *Multicultural History Society of Ontario* has microfilmed and archived surviving issues of: *Famiglia Italiana*, 1978; *Il Giornale di Toronto*, 1967-79; *Mosaico* 1975-76; *La Voce*, 1973; *Domenica*, 1968-69; *Forze Nuove*, 1972-77; *La Settimana*, 1975-77; *Il Sole*, 1969-1972; *Lo Specchio*, 1984-87; *Il Tevere*, 1972-1985.

⁸⁷ "A Study of Multiculturalism and Italian Media," p. 23.

⁸⁸ *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* R.S.C., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.) An Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-18.7/FullText.html> [16 August 2011]

⁸⁹ Nick Isabella, "Essere canadesi rimanendo italiani," *Forze Nuove*, July 1974, p.11.

⁹⁰ Liz Crolley and David Hand, *Football, Europe and the Press*, (London: Frank Cass, 2002), p.1.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

values...it is appropriated to communicate information about society itself and is used to represent the perceived characteristics of a given group, region, or nation's identity."⁹² The game cannot exist in the social forum and maintain all of its significance without the help of the media in attributing a language to the sport that prepares it for consumption. David Rowe *et al.* explain this in further detail, claiming that a World Cup of soccer, for example, would have little significance without the media's work in decoding all of the nationalist symbols, flags, imagery, national anthems, and so on.⁹³

The words that reporters used to document Italy's 1982 World Cup victory and its ensuing festivities superimpose qualities to the behavioural characteristics of soccer spectators. If Blain and Boyle are correct to suggest, "The way in which sport is written about... becomes a source of information about our beliefs, opinions and attitudes as cultures," then it is logical to analyze the game's connection to nationalism and identity through journalism's mediation of soccer matches and resultant spectator behaviour.⁹⁴ In sum, Crolley and Hand explain, "Football... becomes 'indexical' in that it is used to represent perceived national characteristics about which it apparently presents direct evidence."⁹⁵ There is a consensus among soccer connoisseurs that each nation plays the game with a distinctive style representative of the values and characteristics deriving from the people who live there. Newspaper reports are thus essential for maintaining and further promulgating these values, as the aspects of the game the reporters focus on and their word choices in describing them are especially tuned to justify these beliefs.

A thorough examination of postwar Italian-Canadian newspapers reveals - regardless of the thematic formula governing their content - that most of them reported the *Serie A* soccer scores from Italy. At the very least, they followed the progress of the Italian national team during a major international tournament. For instance, one monthly newspaper primarily geared towards politics, self-acknowledged as such by its name, *Nuovo Mondo: Mensile di politica, attualita', e cultura*, published its June-July 1978 edition with a headline exclaiming, "*E Ora La Coppa!* [And Now the Cup!]" A photo of the iconic player, Paolo Rossi, complemented the title. This review did not regularly concern itself with sport results like others did, so its excited acknowledgement of the World Cup in 1978 demonstrates the centrality and importance of this event to Italian culture. By contrast, the *Globe & Mail* did not feature a similar front page headline exclaiming the beginning of this tournament, opting instead to mention that hockey coach Tom Watt turned down an offer to coach a professional hockey team in favour of retaining his position in charge of the University of Toronto's team.⁹⁶

The Italian-Canadian press reported local soccer scores, but not as prominently as *Serie A* results despite their relative proximities to the target audience. While the most

⁹² N. Blain and R. Boyle, 'Sport as Real Life: Media Sport and Culture', in A. Briggs and P. Cobley (eds), *The Media: An Introduction* (London: Longman, 1998), p.365.

⁹³ David Rowe, Jim McKay, and Toby Miller, "Come Together: Sport, Nationalism, and the Media," in Lawrence A. Wenner, *Mediasport*, (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 120.

⁹⁴ N. Blain and R. Boyle, "Sport as Real Life: Media, Sport, and Culture," in A. Briggs and P. Cobley, Eds., *The Media: An Introduction* (London: Longman, 1998), p. 370.

⁹⁵ *Football, Europe and the Press*, p.8.

⁹⁶ *The Globe & Mail* [hereafter *Globe*], Thursday, June 1, p.1.

prominent news articles tended to be local, the most prominent soccer articles came from abroad, showing that soccer maintained links with the homeland for Toronto's Italian immigrants. Soccer, being widely regarded as an ethnic game, would be a way of reaffirming the ethnic part of the Italian-Canadian identity. Toronto-resident Anna Blasi, an Italian-Canadian woman who has never followed sports of any kind, confirms that she always considered soccer to be "an Italian thing; something that only Italians loved."⁹⁷ Even local soccer was tailored to conform with these ethnic connotations with team names like *Toronto Italia* representing the Italian community in the NSL. Blasi's gender is highly important to her own lack of association with soccer, for she recalls having nothing to do with the sport despite knowing that it was a part of her culture. This is a sentiment that resonates in the memories of the other female participants in this study as well, all of whom recall being particularly ignorant of soccer until the 1982 World Cup.⁹⁸ In each case, the Italian-Canadian press perpetuated the sentiment that soccer should be treated as an ethnic property, and through photographs featuring male players, written by male journalists, and including male opinions, simultaneously bred an exclusionary attitude toward women in the years preceding the 1982 World Cup.

To see why soccer emerged as one of the more effective methods of legitimizing nationalism and gender roles via the media for Italians in Toronto, it is necessary to consider the contemporary timeline of the media's development. The 1970 World Cup in Mexico was the first to be transmitted via satellite by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and hence pioneered the 'global television' trends of the following years.⁹⁹ Soccer sociologist Richard Giulianotti explains that the global surges in interest in the sport depended on growing capital investment. So increasing sponsorship opportunities contributed to the development of a global broadcasting infrastructure for the game throughout the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁰⁰ Thom Satterlee traces how the internationalization of soccer exposed people in North America to the greatest players in the game. Soon after, the North American Soccer League (NASL) had begun to attract sponsorship and widespread interest from all over North America in their acquisition of international Brazilian superstar, Pelé. He played for the New York Cosmos from 1975-1977 and through his presence encouraged other world class talent to join. This generated unprecedented curiosity among North Americans, if not genuine interest in the league and the sport. According to Satterlee, the increased media coverage and sponsorship was instrumental to the success of this NASL venture and contributed heavily to the eventual increase in North American awareness of the World Cup.¹⁰¹

The increased public interest in the NASL and international superstars generated enough demand to result in the CBC broadcasting live World Cup games in 1982, for the first time ever in Canada. The games were unusually easy to access, not just for the

⁹⁷ Interview with Anna Blasi.

⁹⁸ Interviews with Anna Blasi, Sonia Marconi, Angela Peruzzi and Cristina Colombo.

⁹⁹ Raymond Boyle and Richard Haynes, *Power Play: Second edition*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p.41.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Giulianotti, *Football: A Sociology of the GlobalGame*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p.88.

¹⁰¹ Thom Satterlee, "Making Soccer a 'Kick in the Grass': The media's role in promoting a marginal sport, 1975-1977," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 36: 3(2001), pp. 305-317.

Italians who followed domestic league or international soccer on a regular basis, but also for curious Canadians who could now watch it over a public television transmission. Through the CBC's extensive national network, the Italian success was made available free of additional charges and provided Italian-Canadians with an increasingly rational platform for celebration. Most importantly, Canadians who saw this international event transmitted over the national broadcasting channel could treat it as something of national importance. The value of an Italian victory in this event was thereby multiplied exponentially for the Italians celebrating, who recognized they had the entire nation's attention.

In his in-depth study of sport, culture, and the media, David Rowe identifies the media's role in creating nationalism through sport by citing the BBC's festivals of nationalism. They did this by broadcasting international sporting events such as World Cups and causing large-scale gatherings through the televised media outlets, which he terms "orgies of both nationalism and commodification."¹⁰² While this analysis is useful for observing how the media were central to the nationalizing forces of soccer, it does not incorporate an interrogation of how or why it happened. There were also other important forces in effect, especially given that many people who celebrated on *Corso Italia* in 1982 did not even watch the game, and were in fact only a part of the festivities because of their nationalistic significance and not because of the soccer at all.¹⁰³ Although soccer acted as the instigating force and the media was responsible for spreading awareness, the ultimate cause for the large size of the crowd was independent of these two things. What caused regular soccer spectators to gather around a television and then spill out onto the street in jubilation encouraged other 'occasional' fans to tag along and celebrate as well. Anna Blasi recalls the excitement during World Cup time and the way in which her father went from not watching the sport to suddenly being an avid spectator of the tournament and involving the rest of the family in it as well, "when the cup hit, we would all be watching the game together, as a family, in the basement."¹⁰⁴ It was the increased attention given to soccer in the media, the authenticity of public celebration and the abundance of pride and joy that attracted so many 'occasional' fans to join in. Importantly, Blasi's account notes how it affected the entire family, including herself and her mother in an activity that she had never associated with before.

The construction of hyphenated ethnic identities in Toronto depended heavily on newspapers by and for the Italian-Canadian community, but the breakthroughs in public radio and television connected directly with a particular lacuna in the world of print sport media. Sport magazines would cost consumers up to six dollars to buy - the equivalent of

¹⁰² David Rowe, *Sport, Culture, and the Media: Second edition*, (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2004), 23.

¹⁰³ For more discussion on the relationship between football and the media, see A. Fynn L. Guest, *Out of Time*, (London: Simon and Schuster, 1994); T. Miller, G. Lawrence, J. McKay., and D. Rowe, *Globalization and Sport*, (London: Sage, 2001), p.24; and R.Haynes, "A Pageant of Sound and Vision: Football's Relationship with Television, 1936-1960," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15 (1): 211-226.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Anna Blasi.

more than three gallons of milk or ten loaves of bread.¹⁰⁵ For an ethnic group which generally fit into the lower echelons of the working class, only a privileged few could allow themselves to consume these magazines regularly throughout the 1970s. More importantly, where soccer news kept the community in touch with local society, Italy, and the world in general, it could not provide the instantaneousness or excitement of a live broadcast. Before the arrival of live radio feeds, the delay between the matches and the local availability of reports could last a few days. This could not realistically sustain widespread interest in a game that thrives on anticipation and immediate stimulation. Fans who desired more direct access to soccer had the option to tune into shortwave radio feeds by the end of the 1960s, but even this did not deliver a perfect solution.

In its earliest form in Toronto, only those who possessed a short-wave radio to intercept a static-filled satellite feed from Italy on Sunday mornings could follow Italian soccer live. Not everyone had access to this kind of equipment though. With an ironic tone to his rhetorical question, Italian-Canadian *Serie A* fan, Nicola Gabriel, recalls his inability to follow games due to his own socioeconomic limitations, “at that time, who could listen to the game on the radio? You needed to have the special [short-wave] radio to receive the Italian feed.”¹⁰⁶ Nicholas Harney explains that many would go to a local bar to listen to the games and the reception was often so bad that they would need to stand on the street outside the bar in order to make out the commentary. This would result in other kinds of problems, as the group of Italian-Canadians in a public huddle seemed to suggest they were up to some sort of criminal activity. This infamous stereotypical image derives from these stories, where police officers told groups of Italians to move along, not allowing them to convene in public and thereby maintaining the sanctity of Canadian public space.¹⁰⁷

An avid soccer fan, Paolo Canciani shared these types of experiences. In his defining Italian accent, he tells the story of his arrival, “my father was in Canada from 1957, and in 1972 [when I arrived], I said to my father, ‘And now, where are we going to see the games, or how I know if Juventus tie or Milan win?’... We [only] had the short-wave [radio] in local Italian bars.”¹⁰⁸ He explains his experience trying to follow first division Italian soccer: “I will never forget the first Sunday morning... maybe two hundred people in a small space, all around a small transistor radio to listen to ‘*Tutto il calcio minuto per minuto*’—it was the soccer play-by-play from Italy; try, try to understand what [was being said]. I was shocked!... This touched me more than the language, than the different city, completely... [I thought to myself, how could they be] without soccer?”¹⁰⁹ This feeling was not only Canciani’s, as other participants in this study have recounted similar experiences. Rocco Calabrese, for example, remembers the first thing he told his father upon arrival, “I said to my dad, ‘But here there is snow everywhere! There are no sports fields!’ because I was a soccer lover, and here you could

¹⁰⁵ “Prices in the 80s,” *In the 80s*, <http://www.inthe80s.com/prices.shtml> [accessed July 18, 2011].

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Silvio Signori [Trans.]: “*al’ora, la partita a la radio, ma chi la sentiva? Dovevi avere la radio speciale per prendere la partita da l’italia, se no, non la prendevi.*”

¹⁰⁷ *Eh Paesan!*, p.159.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Paolo Canciani.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

not see anything, only snow! But what snow? (laughs) It was so high!”¹¹⁰ Carmine Marcantonio remembers crying for days upon his arrival in Toronto until he found a soccer team to play for - incidentally, most of his teammates were also Italian, and he recalls they showed similar love for the game.¹¹¹ These stories are among these interviewees’ first and most prominent memories of being young men in Canada. They appear to have been clearly upset by their inability to access such a fundamental part of their culture, and disappointed with their new Canadian reality.

As traumatic as the experience of immigration may have been for some, it sometimes translated into something equally encouraging for younger members of the community; those who did not have a recollection of an easily accessible soccer world in Italy. Davide D'Angelo echoes a version of Canciani’s experience with the shortwave radio, but from a different perspective: “That whole experience of being in front of this radio with my dad, my uncles, and kind of understanding and not understanding... That’s where I first formed a passion for [soccer] and a certain allegiance to teams...”¹¹² Like a scene described by Franca Iacovetta, D'Angelo points out the centrality and importance of the family unit in experiencing recreational activities for Italians in Toronto.¹¹³ This story, moreover, remains congruent with the masculine orientation of soccer spectatorship before 1982. Most male participants in this research recalled similar experiences of relating soccer with their fathers or uncles, and deriving their own team allegiances from these family connections.

Through their memories, D'Angelo and Marcantonio add another important and often-overlooked dimension to the methods and motives of following Italian league soccer. D'Angelo recalls that in the 1960s and early 70s, “there was absolutely no television coverage. There was strictly radio coverage, newspapers and magazines shipped over from Italy, and then that wonderful little pool lottery card that they called the *schedina*.”¹¹⁴ Evidently, even if some Italian-Canadian newspaper consumers did not prioritize soccer, the Italian domestic league scores remained important to many of them because they corresponded with the Italian *schedina* lottery. To win, players would have to guess the correct results from all first division, and some second division games played in a single week - a total of 13 matches. In order for this to be possible over the Atlantic divide, some gamblers had devised a method of importing play cards from Italy and returning them for submission before each weekly deadline, thereby continuing the tradition formed when they lived in Italy of participating in the national soccer lottery.¹¹⁵ Marcantonio remembers people in Canada using family members who remained in Italy for this purpose.¹¹⁶ This was one way Italians living in Canada kept connected with their

¹¹⁰ Interview with Rocco Calabrese . [Trans.]: “*Ho detto al mio babbo, ‘Ma, qua tutta neve c’e! Campi sportivi non c’e ne!’ perche io ero un amante del calcio, e qua non si vedeva niente, solo neve! Ma neve.. heh.. che era alta!*”

¹¹¹ Interview with Carmine Marcantonio.

¹¹² Interview with Davide D'Angelo.

¹¹³ *Such Hardworking People*.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Davide D'Angelo.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Carmine Marcantonio

homeland and their Italian identity. By betting on soccer scores, even some of those who might not have enjoyed watching the games would have been interested in the results and purchased weekly editions to check them. But this does not explain how soccer went from small transistor radios in the early 1970s to public television within the span of a decade. Gamblers did not need instant results in order to play the *schedina*; leaving the responsibility to make the transition between radio and television broadcasts to journalists who doubled as soccer fans like Paolo Canciani.

As a result of the frustrations he encountered, Paolo Canciani became one of the early proponents of soccer broadcasting in Canada. His career in sport journalism and love for soccer allowed him to exploit the demand for more current and accessible soccer coverage and it enabled him stay connected to the sport. Recalling his early struggles to stay current with weekly Italian soccer, Canciani explains how difficult it was for him to adjust to Canadian cultural life without the sport he so loved, and how he relished the opportunity to report on soccer because it helped him connect Italy and Canada in a unique way:

that, in a certain way, reinforced [for] me the necessity of doing something that I was doing down there in Italy, but for hobby - writing about the soccer team of [my] home town. I don't want to call it journalism... it was more for fun than a profession. So then [from Canada] I began reconnecting with all the contacts I left there... and two years later, the director of *Guerin Sportivo* (who then moved to *Corriere dello Sport* in Rome), Italo Cucci, called me and asked me to be their voice... So I was the [Canadian] correspondent for these two [Italian] newspapers from 1974 until a few years ago."¹¹⁷

His connections with the more popular Italian sporting periodicals and newspapers allowed him to participate in high-profile Canadian events, like the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games. He also began writing for Montreal's weekly Italo-Canadian newspaper, *Il Cittadino Canadese*, and working for *Canada's First Multicultural Broadcaster* (CFMB), a radio station featuring regular Italian programming, where he began to carve out a niche for regular soccer reporting.

Canciani's experiences illustrate how Italians were among the first to become involved in the creation of multicultural media in Canada. This is also evident in the career of Johnny Lombardi, who in 1966 established the still-existent and successful CHIN 1540 AM radio station in Toronto.¹¹⁸ The radio programs available on this station were designed to promote multiculturalism and supported more than just the Italian

¹¹⁷ Interview with Paolo Canciani

¹¹⁸ Johnny Lombardi purchased the frequency from Ted Rogers, owner of CHFI, in 1966; explained in chronological detail in "Ontario, City of Toronto – CHIN-AM," *Radio Station History: Canadian Communications Community*, <http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/index3.html?url=http%3A//www.broadcasting-history.ca/listings_and_histories/radio/histories.php%3Fid%3D403%26historyID%3D184> [accessed June 27, 2011].

community, however Italians held a prominent place in these media opportunities through the interests of their founders. CHIN produced news feeds recorded and imported directly from Italy and broadcasted in Toronto which updated listeners daily. Sports figured in most broadcasts with an emphasis on soccer, providing Italian fans with a method of obtaining scores sooner than was previously possible in imported print.

The proponents of Italian-Canadian media efforts found the transition into television relatively smooth. Canciani's career path narrates the story of this development in an interesting way. He explains how his links in the soccer journalism sector allowed him to eventually make the move to Toronto towards the end of the 1970s. There, he began working with Dan Ianuzzi - founder of the Italian-Canadian newspaper, *Il Corriere Canadese*. Ianuzzi had managed to get some airtime through CityTV on 99 Queen Street downtown and he gave Canciani two hours every morning to read the horoscope in Italian and play records from Italy for the local community. Later, Canciani and Ianuzzi set out to create their own multicultural television channel, submitting an application to the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC), responsible for all programming aired on public television in Canada. Canciani described this as "shocking" to CRTC because they asked to broadcast in a language that was not French or English. There was no broadcasting act or legislation established to guide them so that they could make a judgement and grant permission for the creation of the channel. Eventually, the CRTC approved their application, and allowed them to create the first multicultural television network in the world in 1979, followed closely by an Australian effort two months later. Canciani opened that station - MTV, Channel 47 - as the news director.

Soccer suffered a more turbulent incorporation into mainstream television programming. The widely-regarded marginal sport - in a Canadian context - had to compete with the mainstream North American sport journalists' criticisms, while simultaneously attracting an audience worth marketing it to. Since Canadians considered soccer to be an ethnic property, the sport benefitted from contemporary multiculturalism policies set into motion under Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971.¹¹⁹ This, in turn, led to the evolving sentiment reflected by publicly-funded CBC television media efforts to show soccer events like the World Cup. Soccer therefore made its way into the mainstream not as an Italian import, but rather, as an ethnic property in the Canadian multiculturalism context. The CBC broadcasted the World Cup for the first time in the same year as Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms was signed, a time when multiculturalism campaigns were in full stride.

Before 1982, and throughout the 1970s, World Cup soccer was only available to paying customers and remained a property of the Italian community specifically. In the World Cup years of 1974 and 1978, the CBC still had not begun broadcasting the tournament. However, the games could be seen on a closed-circuit feed via the large scoreboard at *Maple Leaf Gardens* (MLG) - the arena where Toronto's professional hockey team played the Canadian national winter sport on a regular basis. Italian-

¹¹⁹ For a Current Issue Review account of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy developed for the federal government and published on its website, see Marc Lehan, *Canadian Multiculturalism 93-6E*. Government of Canada: Depository Services Program, (revised 15 February 1999). <http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/CIR/936-e.htm> [Accessed 16 September 2011].

Canadians, mostly male, went to this building to watch the Italian national team play soccer overseas. D'Angelo remembers his experience following along with the Italian national team on these large-screens:

It was absolutely a full house... I mean World Cup soccer was, and still is, the pinnacle of international soccer. There were a couple different venues. One was *Maple Leaf Gardens* and one was what they call the *Ricoh [Coliseum]* now, down at *Exhibition [Place]*. At the time it was called the *Cow Palace*, because it literally was. It was where they had the 'Royal Winter Fair', and I remember being in that venue for one of the Italy games - that game that we lost to Holland 2-0. That game, because of the disappointment of it, is stamped in my memory for quite some time. Hundreds and thousands of other Italian-Canadians were there for the same reason, and we all just left with our heads down. It was a disastrous end to the World Cup back then.¹²⁰

This quotation illustrates the communal importance of these events for the Italian community. Just as victory could spark pride and joy among these spectators, loss is also an integral factor in the experience, and one felt by Italians repeatedly since 1938 at some stage of the World Cup tournaments. The transformation of spaces is also an important element of D'Angelo's story, where hockey arenas traditionally used to house North American sporting events suddenly became a shrine to an ethnic sport, meshing together cultural practices and helping to create a multicultural country in these important formative years.

D'Angelo's recollection of watching the world cup games along with "hundreds and thousands" of other Italians resonates with the accounts offered by some of the other male interviewees in this study. In each case, they recall attending with their fathers or their uncles, while their mothers and sisters stayed home, relatively uninterested. Carmine Marcantonio recalls specifically that his sister was completely indifferent to the World Cup, and female participants in this study like Angela Peruzzi and Anna Blasi do not remember any soccer events before 1982 at all.¹²¹ Soccer spectatorship, with its association to public places, evidently remained a predominantly male activity just like playing the game was. Although it embodied Italian nationalism, it is difficult to argue that it represented the entire Italian community in Canada with women showing such indifference. Nonetheless, the visual dynamic of closed-circuit broadcasts in a public space defined a new era in soccer spectatorship and accessibility.

This is a moment in which soccer spectatorship transcended into the post-modern realm of experience for the Italian-Canadians of Toronto. Jean Baudrillard's vision of millions of people gathered in front of televisions worldwide in 'hyperreal' engagements with their nationalism began to manifest itself among Italian immigrants experiencing the

¹²⁰ Interview with Davide D'Angelo.

¹²¹ Interviews with Carmine Marcantonio, Angela Peruzzi, Anna Blasi.

game from overseas.¹²² The crowd perceived its expectations of an actual occurrence through the images available on the television, creating a reality which mimics actuality, but is not immediately real because it only exists as a reproduction on a screen. From this, one can make connections to symbolism and nationality more apparent, as the crowd experience of watching eleven men embody the nation was now possible in real-time from anywhere in the world - in this case Toronto, Canada.¹²³

In 1982, the CBC began broadcasting live international soccer for the first time. For Canada's immigrant communities such as the Italian one, it was an immense achievement to see a sport that they considered to represent their heritage on the Canadian national television channel, especially when Canada was not even involved in the tournament. The fact that Italy won the World Cup in this year reassured Italians that all Canadians could witness their victory. The television coverage multiplied the value of the win exponentially for Italians, providing them with further justification for their public celebrations afterward. D'Angelo, involved in the Italian soccer broadcasting trade by profession, explains his own understanding of the long-lasting effects of this tournament:

I guess people realized that there's definitely a market for it given the size of the audience... more and more soccer became available on television [after 1982]. And I remember the NASL was on major US networks like NBC and ABC. And I recall TSN had just launched and had picked up some NASL games as well. So I think it had a great deal to do with the evolution of televised soccer in Canada because prior to that there was virtually nothing that I can recall in terms of televised soccer in the country.¹²⁴

D'Angelo goes on to explain how the CBC's coverage of the 1982 World Cup and the impact of this tournament on ethnic communities allowed him to later take part in the production of soccer television programs like "The World Soccer Report" on OMNI (previously MTV). By 1986, some World Cup games were broadcasted in Italian and Spanish on this channel.

The awareness of the game that the CBC brought to Canadians was instrumental to the event's ability to reach all Italians in the Toronto area, male and female, and provided them with a visual way of conceptualizing their nationalism. Just as self-described part-time Italian soccer fan, Joe Busillo, admits, "Every World Cup has a story in it, and if nothing else, I watch it for that."¹²⁵ The 1982 World Cup, with its unlikely heroes and legendary 'David vs. Goliath' match-ups, began the ultimate soccer 'story' for Italians living in Toronto. This would develop into an entire narrative of nationalism, maintained and replicated for generations in order to explain what being an Italian living in Toronto actually meant.

¹²² Jean Baudrillard, *Seduction*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990) p. 31.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Interview with Davide D'Angelo.

¹²⁵ Interview with Joe Busillo.

Chapter Three: *Corso Italia* – July 11, 1982

*‘Siamo i primi, lo abbiamo meritato, siamo number one, abbiamo dato lezione a tutti’ era il commento unanime. ‘Viva l’Italia:’ l’espressione era sincera, come lo erano le lacrime mentre tutti correvano alle auto: ‘We are first, we have deserved it, we are number one, we gave a lesson to everyone’ was the unanimous commentary. ‘Long live Italy:’ the expression was sincere, just as the tears [of joy] were as everyone ran to the cars.*¹²⁶

Despite their unimpressive performance in the opening phase of the 1982 World Cup, with three consecutive draws against what the media widely considered to be mediocre opponents, Italy’s sensational victories over tournament favourites Argentina and Brazil in the second round demanded attention in a powerful way. Sceptical Italian spectators, who had not seen Italy win a World Cup since 1938 and who had suffered through a 4-1 loss to their Brazilian rivals in the 1970 final match, had reinvigorated their hope for victory in 1982.¹²⁷ This time, the *Azzurri* had already disposed of the Brazilians and looked increasingly more confident with each game.¹²⁸ They cleared one final hurdle in the semi-finals against Poland with relative ease and started the countdown toward the final match. Canadian and ethnic press offices began printing articles setting up the final showdown with their German opponents. *The Toronto Star*, for example, ran the headline on the front page of its Sports section on the day before the final, “Stage is set for world soccer supremacy.”¹²⁹

Many Italians directed their superstitious exercises to guaranteeing an Italian victory - some addressed God while others evoked methods learned in their Italian childhood, like throwing salt outside of a building for good luck.¹³⁰ Theories about who would win and how it should happen dominated conversations in public bars and Italian locales.¹³¹ Italians put up flags outside their storefronts and homes throughout the province, and especially in Toronto.¹³² As a result of this climactic build-up, whether Italian, Canadian, male, female, or anything else, even people who normally did not follow the sport became increasingly interested in the final match. The Canadian media

¹²⁶ “Una meravigliosa ‘coppa’ (di champagne) per celebrare una vittoria,” *Corriere Canadese*, July 12-13, 1982, p. 3. [trans.].

¹²⁷ In most of the interviews conducted for this research, informants stressed that the 1982 victory was special *because* Italy had defeated the world’s greatest teams, Brazil and Argentina, to get to the finals. Carmine Marcantonio, Giuseppe Piola and Silvio Signori, for example, dwell on this fact and repeat it numerous times to justify Italy’s brilliance in 1982.

¹²⁸ *Azzurri* is the Italian word for “the blues” and is the nickname given to the Italian national soccer team because of their traditional blue jerseys.

¹²⁹ *Star*, Saturday, July 10, 1982, D1.

¹³⁰ Interview with Marco Ricci.

¹³¹ Interview with Rocco Calabrese, Giuseppe Piola, Silvio Signori, *et al.*

¹³² Interview with Enzo Martino.

was partly due credit for this; since both Canadian newspapers and CBC television paid attention to the event.¹³³

As the sun rose over Toronto on July 11, 1982, Italians emerged from their homes among their friends and family in and around the city with an uplifting sense of hope. It was a Sunday morning, so many of them fulfilled their religious obligations to their church before carrying out their secondary cultural interests in sport. Many, like Luigi DiMario's uncle, prayed that whole morning before the game, making sure to mix in a humble request for an Italian victory too.¹³⁴ Others, like Davide D'Angelo and Silvio Signori, also remember this day in relation to those people they shared the experience with. They saw their grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles as they met at one of their homes and shared a typical Sunday lunch together. They tell of a stirring excitement overriding their conversations, as everyone anticipated the beginning of the game in the early afternoon.¹³⁵ Anna Blasi recalls the way her entire family assembled to watch the game at home - including the women, which she notes was rare at the time.¹³⁶

Family and kinship experiences are common in the Italian-Canadian community, not just during times of gripping sporting events like this, but also on a more regular basis. Franca Iacovetta explains how these kinship networks operated as a support system for Italians in Toronto, affirming that family relations were also a consistent reality in their recreational and leisure adventures. She writes, "the extended family and kin networks, as well as those of paesani and neighbourhood often provided the newcomers with their main source of entertainment and community... [They spent] Sunday afternoons... around the kitchen table eating and talking with friends. Family-centred celebrations remained the main source of recreation."¹³⁷ Weekly gatherings of family members and people bound by more extended kinship or community ties were common, and as Iacovetta finds, emblematic of the postwar Italian-Canadian experience. Special religious and sporting events only provided supplementary reasons for these gatherings which they already had on a regular basis, and as a result of the cohesive nature of experiencing them within the family unit, helped consolidate the Italian-Canadian sense of nationalism primarily in relation to the family and kinship unit. In other words, the way in which identity was created and shared within the family - with soccer events as the excuse for gathering - ensured that Italian-Canadian nationalism in Canada consisted of the family first and foremost.

Since the 1982 World Cup broke new ground in its unprecedented public availability through the CBC, every Toronto household with access to the basic television channels could watch the tournament. Even the press took notice of this fundamental difference in the experience of the World Cup, "The explosion of joy in front of the televisions was irrepressible: screams, hugs, tears, have united this ecstatic community

¹³³ Interview with Davide D'Angelo ; archives of CBC; *Star* broadcasting schedule.

¹³⁴ Interview with Luigi DiMario.

¹³⁵ Various interviews.

¹³⁶ Interview with Anna Blasi.

¹³⁷ *Paesani* is an Italian expression meaning compatriot. *Such Hardworking People*, p.152.

even more.”¹³⁸ The evolution of the media was therefore partially responsible for bringing the Italian patriarchal world of social recreation into the household and changed the implicit significance of soccer spectatorship considerably. Italian men no longer needed to leave home to participate in the recreational brand of nationalism afforded to them by sport. Through its more widespread availability in 1982, the World Cup became a more family-oriented event in Toronto Italian households, integrating women and children into what had previously been largely confined only to those men who were interested in it enough to attend a social gathering outside the home in its name.¹³⁹

An article in the *Globe & Mail* quotes a police officer saying that the reason why Italians caused no trouble in any of the celebrations leading up to the final match is that they celebrated with their families.¹⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the *Toronto Sun* printed photographs depicting women celebrating just as passionately as the men did in the wake of the final match. Notably, it included inherently sexualizing captions to emphasize the women’s unusual enthusiasm.¹⁴¹ Cristina Colombo and her mother were among those who celebrated on *Corso Italia* with their family. She remembers going to the fabric store to buy large sheets of cloth - green, white, and red ones. They sewed the sheets together to create large Italian flags for themselves and family members and then brought them to St. Clair Avenue to declare their Italianness more emphatically.¹⁴² Luigi DiMario remembers his mother carrying out the same duty for his father’s large flag, and *the Toronto Sun* records the entrepreneurial effort of Domenic Stalteri and his flag-sewing army, “[he] began making flags last week after Italy knocked out the Brazilians. ‘My mother can make a flag every five minutes,’ he said proudly. But she couldn’t keep up with the demand lining up outside her son’s textile shop for the \$5 flags. Nor could his sister, several aunts, and sprinkling of be-thimble cousins.”¹⁴³ Given the nature of their work, one could nonetheless assume that the women were still subservient in having to stitch flags together for the men to use, however, Colombo remembers her role as voluntary - for her it was just an extension of her skill set. Like her, many Italian-Canadian women found employment in the textile industry, but even if they did not, the responsibilities accepted by female guardians of the household in the Italian family tradition would have included mending garments and working with stitching on a regular basis.¹⁴⁴ For Colombo, like many others, the celebrations went untarnished by this responsibility - nor was it to be resented - since it was all in a day’s work in a family of honour. Unlike previous sporting celebrations in the city, this World Cup was about more than just soccer; it was about pride in being Italian. For this reason it attracted men, women, and

¹³⁸ *Corriere Canadese*, July 12-13, 1982, p. 3. [trans.] “L’esplosione di gioia davanti ai televisori e’ state incontenibile: grida, abbracci, lacrime, hanno unito ancora di piu’ una communita’ impazzita di gioia”

¹³⁹ Interview data suggests many men watched the game at home if they were unable to get to the downtown bars: Tony Prochilo, Carmine Marcantonio, Davide D’Angelo, Silvio Signori, and Anna Blasi.

¹⁴⁰ Christine McLaren and Michael Tenzsen, “Toronto’s Italians take to the streets in celebration of soccer victory,” *Globe*, Monday, July 12, 1982, A1-A2.

¹⁴¹ *Sun*, July 12, 1982, p. 69.

¹⁴² Interview with Cristina Colombo.

¹⁴³ Interview with Luigi DiMario; David Kendall, “A big pizza the action!” *Sun*, July 13, 1982, p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ *The Italians in Canada*, p. 13.

children as long as they shared a connection to the Italian ethnicity, regardless of whether or not they followed the sport regularly.

Although national soccer events were increasingly experienced within family gatherings by 1982, other community-based social networks continued to exist and helped to maintain a concurrent Italian masculine status quo in Toronto soccer activities at a time when changing media coverage challenged its integrity. Many Italian men who were new to the city discovered the possibility of joining a local social club or soccer team - almost always regionally-oriented in nature.¹⁴⁵ Iacovetta lists some of the clubs available for people interested in maintaining social or cultural ties to their nation or region.¹⁴⁶ During his youth, Rocco Calabrese was a member of one of them. He explains that he watched the final match with a group of friends from this team. Most of its members were, like him, from the Calabria area. He recalls his whereabouts on the day of the World Cup final: "I found myself right in front of [the stretch of street on St. Clair Avenue West] where we ended up celebrating later, in the billiard hall where all the players from my soccer team, 'Calabria', used to hang out regularly. The owner's name was Marino. Me and all of my team-mates watched the finals there having a party all day, drinking coffee, yelling and singing together."¹⁴⁷ The Italian orientation of the billiard hall provided a sense of home for those who frequented the place. It had an Italian owner, a location within an Italian neighbourhood, and the social practices of drinking espresso coffee and singing folk songs. Each helped create and sustain an ambiance akin to that found in Italian social centres. This is an example of the way space had been converted into an Italian 'place' through the regular interactions that occurred there.¹⁴⁸ It helped define a whole other aspect of Italianness which attracted people to *Corso Italia* and makes up a major component of the identity that they came to celebrate during the World Cup.

Marco Ricci's memories are similar to Calabrese's. He frequented *La Paloma* on St. Clair Avenue, near Lansdowne, and was there for the final match as well. *La Paloma* continues to be the flag-bearer of *Corso Italia* today as a successful ice cream shop despite its original aspirations to be an espresso bar for Italian locals. Ricci excitedly retells his story, smiling warmly with an accentuated chuckle, "I'll never forget, the best part was at the *Paloma*; I used to [shake] the salt in front of the [building, on the sidewalk] before the game [and] the little kids, they used to [watch]... So in 2006...they were, what, [30] years old? I went down again at St. Clair, and they go, 'Hey [Marco]! Do with the salt!' (laughs) They remembered me! Unbelievable! It's awesome, you know?"¹⁴⁹ Ricci's pleasant recollection of carrying out his superstitious practices reveals deeper realities about the composition of his identity, even today. Italians have shaken

¹⁴⁵ "Community organizations of Italians in Toronto."

¹⁴⁶ Iacovetta lists, "Club Sicilia, Club Cosenza, the Pisticci Club (Basilicata), the San Giorgio Morgeto Club (Calabria), and the Montorio Nei Fretani Social Club (Molise)," in *Such Hardworking People*, p.152.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Rocco Calabrese; [Trans.]: "io mi trovavo... proprio di fronte dove abbiamo fatto la festa, ed era il biliardo dove andavamo tutti da la squadra della Calabria. Si chiamava Marino lui, questo qua che aveva il posto. Tutti noi da la squadra abbiamo visto la partita li e si festeggiava tutto il giorno bevendo il caffè, gridando, cantando."

¹⁴⁸ On sport, space, and place, see Patricia Vertinsky, *Sites of Sport, Space, Place and Experience*, (London: Frank Cass, 2004), p.9.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Marco Ricci.

salt out in front of buildings in other circumstances too; for instance, a restaurant owner wishing to attract more business on a slow day might do this with the belief that the salt would drive evil spirits away from the front entrance.¹⁵⁰ Even though there is no apparent logic in the connection of this superstitious practice to the soccer game on television, there is still the belief that it can help bring good luck. Ricci's dependence on the continuity of his presence on St. Clair outside of *La Paloma*, as 'the man who shakes the salt and brings good luck to Italy' is an essential component for the construction of his identity; it is the first story he tells when recalling the event, and it brings him visible happiness to do so.



Figure 3. *Celebratory Flag Waving at La Paloma.* This photo is currently displayed on the wall inside *La Paloma*. It features a group of Italians celebrating a World Cup victory outside the front. There is an interesting tell-tale contrast between the Italian flags and the Canadian one hanging on the building in the background showing how Italians occupied Canadian space in their Italian festivities (original photographer unknown).¹⁵¹

Those Italian-Canadians who continued to incorporate superstitious routines into their daily lives might have experienced even more difficulty adapting to modern life in Toronto's urban space without their culturally inherited pre-modern tools. The Italian community in Toronto often participated in religious processions, celebrations, and gatherings. Many of these processions featured statues of patron saints, which is a customary social practice attributable to some communities in southern Italy, but not really a part of Roman Catholic dogma. Iacovetta observes, "immigrants from southern Italy arrived with their own imported brand of rural Catholicism, with its mixture of Pre-

¹⁵⁰ Joe's mother has carried out this practice for as long as he remembers his family owning the restaurant; Interview with Joe Corleone.

¹⁵¹ Photograph taken by Riccardo Lo Monaco, *La Paloma*, Toronto (June 9, 2011).

Christian and Christian beliefs, and its strong attachment to religious feasts.”¹⁵² The tendency to honour these idols and feasts reveals the mentality of many participants, who used pre-modern tools in order to make sense of their lives and cope with the hardships they encountered on a daily basis. Ricci’s story illustrates this mentality through sport, as he saw the sprinkling of the salt as a way of bringing good fortune to the national soccer team, which in turn would win and bring him and his people honour, where honour was relatively difficult to come by. The connection of superstition to place is also essential for an understanding of the relation of cultural practices such as these to the formation of an Italian-Canadian identity in Toronto. In Ricci’s case, the sprinkling of salt outside of *La Paloma* is anchored in his understanding of what it means to be an Italian, especially as his memory incorporates the repetition in 2006 and the essential fact that the children remembered him so many years later.

Nicholas Harney demonstrates the importance of longevity and the establishment of tradition in the Italian-Canadian identity-construction process. He links the popular Italian ‘Good Friday’ procession in Toronto with identity through its connection to the conversion of space.¹⁵³ The Italian-Canadian press gave religious demonstrations ample attention throughout the 1970s and 80s. They often featured large headline photographs on the front page that could compete with some of the largest displays of public solidarity known at the time. One such celebration is *La Festa Dell’Assunta*, covered by *Il Tevere* in August of 1973 with large images of Catholic priests and altar boys on the front page.¹⁵⁴ Harney makes the theoretical connection between religious events and the sporting world in the Italian-Canadian community by articulating a key insight that, “The transformation of spaces into places requires a conscious moment and a foundational event that becomes relatively routine.”¹⁵⁵ World Cup gatherings had already been part of the Italian-Canadian consciousness before the 1982 tournament. This can be traced back to the 1970 tournament, where Italy had progressed to the finals and Italians in Toronto demonstrated their pride - albeit lightly in comparison to 1982 - by carrying around their flags in the *Little Italy* areas and watching the games together.¹⁵⁶ The continuation of this ritual can be found in 1974 and 1978 World Cup gatherings in public places like Maple Leaf Gardens.¹⁵⁷

Soccer’s success was rooted in the habitual gathering of Toronto’s Italians during a World Cup event which had become a traditional activity by 1982 and increased exponentially since then. This resonates with Eric Hobsbawm’s argument that a fabrication of the past is necessary to justify the present and define a nationality. The traditional gathering of people in specific places for these events transformed otherwise meaningless spaces into specifically Italian places; St. Clair’s *Corso Italia* and College

¹⁵² *Such Hardworking People*, p. 130.

¹⁵³ “The Politics of Urban Space,” p.31.

¹⁵⁴ According to the Catholic faith, *La Festa Dell’Assunta* commemorates the assumption of Mary, mother of Christ, into heaven; Photographs taken by Sergio della Rossa, *Il Tevere*, 25 August, 1973, Toronto.

¹⁵⁵ “The Politics of Urban Space,” p.31.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Marco Ricci.

¹⁵⁷ A small gathering of Italians with flags pose outside *Maple Leaf Gardens* in a full page photograph from the front page of the *Sun*; “It’s Italy,” *Sun*, June 19, 1978.

Street's *Little Italy* if by nothing more than their nicknames being the most evident for this to happen. Business establishments along these Italianized stretches of streets, like *La Paloma*, became places for habitual reconvening of Italian spectator groups to listen to soccer games and eventually watch them together. Such events became ritually meaningful, like Italian parish religious processions happening down the center of city streets. Certainly this sporting event attracted more people than the religious events did within Toronto's Italian community.¹⁵⁸

Game Time

On the 11th of July, 1982, at 2:00 pm Toronto local time, the Brazilian soccer referee Arnaldo César Coelho blew his whistle in front of 90,000 people in Madrid, Spain, to signal the start of the 1982 World Cup final. Many of the 450,000 Italians in and around the Toronto area were aware of the event taking place there, regardless of their ability or interest in watching it, thanks to the media's role in creating and sustaining the increased levels of hype surrounding the match. Thousands of television sets around Toronto's stores, restaurants, bars, and homes tuned in to the CBC as many waited in anticipation for a reason to react to what was shown on the screen.¹⁵⁹ It took less than thirty minutes for that occasion to arrive, when an Italian midfielder chipped the ball into the German penalty area for Bruno Conti, who was illegally tripped up by the German defender. Amidst gasps of outrage, the referee wasted little time signalling a penalty shot for the Italians - to which fans roared their approval. Penalty shots are notoriously more favourable for the shooter, who only needs to beat the goalkeeper from about twelve yards away in order to score. The shot usually results in a goal, since the goalkeeper has little time to react and often needs to guess which way to dive in order to stand any chance at parrying the ball away. Heartbeats quickened on both sides of the split between those who wanted a goal and those who did not on this occasion. Italian fans had no choice but to place all of their faith in Antonio Cabrini as he approached the penalty spot nervously. The crowd in the stadium did not hush to allow him to concentrate; quite the opposite in fact. He lined up on the right side of the ball, all the while virtually telegraphing his intentions to shoot left-footed to the right side of the goal. The goalkeeper understood this and dove to the correct side. It did not matter in the end because Cabrini misjudged the distance and shot the ball wide. Italians exhaled a tense breath of dismay. Missing a glorious opportunity such as this was a clear indication - in the superstitious minds of many supporters - that Italy was not meant to be world champion on this occasion. Enzo Martino's disgusted father changed the channel on his television and immediately left his house following the missed penalty. He slammed the front door on his way out as he proceeded to get his ladder, climb up to the roof, and take

¹⁵⁸ About 10,000 people were recorded to be in attendance for the Festa dell' Assunta procession in Il *Tevere*, 25 August, 1973, vs. 20,000+ for the showing of an Italian national team's soccer game at MLG in 1978, as recorded by *The Sun*, June 19, 1978, p. 44.

¹⁵⁹ Broadcast times were announced in the *Toronto Sun* and the *Globe & Mail* in the days leading up to the semi-final and final matches to help increase awareness of this unprecedented world cup soccer coverage on the CBC; "Cup Games on TV," *Globe*, July 7, 1982, p. S1.

down his Italian flag.¹⁶⁰ The dream was already over in the eyes of many Italian supporters, whose obvious lack of esteem for their nationality combined with their superstitious customs to cause them to lose faith in the possibility of a win after that first-half penalty miss.

Martino's father's reaction is partially a result of superstitious beliefs, where there was a generally unspoken realization of the bad omen signified by an early penalty miss like that one; but it suggests a lingering low level of confidence manifested by Italians for their nationality. The willingness to take down his Italian flag before the game had concluded reveals a fear of embarrassment. Robert Harney uses the term for this low self-esteem in the face of other cultures - *atimia* - explaining that it derives from the mistreatment of Italians during the first wave of immigration into Toronto.¹⁶¹ No doubt by 1982, social conditions had changed significantly from the pre-WWI realities which caused *atimia* among Italians living in Canada, but discrimination against them persisted nonetheless in different forms for much of the 1950s and 1960s surrounding their difficulties with the language and their resistance to assimilation. With a direct reflection on less favourable working conditions, Robert Harney suggests that Italian-Canadians found a self-defence mechanism for dealing with this inferiority complex through *filiopietism*. Italians would trace Italian roots back to important people in the history of humanity, like Leonardo DaVinci, to show that they were worthy of respect based on the accomplishments of their ancestors.¹⁶²

During the game's half time intermission, people shared pessimistic reflections on Germany's domination of play, Italy's failure to convert a penalty shot, and the relative absence of the Italian hero, Paolo Rossi, from the score sheet thus far. The hopes of Italian fans had shifted toward Rossi as, in a superficial sense, he seemed to single-handedly eliminate both Brazil and Poland with his five goals in the previous two games. He had failed to shine in the first half of this game, however, and some began to question whether its second half would be much different given the superior play of the German team and the lack of opportunities for Italy. Play continued after the break for another ten minutes before a German player lazily tackled an Italian player from behind, allowing for a quick free kick to be taken. This threw off the entire German defence. An early in-swinging cross by the Italian defenseman, Claudio Gentile bounced once in the box as the first Italian forward failed to make contact with it; but as it neared the goal, two others mounted one another for the chance to nod it in for the first goal of the match. For the milliseconds it took the ball to travel from Gentile's boot to the head of Paolo Rossi, many Italian hearts skipped a beat in anticipation. Then, there was only happiness in the Italian camp. The iconic Paolo Rossi had delivered again, stamping his legendary presence on this tournament eternally, as his skilfully taken diving header made it 1-0 for Italy and transferred all of the momentum over to the Italians.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Enzo Martino.

¹⁶¹ Robert F. Harney, "Caboto and Other Parentela," in Harney, Robert F. *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada*. Nicholas DeMaria Harney, Ed. (Welland: Editions Soleil Publishing inc. Produced by Centro Canadese Scuola e Cultura Italiana, 1993), p.11; Robert F. Harney, "If One Were to Write a History of Postwar Toronto Italia," in *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada* p.89.

¹⁶² "Caboto and Other Parentela," p.11.

The discussion of *filiopietism* gains another dimension when considering the role of Paolo Rossi in the 1982 World Cup. Despite his troubled history in the Italian domestic league with match-fixing and its inherent links to criminal activity which saw him banned for two years preceding the tournament, he had still emerged as an icon of pride through his goal-scoring ability.¹⁶³ In his blue jersey he embodied a visual sense of Italian nationalism. Italians labouring to overcome their bad feelings over Cabrini's early penalty miss now had a mechanism of self-defence which was current and within reach, rather than having to look back over a few centuries for an example of Italian excellence to instil pride as was the *filiopietistic* way. The immediacy of sound and image afforded to Italian soccer spectators in Toronto by the evolving world of live soccer broadcasting over free public television changed the requirements of their heroes from those who were great in the past to those who were great in the present. Rossi had grown to represent much of what Leonardo DaVinci had for this immigrant group. He was not an artist, inventor, architect, nor did he accomplish anything comparable to what had earned DaVinci so much respect, but he was able to inspire pride within the Italian-Canadian community nonetheless, and he was able to do it on the important world stage. Rossi had been widely recognized by Canadian journalists to be a former criminal, matching the stereotypical views held about Italians living in Toronto perfectly and embodying the aspired-to transformation from a lowly and marginalized people to becoming the best in the world.

In the imported newspapers and magazines from Italy, as well as the print media produced in Canada, images of Rossi figured most prominently leading up to the final match. *The Globe & Mail* featured a large photograph of Rossi scoring on Brazil above a headline reading, "Italy shocks favored Brazil," the day after they booked their spot in the semi-final.¹⁶⁴ Keeping to theme, they ran a headline and photo, both featuring Rossi, following that match too. The front page of the Sports section in the July 9, 1982, edition of the *Globe & Mail* emphasized Rossi's role by claiming that it was his goal that sent Italy through to the finals.¹⁶⁵ The Italian-Canadian editions echoed the sentiment, choosing Rossi as the face of the Italian team for most of the illustrations accompanying their articles. After the match against Brazil, the Italian-Canadian publication in Toronto, *Il Tevere*, published a photograph of Rossi celebrating the first of his three goals in that match:

¹⁶³ Most Canadian newspapers mentioned Paolo Rossi's scandalous past in every instance of commending his abilities on the pitch, while Italian-Canadian journalists usually played ignorant to this truth. For example, on July 12, 1982, *The Sun* wrote of Rossi's exploits, "It marked the sixth straight Italian goal scored by Rossi, who has constructed a spectacular comeback from a two-year suspension for his role in a 1980 game-fixing scandal," p.54.

¹⁶⁴ *Globe*, July 6, 1982, p.39.

¹⁶⁵ *Globe*, July 9, 1982, p.S1.



Figure 4. Paolo Rossi Celebrates a Goal Against Brazil. Photograph of Italian hero, Paolo Rossi, published in Toronto Italian-Canadian newspaper, *Il Tevere*, in 1982 (photographer unknown).¹⁶⁶

The Italian community was ostensibly quite fond of their hero. One month after the conclusion of the tournament, an article ran in *Il Tevere*, describing how three Toronto men wished to erect an 8-foot tall bronze statue of Paolo Rossi, which was to cost at least \$40,000. They wanted to place it either at Earlscourt Park off of St. Clair Avenue, or at Exhibition Stadium, where NASL games were played.¹⁶⁷ Though their plan was never realized, its intention indicates a desire to root a sense of time-resistant permanence for the ethnic community into the urban Toronto landscape. Of such monuments Nicholas Harney writes:

In effect, these monuments are messages about the worth of Italians to the host Anglo-Canadian society; but the location and meaning of these monuments are also interpreted by newer or less powerful minority groups in the contest for status and quasi indigeneity (or, at least, ‘founding status’) with respect to the Canadian ‘nation’, and hence higher status, in a multicultural Canada.¹⁶⁸

Two more Italian goals followed Rossi’s opener in that final match before any reply came from the German team, leading to a 3-1 final result and an impressive Italian victory. Italian players dropped to their knees at the referee’s final whistle as others ran around the pitch in a frenzy, hugging, laughing, and celebrating the first Italian World

¹⁶⁶ Photograph published in the July 7th issue of *Il Tevere*, 1982.

¹⁶⁷ “Paolo Rossi in Earlscourt Park?” *Il Tevere*, August 9, 1982, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ *The Politics of Urban Space*, p.35.

Cup in 44 years. To be fair, Rossi was not the only focal point of the media's attention; they also looked to the team's captain: 40 year-old goalkeeper, Dino Zoff. He became especially prominent in the post-tournament print as everlasting images of the captain hoisting the coveted golden trophy above his head in triumph graced the front pages of many well-known Italian papers.¹⁶⁹ As a result, Italians often associate this image with Italian glory; by contrast, Canadian editions tended to focus more on the celebration in the city on their front pages, and only got to the players deeper within. The way in which newspapers document the events therefore helps to compose and sustain this collective memory, based on a visual culture of iconic figures raising the trophy or celebrating happily. These images of iconic heroes like Zoff and Rossi who embody Italian success attribute Italianness with positive qualities and provide Italian-Canadians with a way of finding happiness and pride in their identity and nationality.



Figure 5. *Dino Zoff Raises the World Cup in Triumph.* This timeless image of the Italian captain hoisting the trophy from *Il Tevere* survives in numerous print editions (photographer unknown).¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ For example, *Il Tevere*, 12 Luglio 1982; *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, 12 Luglio 1982; *Guerin Sportivo* 12 Luglio 1982.

¹⁷⁰ *Il Tevere*, 12 Luglio 1982, p.1.

Joe Corleone's newfound sense of confidence in his Italianness as a result of Italy's win comes through in his story. He explains how he watched the match as a child at home with his family like so many others. His father owned a restaurant and rather than go celebrate, Joe was obliged to accompany him to work for the dinner service after the game along with his mother and sister who also worked there. With a mischievous smile, he recalls a moment that he claims he will never forget as his whole family rushed to get to work. As he struggled to retain his grip on the flag pole he held out of his father's car window, with the attached Italian flag rippling loudly in the wind as if dancing along with the sporadic honking of their car horn, he noticed a nearby driver frowning angrily at him. "This *mangiacake*," explains Corleone, "he rolled down his window and stuck his arm out, giving us the finger, screaming! So my father looked over, smiled, and gave him the finger back with a few words of his own!"¹⁷¹ Joe's mother and sister, who were both in the car, also took part in the interchange.

'*Mangiacake*' is literally translated from the Italian expression, meaning 'cake-eaters' and had been developed at some point from within the Italian-Canadian community as a direct retaliation to the derogatory names like "wop" and "dago," that many Canadian residents used against the increasing numbers of Italian immigrants to Toronto.¹⁷² Corleone's recalling the use of this word records the embedded cultural tensions that existed in this situation. The understood cultural meaning for 'the finger' in Canada is symbolic for the expression, "f**k you," that people use against one another when expressing a certain contempt or disdain. The exchange of offensive gestures in Corleone's story reveals that the Italian celebrations after their 1982 World Cup victory did not go unnoticed by people of other nationalities. Nor were these people necessarily happy to accept all of the noise and celebration. A letter to the editor, published in the *Toronto Sun*, read:

So Toronto's Italian community is at it again; blocked intersections, illegal parades, vehicular and pedestrian traffic impeded with TTC [public transit] service in utter confusion, all in honor of some obscure soccer game. Enough is enough! If such a demonstration were perpetrated by native-born Canadians undoubtedly our police would consider it a riot with appropriate action being taken, but because it involves members of the ethnic community it must be treated as a "celebration" regardless of legalities.¹⁷³

Given the evidence available, the people interviewed for this study who remember no trouble and no hatred towards Italians are in fact participating in an inaccurate and manufactured collective memory of the event. The folklore replicated by those who were there tends to exclude the negative stories. The people who do remember them, like Corleone, tell them in a way that places the Italians in a victorious or superior position.

¹⁷¹ Interview with Joe Corleone.

¹⁷² Robert F. Harney, "If One Were to Write a History of Postwar Toronto Italia," in *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada* p.79.

¹⁷³ M. Stevens, *The Toronto Sun*, July 13, 1982.

The Canadian, in this case is a ‘mangiacake’ and is made to look like the idiot as his intolerant attitude is conquered with a simple retaliatory sign.

Just as Joe Corleone ran to the car following the game to parade his flag proudly on his way to work, others like Silvio Signori also remember a swift post-game escape from their homes; but most had a different destination in mind: *Corso Italia*. The drive there was eventful as Italian drivers and passengers poked their flags out their car windows while ceaselessly blowing whistles and honking their horns, creating a raucous soundtrack. Traffic heading into the downtown core in Toronto backed up for blocks as the honking cars slowed down to make their presence last longer and simultaneously avoid hitting jubilant pedestrians carelessly venturing onto the street. Signori recalls having to park along the northern city limits near Dufferin and Lawrence, then hop on the bus in order to get anywhere near *Corso Italia*; it would have been next to impossible to find parking there with the sudden influx of people and road closures.

The *Globe & Mail* detailed the road closures as follows: “Two hours before the game began, police closed St. Clair between Caledonia Road and Dufferin Street and a section of College Street between Bathurst Street and Ossington Avenue... More than 100 extra police officers were prepared for celebration... An emergency task force command post was set up at St. Clair School.”¹⁷⁴ Although post-tournament newspaper reports, historians, and people interviewed in this research repeatedly state that the celebration was spontaneous, the police *must* have expected it in order to have closed the road two hours before the match kicked off. In fact, even the Italians themselves seemed to be in on the impending celebrations, should their team win the tournament. This was true since at least 1978, when the June-July edition of *Nuovo Mondo* warned, “In Toronto thousands of Italians have been cheering for the Italian national soccer team and they are preparing to celebrate the eventual cup victory.”¹⁷⁵ Moreover, there may be an important loss in translation here because the Italian word ‘*apprestare*’ can be translated in a range of ways, including anything from “being ready” to “preparing” or even to “arrange by systematic planning and united effort.”¹⁷⁶ How can one claim that the 1982 celebrations on St. Clair and College were purely spontaneous if they were “systematically planned” since 1978?¹⁷⁷

One vivid photograph on the front page of the 9 July, 1982 edition of the *Globe & Mail* captured the image of Italian fans mounting cars in celebratory ecstasy on St. Clair following their semi-final victory.¹⁷⁸ The *Toronto Sun*’s July 12 edition actually reports, “The celebration has been planned for days with victory flags, t-shirts, and buttons already made.”¹⁷⁹ So with the Italian team making it all the way to the final in 1982, one

¹⁷⁴ “Toronto’s Italians take to the streets in celebration of soccer victory!”

¹⁷⁵ *Nuovo Mondo: mensile di politica, attualità, e cultura*, Giugno-Luglio 1978. [Trans.] “A Toronto migliaia di italiani hanno fatto tifo per la squadra azzurra e si apprestano a festeggiare l’eventuale conquista della coppa.”

¹⁷⁶ The latter definition can be found at <<http://www.vocabulary.com/definition/it/apprestare>> [accessed July 16, 2011].

¹⁷⁷ Marco Ricci says he saw people celebrate wins on College Street throughout the 1970s.

¹⁷⁸ “Fans fly the flags for Italy,” *Globe*, July 9, 1982, p. 1.

¹⁷⁹ “That was SOME party!” *Sun*, July 12, 1982, p. 4.

win away from granting these eager fans the chance to finally celebrate, there was definitely a suspicion that Italians would flock to their downtown headquarters once more if they won. This was perhaps indicated by the crescendo of flag-waving people after each of the games leading up to the final. As *The Sun* went on to report, “There had been spontaneous street parties and lots of horn-honking motorcades throughout Metro’s Italian community as cup fever grew, but it was nothing like yesterday’s turnout.”¹⁸⁰ Apparently the only gap between what was expected and what transpired is the sheer numbers and the relative peacefulness with which the celebration took place, nullifying the need for any emergency task force—like the one which had been set up at St. Clair School back in 1978 and repeated in 1982.¹⁸¹

Luigi DiMario recalls making his way back to his home on St. Clair and Lansdowne the evening of the 1982 final after work. He had to walk an extra block home after the bus he rode was rerouted to accommodate the massive crowd that had gathered on this street and road closures. He says, “I was in glory! I don’t remember how I got home because all the streets were blocked off.”¹⁸² His story connects to the issues of the lack of crowd problems since he had such trouble getting home. He reports having to carry his 13-inch television with him through the crowd and being mistaken for a looter; he had brought it along with him to work so that he could watch the game and did not anticipate having to wade through such large masses of people upon his return. In his words, “I remember I had to walk a long distance with my TV, in that crowd, and my arms were heavy at the time, because those TVs [were heavy]. You couldn’t walk fast, and people were looking at me strange, but I didn’t care. I knew, deep down, I’m Italian! I love the sport... and this is the pinnacle!”¹⁸³ DiMario’s story affirms his perception of the celebration’s spontaneity, and above all, the friendliness of it all. He expresses resentment over how others regarded him unfavourably when they thought he was a looter, which made him feel embarrassed.¹⁸⁴ In the 1970s many people linked hooliganism in England to soccer spectatorship. No doubt, this affected public perception of Italian-Canadian soccer celebrations in Canada with such negative connotations drawn between the sport and its spectators. For this reason, Italians celebrating the 1982 victory in Toronto would have been resistant to vandalism or looting, so as to keep their own identity separated from what they perceived to be criminal hooligans in England.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ “Fans hit fever pitch yesterday,” *Sun*, July 12, 1982, p. 4.

¹⁸¹ *Nuovo Mondo: mensile di politica, attualita’, e cultura*, Giugno-Luglio 1978.

¹⁸² Interview with Luigi DiMario.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ In Toronto, the only previous example of gatherings which turned violent or involved vandalism and looting was the 1981 Bathhouse riots, where 3,000 protestors marched up Yonge St. in the middle of the night and clashed with police. The motivation for this riot is quite different from the 1982 celebration however, as it was retaliatory to the police actions against the homosexual community, and not in celebration of a sporting victory. An accurate parallel cannot be drawn between this riot and the 1982 World Cup. The 1983 Grey Cup celebrations, however, resulted in widespread looting and vandalism in a similar context to the 1982 World Cup celebration. In retrospect, the memories of participants are conditioned by all three of these mass gatherings, irrelevant of chronology.

¹⁸⁵ See: Richard Giulianotti, *Football*, p. 63 and David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round*, p. 457.

As Nicholas Harney explains, Italians constantly felt the need to combat the negative stereotypes set up for them throughout the earlier stages of their settlement in Toronto, where they were often equated with organized criminal activities - or the *mafia*.¹⁸⁶ The celebration in 1982 was an opportunity for the community to demonstrate its desire to be respectful Canadian citizens and break away from these kinds of derogatory stereotypes. DiMario smiles as he remembers his adventure, weaving through the traffic, singing and cheering along with the crowd all the while. He, like his 300,000 *paesans* on *Corso Italia*, knew where ‘home’ was that evening. For DiMario, home literally *was* on St. Clair Avenue West, but for many others, *Corso Italia* was a symbolic home - a sort of headquarters for the Italian-Canadian community of the Toronto area where they could always return to find traces of their heritage and others to share it with. The Italian-Canadian identity is evidently deeply engrained in this sense of place, as Italians were automatically attracted to it. Early Italian immigrants and their descendants, whose successes in Canada afforded them the opportunity to move out into the sprawling suburbs, nevertheless came back to their original place of settlement in the city of Toronto in order to declare Italian pride.

Early Italian immigrants to Toronto settled in specific areas of the city at first, where the rent was cheaper and they could more easily form support networks for each other to ease the challenges of living in a new country.¹⁸⁷ By 1961 the most densely populated area was the College Street *Little Italy*, and the most rapidly growing area was the *Corso Italia* section of St. Clair Avenue West, between Lansdowne Avenue and Dufferin Street. From that point forward, Italians settling in Toronto and their descendants continued migrating Northward and Westward, creating highly concentrated areas of Italian residence in North York as well as the suburbs in Woodbridge and eventually Maple.¹⁸⁸ Radio and television commercials aired during Italian programming advertised these new suburban settlements to Italians, encouraging people to move there.¹⁸⁹ Yet, despite the movement of Italian Canadians away from their old neighbourhoods, St. Clair Avenue and College Streets retained for them their sense of Italian community home in Toronto. Tony Prochilo reflects on this, “I guess [St. Clair] was just the place to go meet, because for a lot of people that was home. Everybody had

¹⁸⁶ Although these stereotypes were more rampant in the first half of the twentieth century, they persisted in less obvious ways throughout the postwar period. For instance, the day after the *Sun* reported the Italian festivities in the city, it included a large-headline story, titled “Fraud Conviction – No Mafia Here: Lawyer,” which debates the existence of the mafia in a local court case. The story featured Italian names and statements like, “Chiarot testified yesterday that the owner of the failing pizza business was visited by three Italian-speaking men who offered to collect outstanding debts for a percentage of the business.” While the nature of the story may be factual, its presentation in the newspaper works to perpetuate the common stereotypical connection between Italians and the mafia. *Sun*, July 13, 1982, p.22.

¹⁸⁷ “Italian Hometown Settlements and the Development of an Italian Community in Toronto, 1875-1935,” p. 122.

¹⁸⁸ *Such Hardworking People*, p.58.

¹⁸⁹ “Operazione Amore,” *CHIN Radio/Television International Collection*, Archives of Ontario– C-258-1-06 – DVD 502.

moved up to Woodbridge and so on, but a lot of people [of Italian origin] went through St. Clair [to get there].”¹⁹⁰

As people trekked to their second home in the heart of Toronto’s Italian community, Rocco Calabrese emerged from his favourite Italian billiard bar on St. Clair Avenue West, where he watched the final match. He already saw the procession of flag-flying, horn-honking vehicles begin to build up in front of him, slowly travelling in loops, east and west along the stretch of that street before him. What he did not anticipate seeing, however, was what he describes as follows:

And then, when at the end of the game you came outside onto the street, and you heard all that noise and all those cars, it was as if a tempest of mosquitoes had arrived! I’m serious! All at once, they invaded St. Clair! And then, every few moments you would see a big dump truck pass by, full of people with their flags. And eventually a truck drove by with an entire DJ set-up in the back, playing music... and I guess that’s where someone got the idea to bring the speakers up onto the roof of the buildings lining the street, and they played music from up there for everybody. That’s when I got the idea to go up there too, to celebrate. But I’m telling you, it was [amazing], it lasted all day and all night! From two o’clock until midnight, then again the next day - It was a party for a week, I’m telling you, it had never happened before!¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Tony Prochilo.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Rocco Calabrese; [Trans. “*E poi quando, alla fine della partita sei uscito fuori, e sentivi quel urlo, tutte le macchine, e stato come se fosse arrivato una tempesta di mosquitoes! Da vero e! A un colpo, e stato invaso St. Clair! E poi, ai momenti vedevi passare su camion—questi camion di ‘dump truck’ li chiamavone—con bandiere, pieno di gente. E poi a la fine e arrivato uno che aveva su come tutto, un DJ, e poi di la forse e uscita la idea di quello che e salito sul roof, e a messo i speaker. E poi io o preso la idea di andare sopra la a celebrare. Ma ti dico un cosa... tutta la giornata! Dalle due fino a mezzanotte, il giorno dopo—E stato una festa per una settimana, ti dico, mai successo!*”



Figure 6. *Dump Trucks and Corso Italia Celebrations.* This photograph of two dump trucks carrying celebrating Italians with flags is printed in the July 12, 1982 issue of *Il Tevere* as one of the focal points of a spread dedicated to the celebration on *Corso Italia*. The title of the spread is “We are the Strongest in the World.” The presence of these trucks in the collection of photographs acknowledges their importance to the memory of the celebration (photographer unknown).¹⁹²

Luigi DiMario, who lived around the corner from the party, also recalls the dump truck as being important - especially its role in the crescendo of revelry as the tournament progressed:

They came by that first time with maybe five or ten people in the truck, waving their flag, and it was amazing to see! After the semi-finals, they came with more people on it. And then for the finals they were right in the middle of St. Clair - they were the only ones that were allowed in, and there were people all over this truck! That dump truck was the centre of the whole thing. I think it related to the Italians being part of the construction industry... and for me that was the focal point, that dump truck.¹⁹³

DiMario’s analysis is a good one. The dump truck would have indeed symbolized the construction industry, and the connection between that and the Italian community would have been overt and welcome - especially in a celebration of the value of Italians in Toronto. The typical working class Italian-Canadian would have seen him or herself as

¹⁹² *Il Tevere*, July 12, 1982, p. 6.

¹⁹³ Interview with Luigi DiMario.

integral to the development of the modern urban space, as there were many Italians involved in the construction efforts that had built much of the city.¹⁹⁴ When they routed the dump truck down the middle of *Corso Italia* and then draped it with the Italian flag amidst their celebration, the Italians of Toronto took ownership of this part of their identity and symbolically used it in celebratory fashion. This was indeed the focal point of the celebration because it contextualized the meaning of a World Cup win in the lives of Italians, male or female, young and old, who did not necessarily need to follow soccer in order to understand that from that day forward, being Italian would be something they could be proud of.

Daniele DiFrancesco, who sold ‘Forza Italia’ button pins on St. Clair Avenue during the celebration as a twelve year-old boy remembers preparing, hoping that Italy would win so that he could make a small fortune off of the enthusiastic fans who would come to *Corso Italia* after the game.¹⁹⁵ The *Globe & Mail* commented on such entrepreneurial exploits, saying, “Beaming policemen wearing ‘Forza Italia’ buttons marched along with them, past young men swilling beer or spraying champagne from the top of green, white and red cars. Within 10 minutes of the final whistle, dozens of street vendors began peddling ‘Italy – World Champions, 1982’ buttons and T-shirts, salami sandwiches and Italian flags.”¹⁹⁶ The Italian-flavoured articles of clothing, buttons, and flags became a fixture of this celebration and illustrated Italian pride publicly in a way that people were unaccustomed to. Through the commodification of celebration attire, Italian celebrators showed an inadvertent admiration for the capitalist society that they had experienced a sense of affluence in over the previous decade.

These memories of a celebratory atmosphere on July 11, 1982 are confirmed by the following day’s newspaper reports, describing the scenes with the same type of emphatic detail as those who remember it so vividly firsthand. *The Globe & Mail*’s front page headline article colourfully describes the scene as follows:

Soon after the 3-1 game ended, bicycles, bare feet, camera buffs, ringing bells and Italian belles, the sounds of whistles, pounding music, snapping flags and honking horns filled the street... One man even painted his beard red on the left, green on the right and white in the middle. Girls wore three ribbons in their hair and babies in strollers, oblivious to the din, bore bunting around their necks. One family displayed a large white rooster – with a red comb and red, white and green ribbons streaming from its feet. A dog and grey donkey – both draped in the Italian flag – Joined the unceasing parade, which promised to amble back and forth along St. Clair into early morning... While hundreds of teen-agers danced perilously on

¹⁹⁴ Iacovetta acknowledges this commonly recited sentiment, explaining, “Italian men derived considerable pride from the contribution they believed they had made to Toronto’s postwar progress... expressed in the phrase “the Italians, we built this country.” The self-image of the honest, hardworking Italian immigrant worker... provided an important psychological defence against their low position on the city’s occupational ladder.” *Such Hardworking People*, p. 76.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Daniele DiFrancesco.

¹⁹⁶ “Toronto’s Italians take to the streets in celebration of soccer victory.”

roof tops three stories above St. Clair – alternately screaming “Italia, Italia” or “Rossi, Rossi, Rossi” for Italy’s scoring star Paolo Rossi – men, women, children, babies in strollers, dogs draped in the Italian flag, impromptu washtub bands and old men beating three-color drums joined in a parade that stretched at least 15 city blocks.¹⁹⁷

This description attests to the presence of women and children, using colourful language to describe the celebration. It records the magnitude of the celebration, however it depicts it as a parade of exoticism. This is apparent when comparing the *Globe’s* description of the celebration to the memory of those who experienced it first-hand. Anglo-Canadian newspapers attribute certain carnivalesque qualities to it which Italian reports, while guilty of their own instances of hyperbole, lacked.¹⁹⁸ Italian reporters did not focus on animals draped in flags and people climbing lamp-posts. This suggests that Canadian journalists perceived the celebration as if it were an entertaining spectacle to behold, rather than a display of nationalism and a peaceful illustration of Canadian multiculturalism ideology.

Many photographs survive to illustrate the phenomenon described above, some accompanying the articles and others taken by some of those who were there and kept them in their private collections. A famous photograph has been blown up to mural size and hangs to this day in the front foyer of the Columbus Centre in Toronto above a more recent mural of the 2006 celebration. It was taken from the rooftop of one of the buildings lining St. Clair Avenue, capturing the sea of people with their tricoloured flags below and the smiles of nearby onlookers.

¹⁹⁷ Christie McLaren and Michael Tenzsen, “Toronto’s Italians take to streets in celebration of soccer victory,” *The Globe and Mail: Canada’s National Newspaper*, Monday, July 12, 1982, p. 1.

¹⁹⁸ For example, the claim that there were one million Italians in attendance, when there were not even that many Italians living in Toronto at the time.



Figure 7. View of the Celebration from a St. Clair Ave. Rooftop. Famous picture of the celebration on St. Clair Avenue West, on July 11, 1982 (photographer unknown).¹⁹⁹



Figure 8. Remembering the Celebrations at the Columbus Centre. A mural-sized version of the 1982 photograph hangs in the front foyer of the Columbus Centre above a panoramic vision of the 2006 celebration (photographers unknown).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ 360VirtualPhoto, "Italian World Soccer Cup Celebration, July 11, 1982," *Memory Archive*, <http://www.memoryarchive.org/en/Image:StClairPosterFrEmail.jpg> (photographer unknown), [accessed July 13, 2011].

The presence of these photographs in a primary site of Italian cultural preservation in Toronto shows their immense importance to that culture. They are displayed among other Italian artefacts, like a full-scale reproduction of a Venetian gondola and a large Pinocchio doll, all of which represent distinguished parts of Italian culture and history. On St. Clair Avenue itself, many of the Italian businesses that were open during the 1982 celebration and continue to operate today have large photographs of the World Cup celebrations displayed on their walls.



Figure 9. Photographs hanging in A.C. Ranch on Corso Italia. Posters of the 1982 Italian squad and the celebrations following their 1982 World Cup win hang on the walls of an Italian sports bar on St. Clair Avenue West (photographers unknown).²⁰¹

Regardless of their motivation, there is no denying that national team soccer affected most Italians living in Toronto to some degree. Paolo Canciani explains his understanding of the role of soccer victory in the lives of Italian immigrants:

What the Italian national soccer team did for the Identity of Italians living in Canada was never done by any government, organization, or project. [Figuratively speaking] I believe that of the people that came here in the 1950s, 60s, and even 70s, about 90% were poor, culturally. This was because that was the reality of Italy; a country that was just coming out of

²⁰⁰ Photograph taken by Riccardo Lo Monaco, Columbus Centre, Toronto (July 7, 2011).

²⁰¹ Photograph taken by Riccardo Lo Monaco, A.C. Ranch, Toronto (June 9, 2011).

a war in 1945, taking ten years to try to rebuild what was destroyed. It was agricultural, because we didn't have many other resources—a small piece of land with 50 million people, and they were making 8, 9, 10, 11 children per family—to go and work in the [field]... At first these people would have been embarrassed about being Italian. For them, Italy was not [the cities of] Milano, Roma, Venezia, [the soccer teams] Inter, Milan, Juventus, [or the brands] Ferrari, Gucci, and Fiorucci. For them, Italy was just the countryside and it was not of any importance. Their conception of Italy was restricted to the locality and the strong kinship network of the aunt, the mother-in-law, *et cetera*; it had poverty and limited facilities... So in soccer they discovered an element of pride. [Canadians] no longer said “number one,” they said “numero uno!”²⁰²

Soccer became one of the few ways that many Italians living in Canada could find positive links in their heritage where their own memories offered none. Canciani's declaration is echoed by the front page headline of the *Toronto Sun* the day after the Italian World Cup victory. Above a large photograph of the street party from the top of a building on St. Clair Avenue West, the headline reads, “Jubilant Italians let Metro know they're... NUMERO UNO!”²⁰³ In the same day's edition of the Italian-Canadian newspaper, *Il Tevere*, the sentiment is presented in even stronger language, “We are the strongest in the world: The city of Toronto gone crazy for the triumphant Azzurri.”²⁰⁴ The contrast in coverage styles between Canadian and Italian-Canadian newspaper reports of the victory is important and essential to the construction of the Italian community's ‘collective memory.’ In the former headline, the Italian words are incorporated into an English text to symbolize the aspired-to acculturated integration possible through multiculturalism. The headline is careful to show it is the Italians who claim they are number one – there is no admission of this to be a fact on behalf of the newspaper. The latter article, however, is precisely that declaration that Italians are better than all others. There is no connection to soccer in the initial headline, and no distinction between who was celebrating and who was not in the claim that the entire city had celebrated the win. So which one did Italian-Canadian consumers believe and how can these both contribute to the construction of a positive Italian identity in Toronto?

²⁰² Interview with Paolo Canciani; [Trans.] “*Quello che ha fatto la nazionale per l'identita degli Italiani nel estero non lo ha fatto nessun' governo, nessun' organizzazione, nessun' progetto mai. Io credo che la gente che e venuta qui 1950, 1960, even 1970s, 90% was poor people culturally, because that was the reality of Italy. It was just coming out from a war in 1945, ten years to try to rebuild what was destroyed. It was agricultural, because we didn't have any kind of resource. A small piece of land with 50 million people, and they were making children—8, 9, 10, 11 per family—to go and work in the [field] ... prima si vergognavano di essere Italiano. Per loro, L'Italia non era Milano, Roma, Venezia, Inter, Milan, Juventus, Ferrari, Gucci, e Fiorucci, era il paese... non era d'importanza, la zia, la commare, poverty, no facilities of any kind... invece [in calcio] hanno scoperto un “proud to be.” Non si diceva piu “number one,” si diceva “numero uno!”*”

²⁰³ *Sun*, July 12, 1982, p. 1.

²⁰⁴ *Il Tevere*, July 12, 1982, p. 6-7.

Chapter Four: “All the fuss:” Perspectives of the 1982 Italian victory through the press

More than a hundred thousand exuberant Italians carried the glow of victory well into last night, dancing, singing and parading in a riot of color and noise down Metro Toronto streets... People stood on cars, stabbed their green, white and red flags toward the sky, jumped up and down, squealed, kissed, and hugged. - Long live Italy, Champion of the World - read the signs plastered on cars and people.²⁰⁵

While it is unclear in the above excerpt whether or not *Globe & Mail* reporters McLaren and Tenszen intended to portray positively or negatively the ‘riot of color and noise’ in Toronto on July 11, 1982, one thing is for certain: that the event was significant enough to merit a front-page story and photo on Canada’s national newspaper publication the next day. The event was evidently special to Italians, the city of Toronto, and Canadians in general. The sheer numbers of people gathering in the two Italian headquarters in the city of Toronto after the Italian national soccer team defeated West Germany to win the World Cup - estimates have been as high as 300,000 - was unprecedented and impressive.²⁰⁶ The way the media covered this event is therefore an appropriate place to think about the possible reasons for such an awesome celebration of culture and its lasting effects on both the Italian community and Toronto as a whole.

One of the *Globe*’s biggest competitors, *The Toronto Star*, echoed this awe in its own July 12, 1982 headline, but from a different, more critical perspective. The *Star*’s Jim Foster and Tim Harper focussed on the street party, rather than the match that caused it. Accompanying a large photograph of dancing people clad in the green, white and red of the Italian flag, the front page headlines read, “250,000 toast Italy’s soccer victory: Italy’s World Cup triumph sparks biggest Metro street shindig in years.”²⁰⁷ It confirms the immensity of this public cultural display, yet reveals an inherent critique in its description of it. Its authors begin by exclaiming, “Metro hasn’t seen such a shindig since World War II ended. And all because 11 men from Italy beat 11 men from West Germany in Madrid in a soccer game – a sport that can’t make money here.”²⁰⁸ This front page article satirized the event and the festivities, downplaying the importance of this celebration for Toronto’s Italian community. It did not acknowledge the role of multiculturalism in this kind of party, which might not have taken place without the positive steps taken in the preceding years by governments, citizens, and activist groups

²⁰⁵ “Toronto’s Italians take to streets in celebration of soccer victory.”

²⁰⁶ Nicholas Harney estimates it at 300,000 in *Eh Paesan!*, p.118; The people interviewed provide various numbers, from 100,000 to 1 million. Newspapers also have varying counts. This paper will avoid an attempt at establishing an exact number, since a spontaneously assembled mass such as this would have been impossible to count. The important fact here is that the number of people who celebrated is unanimously remembered to be larger than anything ever witnessed before in Toronto. On that note, the most consistently represented number, and that used by a scholar of the subject more than a decade later, is approximately 300,000.

²⁰⁷ Jim Foster and Tim Harper, “Italy’s World Cup triumph sparks biggest Metro street shindig in years,” *Star*, Monday, July 12, 1982, A1.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

toward creating a multicultural nation. Instead, the article dwells on the perceived ridiculousness of this marginal game causing people to react in such an extravagant way. It suggests that it is obvious that Canadians do not care about the game since it is not among the most profitable forms of entertainment available in Toronto. The authors confirm the synonymy between soccer and ethnicity by alienating those who celebrated the victory as foreigners rather than embracing their cultural ecstasy as the vital component to Canadian multiculturalism.

Despite the *Toronto Star*'s inherent indifference towards soccer, its article addressed an issue that most Italian-Canadian newspapers as well as the *Globe & Mail* reporters had circumvented - the reality of inter-cultural tensions on the day of the celebrations. While the image of peace and friendliness lives on in the memory of the Italians who participated, some non-Italian journalists in Toronto recorded a different story. For example, *Star* reporters Foster and Harper revealed that, "One group of celebrating Italians were astounded when a rifle bullet ripped through the fender of their car. Police said the shot was apparently fired by a man annoyed by the noise."²⁰⁹ Instead of admitting to these sorts of rare but nonetheless existent incidents of intercultural problems during the festivities, Italian-Canadian reporters devoted themselves to showing how Italians were now accepted and respected in Canadian society. The reporters in *The Toronto Star* demonstrated no such agenda, and therefore had more liberty to display all sides of the story—even to bring the problems to the forefront in an attempt at creating a more marketable story.

Il Corriere Canadese recorded some of the intercultural tensions on July 11, however its perspective on the matter spun them into a few relatively insignificant episodes, easily dealt with and disregarded by the Italian community, much like Joe Corleone's father dealt with the unfriendly 'mangiacake'. A fourth-page article by Giovanni Scarola commented on fans of the vanquished German team:

There were a few German groups, here and there, that waved their flags: we noticed one at Dufferin and Bloor, and the odd car that drove by St. Clair and had the nerve to give a "thumbs down" signal. But the utmost expression of not knowing how to lose came from the very few who felt the need to show their middle fingers, a gesture that remained ignored [by Italians] for as long as possible (demonstrating civility for those who do not know it). The gesture was then returned once it became an intentional provocation."²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ "Italy's World Cup triumph sparks biggest Metro street shindig in years."

²¹⁰ Giovanni Scarola, *Il Corriere Canadese*, July 12-13, 1982, p. 4 [Trans.]: "C'era qualche gruppo Tedesco, qua' e la, che agitava la sua bandiera: ne abbiamo notato uno a Dufferin e Bloor, abbiamo notato qualche auto che e passata presso St. Clair che addirittura ha fatto il gesto del "pollice verso." Ma il Massimo del non saper perdere e stato dimostrato da qualcuno che ha mostrato il ditto medio all'insu', gesto che e stato ignorato al finche possibile (perche non dimostrare civiltà' a chi non la conosce) e poi ricambiato quando e diventato provocazione voluta."

This coverage of intercultural tension makes it seem as though Italians were unaffected by opposing German team fans who disapproved of their public celebration. Diminishing the number of German fans in comparison to the massive numbers of Italians shows that the opponents were deemed to be irrelevant during the festivities. Suggesting that Italians ignored ‘middle-finger’ gestures for as long as possible to demonstrate civility for those who were not civil implies a certain self-perceived sense of Italian superiority. Then, to eliminate any appearance of weakness, the journalist suggests that Italians knew when to defend themselves against provocation and prevailed in any of these petty intercultural clashes. After this, the article emphasizes the peacefulness and civility of the festivities and plays off the aforementioned incidents as anomalies in an otherwise exceptionally friendly affair.²¹¹

The lack of German presence in Toronto strikes one as odd, given that they were supposed to be the third largest ethnic group in Canada, after the British and French. James Lemon shows that although German migration of significant scale had ended by 1981, they still composed almost three per cent of the total population of Toronto.²¹² Manfred J. von Vulte explains that since the German movement into Canada took close to 300 years, as opposed to the large and more recent short spurts of Italian arrivals within less than a decade, they had a longer time to integrate into Canadian society. Since they had begun to arrive so early in so many other areas of the country - e.g., in the Kitchener-Waterloo area - there was no predominantly German neighbourhood in Toronto.²¹³ von Vulte argues that the final cause of the “disappearance” of the German ethnic group in Toronto began in 1914 and ended in 1945. The German role in the two World Wars caused many of its expatriates in Canada to choose assimilation before enduring the abuse of disapproving Canadians.²¹⁴ So it was not a case of Germans not existing in Toronto by the time of the final in 1982, it had more to do with their fractured sense of identity resulting from a multi-generational presence in the country and the effects of WWII. Moreover, they did not have a place to unite publicly like the Italians did; there was no German equivalent of *Little Italy* for any sort of celebration to occur, whereas the availability of this had proven vital to the consolidation of Italian identity.

Rather than focus on intercultural clashes between Italian and German Canadian fans, the *Toronto Star* drew attention to and emphasized the instances of crime and arrests by the police related to the celebrations. Foster and Harper wrote, “There were a number of break-ins during the celebration but a police spokesman at 13 Division said it will be a while before a total count is available... There were several arrests for creating a disturbance and one man was charged with assaulting police.”²¹⁵ This front page article brought the trouble associated with the celebration to the forefront of public discussion, rather than hiding it on the fourth page, as had *Il Corriere Canadese*. Some pages later in

²¹¹ Giovanni Scarola, *Il Corriere Canadese*, July 12-13, 1982, p. 4.

²¹² James Lemon, “Census of Canada, 1911-1981,” *Toronto Since 1918*, (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1985), p.196.

²¹³ As noted in Manfred J. von Vulte, “Appendix 8,” *Where Have All of Toronto’s Germans Gone?* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2004), p.87.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.71-4.

²¹⁵ “Italy’s World Cup triumph sparks biggest Metro street shindig in years.”

the edition, the *Toronto Star* elaborated on its front page story with a report on knife fights between celebrators and bystanders and others charged with assaulting the police.²¹⁶ Toronto police issued up to 200 tickets for unnecessary noise and there were numerous counts of anti-Italian demonstrations by people who were annoyed with the celebrations. They burnt Italian flags, complained to the police, and put up discriminatory signs. Regardless, Italians in Toronto understandably wished to portray their celebrations as free of trouble or crime, in part to counteract one of the stereotypes commonly held of Italians as criminals, and in part to demonstrate that they were at par with - if not better-behaved than - the rest of Toronto's citizenry.²¹⁷

One week later, *Il Corriere Canadese* featured a fourth-page article lamenting the mistreatment of an Italian-Canadian celebrator. "More than a week after our community's Italian World Cup victory celebrations," it wrote, "new allegations have emerged against the police for misconduct against celebrators. For example, Giovanni Savoia has yet to report numerous injuries after a police car ran him over."²¹⁸ Rather than highlighting the instances of good work done by Toronto police, or admitting to the cases in which the culprits were Italian, this Italian-Canadian newspaper shows the wrongful doing of the police officer. Doubtlessly inspired by the recent introduction of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms months earlier, the article is essentially about the right afforded to Canadians to fight police misconduct and how the Italians could and should take advantage of it since they are an integral part of Canada. This victimizes the Italians and separates them from traditionally held stereotypes of criminality or incivility. The choice to include such a trivial story in their newspaper appears to retaliate against the *Star's* earlier reports of arrests and incidents of civil misbehaviour during the celebration, albeit indirectly because it makes no mention of Italians ever being arrested during the celebrations on July 11th. Rather than accept that there were moments in which Italians deviated from the desired image of respectful and peaceful celebration, *Il Corriere Canadese* makes it seem as though the Toronto police ought to be blamed for doing their job poorly.

The Italian-Canadian press's endeavours to preserve an image of peaceful celebration were well-received among Italians and have been effectively integrated into the collective memory. Those interviewed for this study proudly declared how well-behaved the Italians were during the celebrations, often basing their entire stories on this point. They laboured to remember any instances of trouble between Italians and others, usually opting to instead tell a story of how people who were not even Italian had joined in the celebrations. For example, Silvio Signori says, "There were lots of Canadian,

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Nicholas Harney discusses this criminal stereotype in *Eh Paesan!*

²¹⁸ "Il poliziotto che picchia va denunciato," *Il Corriere Canadese*, July 19-20, 1982, p. 4. [Trans.]: "A piu di una settimana di distanza dalle celebrazioni della nostra Comunita' per la vittoria degli azzurri ai campionati mondiali di calcio, nuove presunte vittime di maltrattamenti dap arte della polizia emergono a Toronto. E' oggi di scena Giovanni Savoia che avrebbe riportato numerose escoriazioni dopo essere stato addirittura investito da un'auto della polizia."

Blacks, etc. on St. Clair with the Italian flag!”²¹⁹ *Il Tevere*, whose head office was situated on St. Clair Avenue and whose goal was to reflect the views of the population of that area first and foremost, featured a front page article a week after the festivities to highlight this, calling the event ‘successful.’ It elaborated, claiming, “by successful we mean jubilant participation from not only the Italo-Canadians but from Canadians of all backgrounds. Imagine. People from diverse cultures joining as one, as Canadians to celebrate the victory of the Azzurri team. What could be more Canadian than that?”²²⁰ The *Globe & Mail* also mentions this type of interaction, “Two Greek girls walked by with green, white and red flags. ‘We’re not even Italian,’ one said. ‘We can’t beat ’em so we join ’em.’”²²¹ This illustrates the opposite end of the spectrum. Where the *Star* stressed the intercultural clashes and *Il Corriere* dismissed them as insignificant, the *Globe* embraced the apparent contagion of the Italian celebration, showing how it attracted people of many different ethnicities to enjoy the strength of multiculturalism together. *Il Tevere* calls this ‘Canadian’.

Reporting from both the *Globe* and the *Star* showed how people of other nationalities celebrated alongside the Italians, but the *Star* took more care to portray the Italians positively. In fact, its subtle acknowledgement of the inclusiveness of the celebrations comes only in the caption for a photograph showing a Lithuanian girl celebrating along with the Italians. A pessimist might lament the use of a Lithuanian on the front page to illustrate an Italian party, while an optimist could take the photograph as evidence of the celebration’s successful embodiment of multiculturalism. The *Star* takes neither position as the caption reads, “That’s Italian: Ginny Macevicius may be Lithuanian but she still celebrated Italy’s 3-1 World Cup soccer victory over the West German team yesterday by dancing in the street with a jubilant Rocco Staffiero.”²²² The paper provided no analysis explaining why this image was striking, nor did it mention the relative peacefulness of intercultural mingling during the celebrations. Thus it remains unclear whether the woman is only involved in the celebrations because of her relation to the man she is dancing with, or whether her jubilation reflects her personal feelings of happiness with the Italian win. Regardless, her photograph survives as a testament to the *Star*’s reluctance up until that point to acknowledge the Italian celebration as a demonstration of the growing success of multiculturalism in Canada.

In sharp contrast to the *Star*’s coverage, the *Globe & Mail*, with an obviously pro-multiculturalism agenda, emphasized and embraced the Italian celebration. A cover page article on the day following the finals quoted a police officer as saying, “‘Everybody’s been having a good time – no trouble at all... There’s never any trouble with the Italians. They’re all with a family group.’”²²³ This police officer’s description fits in with Iacovetta’s analysis of the Italian-Canadian tendency to enjoy recreational time within the family network. It also illustrates the difference between this celebration and previous

²¹⁹ Interview with Silvio Signori [Trans.]: “*A St. Clair ci stavano parecchi Canadesi, Negri... si, con la bandierina Italiana!*”

²²⁰ *Il Tevere*, July 26, 1982, p.1.

²²¹ “Toronto’s Italians take to the streets in celebration of soccer victory.”

²²² “250,000 Toast Italy’s Soccer Victory,” Photo by Michael Stuparyk, *Star*, Monday, July 12, 1982, A1.

²²³ “Toronto’s Italians take to the streets in celebration of soccer victory.”

sport-related functions in Canada and elsewhere in the world. The 1982 Italian celebration in Toronto incorporated men, women, and children, whereas sport celebrations had typically been sites of aggressive masculinity that made them unwelcoming for females. The relative peacefulness of the celebration is feasibly attributable to an alternative crowd composition, and the motivation for this reality has to do with the gender-proof involvement of nationalism. The police officer quoted in the *Globe* shows an implicit support for the Italian-Canadian community through his willingness to participate in the celebration, making it seem as if police presence was only necessary to protect the stretch of road used for the celebration from incoming traffic. *Il Tevere's* commentary on the lack of need for police enforcement satirizes the officers by captioning a photograph of a small group of them standing around calmly with a fictional quotation, reading, ““Okay boys, this job’s a piece of cake!””²²⁴ This colloquial expression aims to show that the police had an easy job and the photograph intended to prove it by showing how they had nothing to do during the festivities. Another prominent Toronto newspaper, albeit one with a more notoriously tabloid style approach to the news, the *Toronto Sun*, shared the *Globe's* and *Il Tevere's* view. It included a photograph featuring two police officers, showing that they had so little to do in terms of crowd control during the celebration that they could afford to wave flags.

In retrospect, the benevolent treatment by the Canadian press clearly could develop into a point of pride when the 1982 Italian World Cup celebrations in Toronto are compared to those of the next year, when the city’s Canadian Football League (CFL) franchise, the *Argonauts*, won the Grey Cup. The same paper that smiled upon Italians in 1982, *The Globe & Mail*, featured a front page headline the following day reading, “Police called in as party turns violent.”²²⁵ The story uses words like “wild” and “pandemonium” to describe the event, with notes of police officers being assaulted and acts of vandalism throughout the city’s core lasting throughout the night. Twenty people were arrested amidst illegal public alcoholism and drug use, laws were disregarded, and a full-fledged riot was at hand.²²⁶ The proceedings of this celebration, as recorded by the *Globe & Mail*, are drastically more chaotic than those of the Italian-Canadian community in the summer of the previous year. Mindful of this, it is easy to see why Italians remember their 1982 celebration with such pride; not only did their soccer team make them the best in the world in a symbolic sense, but their *paesani* in Toronto made them more respectable by comparison to their cohabitant Canadian sports fans who rioted after the Grey Cup victory just one year later in the same city. Carmine Marcantonio recalls this clearly in making a comparison with the Italians:

We gave a demonstration as a community, to do it in a very civilized manner... that became evident in the media, that when the Italians celebrated on St. Clair, there was no vandalism, no injuries, nothing major happened. Instead, when the Argos won one year, there were riots and

²²⁴ *Il Tevere*, July 12, 1982, p. 11; Photo by Marco Lista.

²²⁵ Jock Ferguson, Neil A. Campbell, and Philip King, “Police called in as party turns violent,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 28, 1983, p.1.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

there was vandalism and violence on Yonge Street. So that showed that as a community, we were very mature we could celebrate with joy and laughter, without causing any pain to anybody. That was very special to me.²²⁷

Silvio Signori and Giuseppe Piola also make the comparison through their collaborative recollection:

Signori: We gave an educational lesson to these Canadians! 200,000 people and nothing [negative] happened! Then, if you think about how they make a mess downtown when they win a Stanley Cup [or Grey cup].

Piola: They break cars; it's a disaster! Instead we, 200,000 people on St. Clair alone without even counting College Street [did not cause any damage]...

Signori: St. Clair was the centre... but the party was all over Toronto!²²⁸

This, all true, despite the irony that many who celebrated with the Italians in 1982 also celebrated with the 'Canadians' in 1983.²²⁹ Evidently, the family orientation of the Italian festivities versus the predominantly male attendance of the Argos' victory celebration in the city remains at the heart of the difference in celebratory behaviour. Nonetheless, the direct contrast between the *Globe & Mail's* coverage of the "wild" 1983 Grey Cup and "joyous" 1982 World Cup celebrations gives Italians the self-perceived right to remember July 11th, 1982, with pride.

The Canadian newspapers, although attentive to the problems associated with large crowds in urban spaces, generally agreed with the notion of 'peaceful celebration' expressed in the Italian-Canadian editions. Yet the Italian and Canadian newspapers attribute different levels of importance to the event. The *Globe & Mail* and the *Toronto Star* both featured articles during the final days of the tournament which openly questioned the affection people felt for soccer. The *Star's* Ken McKee claimed that the tournament was just a fad; that people seemed more interested in the sport than usual because television coverage simply heightened their awareness of it, making it a novelty. In his view, the game had actually failed at the local level and did not deserve the attention it had been receiving.²³⁰ In similar style, the *Globe's* Al Strachan criticized the tournament for failing to provide the spectacle that it had promised, claiming, "the

²²⁷ Interview with Carmine Marcantonio.

²²⁸ Interview with Giuseppe Piola and Silvio Signori. [Trans.]: "*Signori: Abbiamo dato una scuola di educazione a questi Canadesi! Tutto questi 200,000 persone, e non e successo niente! Poi, se pensi quando vincono lo Stanley Cup e fanno un macello downtown. Piola: Rompono le machine; un casino! Invece noi, 200,000 persone solo li a St. Clair, senza contare a College. Signori: St. Clair e stata il centro proprio... pero la festa e stata tutto Toronto!*"

²²⁹ In his interview, Italian-Canadian Marco Ricci admits to celebrating the Italian World Cup victory in 1982, as well as the Argonauts' Grey Cup victory in 1983, but shows no disdain for the latter celebration, calling them both 'fantastic'.

²³⁰ Ken McKee, "Don't read World Cup interest as soccer interest," *The Toronto Star*, July 11, 1982, E1.

officiating was terrible; the format laughable; and the excitement minimal.”²³¹ Strachan concluded harshly, “Perhaps if you’re Italian or German the World Cup was thrilling. But to North Americans, who were getting their first real taste of the World Cup extravaganza and who were watching the games simply in the hope that they’d be entertained, the over-all tournament was, for the most part, a disappointment.”²³² These provocative remarks echoed some of the frustrations felt by many Canadians. But they also point to some of the frustrations held by soccer lovers, who felt cast aside by ‘Canadian sports experts’ who devalued their game. The journalists’ opinions were integral to the creation of an urban culture in Toronto, especially for an Italian ethnic one, which metaphorically centred itself on the successes of its soccer team during international tournaments. For this reason, journalism and the opinions of the reporters are essential to the history of Italian nationalism in Toronto.²³³

Articles in the leading Italian-Canadian newspaper, *Il Corriere Canadese*, redressed Strachan’s *Globe & Mail* comments, retaliating with a resentment-filled Sport section front-page article of its own, “The Italian Victory and the English Comments: Many letters of protest opposing what was said against the Azzurri in England and in Toronto.” The article lamented the disrespectful opinion published by the Canadian national newspaper.²³⁴ It commented, “It should not surprise anyone that the Italian victory was unpopular among the English in England, but what no one expected is that the criticism should emerge even here in Toronto.” It asserted that Strachan’s ignorance has resulted in a misinformed and inaccurate article which skews the public perception of the World Cup’s ability to entertain and connect with the multiethnic composition of metropolitan Toronto in a way that no other sport had: “The title alone is enough to show that Mr. Strachan is not well-versed in soccer-related materials. The content confirms the suspicion that aside from this journalist not having understood anything of what has occurred in Spain, his anti-soccer commentary is in fact just a pro-local sport propaganda piece, favouring sports like [American] football and baseball.”²³⁵ In a letter to the editor of *Il Corriere*, one citizen, Giovanni Rossi pointed out how Anglo-Canadian journalists deemed the Italian victory - which had allowed for so much pride and joy in the Italian community in Toronto - to be laughable, pointing to their cultural intolerance.²³⁶ But

²³¹ Al Strachan, “What’s all the World Cup fuss about?” *The Globe & Mail*, July 12, 1982, S2.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ The disagreement between the Italian-Canadian community and Canadian sport journalists over the relative merits of the sports integral to their respective cultures has continued to be central to the cultural differences present between each group. The most recent example came in the June 17th, 2011, issue of Vaughan, Ontario’s *Lo Specchio* Italian-Canadian weekly. In light of riots in Vancouver after their National Hockey League (NHL) franchise’s playoff final loss, the newspaper’s front page features a large photograph of the chaos under a headline that reads. “*E lo chiamano sport... - And they call this sport...*” Although the article goes on to mention problems with match-fixing in European soccer as well, its initial impact sends quite a one-sided message suggesting two things: ice hockey is not a civilized sport, and like the 1983 Argos fans, Canadians have no dignity in spectatorship when compared to the 1982 and 2006 Italians. These feelings arguably begun after the 1982 World Cup and evidently have not subsided.

²³⁴ *Il Corriere Canadese*, 15-16 Luglio, 1982, p. 7; [Trans]: “*La vittoria dell’Italia e i commenti inglesi: Molte lettere di protesta per cio’ che hanno scritto contro gli azzurri sia in Inghilterra che a Toronto.*”

²³⁵ *Il Corriere Canadese*, 15-16 Luglio, 1982, p. 7; [Trans.].

²³⁶ Giovanni Rossi, *Il Corriere Canadese*, 15-16 Luglio, 1982, p. 7; [Trans.].

xenophobic attitudes existed on both sides of this debate. In a letter to the editor, another citizen, Giovanni Giampaolo, explained his feelings of immense joy and pride at having been witness to his own national team defeating “the violent English fans, the vain Germans, the conceited Brazilians,” revealing his own negative attitudes towards cultures in the metropolis.²³⁷

When, on the 19th of July, the *Star* published an article that spoke positively about Italians in Canada, it spoke about the Italian community’s integrationist endeavours through its post-game celebrations. *Il Corriere Canadese* noticed this, gently chastising those who finally acknowledged its community:

Better late than never! It has taken an eternity for an English-language newspaper to understand that Italians can be “good Italians and excellent Canadian citizens”... *Il Corriere*, since its birth (27 years ago) has always proclaimed on its header, the meaningful motto “Fiercely Canadian, proudly Italian.” This is because its founder, Dan Ianuzzi, had intuited the potent force of ethnic communities in a new Canadian society, predicting the necessity of multiculturalism policy in a bilingual nation. With the Italian national team’s victory at the World Cup of Soccer in Madrid and the successive explosion of joy and exhilaration... many newspapers have commented on the possible significance of these explosions of patriotic pride. Not all of these comments have been positive, (see for example, Al Strachan’s reactions on page S2 of the 12 July 1982 edition of the *Globe & Mail*: an infinite scarcity in soccer knowledge and an absolute lack of contact with ethnic communities). Meanwhile the brief article of comment from the *Star* – Monday, 19 July 1982, page 2 – attributing a positive notion to the Italian manifestation in Toronto after the World Cup victory, captures the multicultural motivations most often expressed in *Il Corriere Canadese*, copying this newspaper’s motto exactly... Frank Jones of the *Star* rightly interprets the “re-awakening” of people of Italian origin as an affirmation that Italian pride does not, by any means, equal any sort of sentimental distancing from Canada: if anything, it enriches multiculturalism.²³⁸

²³⁷ Giovanni Giampaolo, *Il Corriere Canadese*, 15-16 Luglio, 1982, p. 7; [Trans.].

²³⁸ *Il Corriere Canadese*, July 22-23, 1982, p. 1-2; [Trans.]: “Meglio tardi che mai! C’è voluto la bellezza di un’eternità, ad un giornale di lingua inglese di Toronto, per capire che gli italiani possono essere “bravi italiani e ottimi cittadini canadesi”... *il Corriere*, sin dalla sua nascita (27 anni fa) ha proclamato sulla sua testata, il significativo motto “Fiercely Canadian, proudly Italian”. Questo perché il suo fondatore Dan Ianuzzi, aveva intuito la forza portante degli etnici in una nuova società canadese, prevedendo inoltre la necessità di una politica multiculturalista in una nazione bilingue. Con la vittoria della squadra Italiana ai Mondiali di Calcio a Madrid e le successive esplosioni di gioia e di esilarazione... molti giornali han commentato sul possibile significato di tali esplosioni di fierezza patriottica. Non tutti i commenti son risultati positivi, (vedi per esempio, sul *Globe & Mail*, a pagina S2, 12 luglio 1982 le reazioni di Al Strachan: una infinita povertà di cultura calcistica ed una mancanza assoluta di contatti con le comunità etniche). Mentre il “corsivo” dello *Star* – lunedì 19 luglio 1982, pagina 2 – dando una nota positiva alle manifestazioni degli italiani di Toronto, dopo la vittoria del Campionato Mondiale, riprende i motivi

Il Corriere's attention to Toronto's World Cup celebrations shows this event's importance to the journalists working for a paper whose agenda since its inception – contrary to Clifford Jansen's apparently erroneous assertions - had been to find ways of integrating Italians into Canadian society in a multicultural fashion. To them, the Italian victory was a most important catalyst for the integration of the Italian people into Canadian society.

The contradictory nature of the arguments in the newspapers in the days that followed the World Cup reveal much about the differences between how the Canadian and Italian-Canadian presses conceptualized the event's significance in 1982. Both recognized the immensity of the crowd. They marvelled at the unprecedented gathering of thousands of Italians in the name of a sport that remained marginal in Canada. They appreciated the party's perceived spontaneity, the colours of the flags, the joy and happiness, and the expression of multiculturalism staged in an urban Canadian public place. However, for the Canadian press, the celebration was just that: a marvel. They treated it like something fun and strange, but they quite clearly did not understand it. This is what resulted in the difference of opinions over the validity of the sport and tournament itself, the opposing perspectives on the incidents of violence and unlawfulness, and the lack of recognition of the extent and significance of intercultural tensions. The Italian-Canadian journalists sought to portray the World Cup and the celebration in a way specifically important for the identity construction of their own community. For example, when *Il Tevere*, responded to "rumours that Italo-Canadians are unpatriotic towards Canada, that Italian sports take priority over Canadian sports, that the celebration was un-Canadian."²³⁹ It refuted these sentiments, saying, "We find it very hard to accept accusations such as these that have developed over one of the most joyous (and not mention non-government funded) celebrations Toronto, and maybe even Canada has ever seen. The celebration... was an incredible happening, completely unexpected, unplanned and unimaginable. And it was a tremendous success."²⁴⁰ Italian-Canadian journalists' motivations and outlook were different from that of the Canadian press, and like in this example from *Il Tevere*, their beliefs permeated the kinds of articles they published. Above all, they saw this event as instrumentally important to the development of identity, treating it seriously and differently from how the Canadian press was simply entertained by it - in an almost mockingly appreciative manner.

•

multiculturali più volte espressi dal Corriere Canadese, copiando quasi il motto del quotidiano in lingua italiana "Fiercely Canadian, proudly Italian". Giustamente Frank Jones dello Star, interpretando "il risveglio" delle origini culturali italiane, afferma che l'orgoglio di essere oriundi italiani, non significa per nulla distanziarsi sentimentalmente dal Canada: piuttosto ha valore di arricchimento multiculturale."

²³⁹ *Il Tevere*, July 26, 1982, p.1.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Globalisation is blurring national styles, but tradition, perpetuated by coaches, players, pundits and fans, is strong enough that they remain distinguishable... every nation came fairly quickly to recognise its strengths... Brazilian football is all about flair and improvisation, but it looks yearningly at the defensive organisation of the Italians. Italian football is all about cynicism and tactical intelligence, but it admires and fears the physical courage of the English. English football is all about tenacity and energy, but it feels it ought to ape the technique of the Brazilians.²⁴¹

It is a widely accepted truth in the soccer world that each national team plays the game according to its own stereotypical style. According to Chamberlain, the English-born coach of the 1980 Canadian national squad selected players from different ethnic backgrounds for each position on the field according to the stereotypical strengths and weaknesses attributed to each nation of origin. He then called this an appropriate display of Canadian multiculturalism.²⁴² During the World Cup, *The Toronto Star* featured articles informed by the belief that each nation plays soccer differently, introducing the finalists according to their labels. An article splashed all over the front page of the sports section on the day of the finals exclaimed, “It’s Italy’s elegance vs. Germany’s precision.”²⁴³ Coupled with the clichéd theory about what nationality means to playing style, the headlines and articles introduced the game as a theatre spectacle. The report says, “Now the stage is set for the ultimate showdown between the methodical German approach and the sharp-edged delicacy of the rampant Italians.”²⁴⁴ The oxymoronic description of a delicate, yet rampant Italian team combines two common stereotypes held about Italians, who were often portrayed as hot-headed or rash, yet stylish by virtue of Italian high culture art, fashion, and design. This is the perspective of the mainstream Canadian press, imposing value judgements on a nation based on the play of their soccer team—or perhaps deriving these values from stereotypical evaluations of the nation and attributing the team with them.

The Italian press, being intrinsically part of the ethnic group, operated using similar principles in entirely different ways. In Italy, the tradition of writing about athletes with the intention of revealing something about the nations they represent is as old as sports journalism itself. The surviving tendency to write about sports using theatrical or martial language originated during the Interwar years, under the guidance of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini’s propaganda mills. Press administrators recognized the media’s potential to create a shared national identity among those it described. Crolley and Hand explain this process arguing that, “A ‘culture of nationality’ is developed, shaped, even inculcated by the media in this respect which, therefore, contribute to the maintenance of a set of shared cultural values which serve to reinforce a consensual

²⁴¹ Jonathan Wilson, *Inverting the Pyramid: The History of Football Tactics*, (Great Britain: Orion Books, 2008), p. 6.

²⁴² Chamberlain, p.144.

²⁴³ “The world is their stage,” *The Toronto Star*, July 11, 1982, E1.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

perception of shared unity.”²⁴⁵ Oftentimes these events are sports-related, and in particular, soccer-related. For this reason, media scholars have interpreted soccer-writing as a good way of encoding discussions of identity. It has been particularly effective for these ends in the Italian context ever since football’s popularity surged around the late 1920s.

Mussolini notoriously tinkered with the game and the press throughout the latter half of the Interwar years. To generate a hegemonic consensus for Fascist rule and breed a strong sense of nationalism among Italians in the 1930s he re-developed the social recreation infrastructure in Italy.²⁴⁶ He understood that many Italians enjoyed the British import, football, but felt this was problematic during such a sensitive period in the design of a strong and unified Italian nation-state. Thus it became crucial that football would be domesticated and Italianized by re-inventing its roots in an unrelated medieval game called *Calcio Fiorentino*.²⁴⁷ Through his carefully engineered ploy to control the leisure time of the Italian masses, he also ensured that Italy would adopt football and then prove her prowess by hosting and ‘winning’ the second FIFA World Cup tournament ever staged in 1934.²⁴⁸ This may be an acceptable explanation for why a common misconception among Italians is that they, and not the English, were the inventors of the game. Rocco Calabrese, while on a tangential diatribe about the differences experienced between the English and the Italians in Toronto surrounding the game, made it quite clear with a smug snicker that, “*il calcio lo abbiamo inventato noi!* – [Italians] invented soccer!”²⁴⁹ This belief derives from a ‘collective’ sense of memory and could be a result of Mussolini’s efforts in the Interwar years.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ A. Higson, “National Identity and the Media,” in Briggs and Cobley, *The Media*, p.354, as cited in Liz Crolley and David Hand, *Football, Europe and the Press*, (London: Frank Cass, 2002), p.8.

²⁴⁶ Mussolini had leisure time re-organized on a mass scale by the implementing para-governmental agencies called *operas* where Italians were expected to attend after work to engage in a series of recreational activities. The goal of these age and sex-specific organizations was to breed a healthier and stronger population with which to ensure the survival of the race. For more, see: Victoria de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass organization of leisure in Fascist Italy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

²⁴⁷ *Calcio Fiorentino* was a 16th-Century Florentine game played in the town square during festivals. There were many more players on each side and the ball was only a trivial addition to a game that was more resonant with modern day wrestling than soccer. Mussolini drew connections between the modern game and this game from the middle ages, thereby renaming soccer ‘*calcio*’ in the Italian language, a name which continues to be used most commonly today. This is discussed further in: John Foot, *Winning at all Costs: A Scandalous History of Italian Soccer*, (New York: Nation Books, 2007), 2; Simon Martin, *Football and Fascism*.

²⁴⁸ The word ‘winning’ is in single quotation marks to suggest that the victory may not have been as pure as Italians have hoped, with Il Duce directing traffic and counselling referees, it has often been suggested - with merit - that the finals were fixed in Italy’s favour that year. For more on this, see Simon Martin, *Football and Fascism*, and John Foot, *Winning at all Costs*.

²⁴⁹ Rocco Calabrese interview.

²⁵⁰ In *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm explains that leading figures throughout history have strategically linked a contemporary practice with a continuous tradition carried on from an obscure time in the supposedly-distant past. The idea is that people tend to accept circumstances as ‘normal’ when they have an implied sense of continuity with an ancient tradition, even if the tradition actually began relatively recently. In this case, Mussolini’s linkage of football with an ancient Italian tradition superimposes a sense

The way the Italian national team won the 1934 and 1938 FIFA World Cups and the representation of these victories through the Fascist press allowed for an important partnership between Mussolini and the media. Herein lay the seeds for what would grow to be recognized worldwide as a perpetually soccer-loving nation. The Fascist press invented an Italian soccer tradition and aimed to preserve an Italian identity through people's participation in this sport. This is evident in an article written after the 1982 tournament, which was the first time the Italian team won the trophy since Mussolini's influential heyday - *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, one of the most prominent and prolific sports newspapers in Italian print, ran a front-page article on the day after Italy's 1982 victory by Gino Palumbo titled, "*Bearzot come Pozzo – Bearzot like Pozzo*," directly linking the triumphant 1982 coach, Enzo Bearzot to the 1934 and 1938 boss, Vittorio Pozzo. It focuses on the way the 1982 victory had been a long-awaited repetition of the Interwar feats while unintentionally cancelling out much of that victory's importance for its own sake. Palumbo equates the 1982 Italian national team with the Interwar one, claiming that they both were under intense scrutiny and suffered from a sense of public

of nationalism on a sport and legitimizes it as a symbolic representation of the nation based on this traditional presence in history. The Fascist regime ensured that the Italian team would excel at *calcio* both domestically and on a world stage, complete with corresponding newspaper articles connecting Italian victories to the excellence of the Italian race. Interwar sports pages fed off of the general air of impending war as the Italian national soccer team improved throughout the 1930s. In a thorough examination of Bolognese and Roman soccer articles, Simon Martin finds that Mussolini's propaganda ministry encouraged journalists to use military language when describing games and players. Mussolini's Press office, which eventually developed in the Ministry of Propaganda, was headed by the Fascist party's director of sport, and journalist, Lando Ferretti, from 1926-1928 (See: Simon Martin, *Football and Fascism*, p.12). Under his guidance, journalists writing about soccer often emphasized strength and martial qualities, setting up the pitch as a battlefield and the players as soldiers. Victories were always in the name of *Il Duce* or Fascism and losses excused by the faults of unfair opponents and bad luck. After Italy won the 1938 World Cup and was declared the 'strongest' soccer nation in the world, the splendidly isolated English, who avoided association with FIFA and did not participate in the tournament, invited the Italian squad to play a game at Highbury in London and prove the merits of this declaration. The natural political and ideological implications of this game right before the beginning of WWII ensured a tense and aggressive affair. The English took an early 3-0 lead and one Italian was ejected from the game for a bad foul. The game ended 3-2, and rather than lament the loss of such a prestigious match on the world stage, the Italian press praised their squad for a brave and valiant display of determination, battling back to reclaim their dignity even after losing a man and getting battered continuously by the unfairly violent English team (See: Peter J. Beck, *Scoring for Britain*). Contemporary Milanese publications confirm Martin's findings from other parts of Italy. In these examples, journalists called football matches *battaglie* (battles) or *combattimento* (combat). This is something that they did not do for any of the other sports—except boxing, which seems more appropriate. They also used other powerful war connotations in their analyses, calling players *baldi* (bold—fearless before danger), *forti* (strong), *migliori* (better than the opposition), and playing with *autorità* (authority). All of the examples here are drawn from a selection of ten issues of the *Milano* monthly review from March 1929 until December 1931, written by a journalist referred to as A. Moroni and a selection of six from those written by Umberto Folliero for the same review, from March 1935 to December 1936: A. Moroni, "Sport," *Milano* (1929 mar, *Volume, Fascicolo 3*); Umberto Folliero, "Le Feconda Attivita Delle Massime Gerarchie Dello Sport Nazionale," *Milano* (1936 nov, *Volume, Fascicolo*). In this way, the media created sporting heroes that represented the contemporary values of the nation. Mussolini's propaganda helped to implant *calcio* into the fabric of Italian nationalism, creating a standard for the representation of valued characteristics through the sport which has apparently remained an important part of Italian identity until today.

scepticism regarding their ability to win the trophy. In each case, he writes, Italy showed “a sensational proof of character” to overturn the negative criticism.²⁵¹ He describes Italy’s triumph over the more superior South Americans and the other notable European powerhouses as their claim to a *rightful* place as world champion.²⁵² In this way, writes Palumbo, the Italian national team gave Italians the chance to rediscover their pride in Italy, which simultaneously erased feelings of embarrassment in expressing that pride.²⁵³ (As an aside, it is worth mentioning that *La Gazzetta dello Sport*’s front page featured an article titled, “*Lippi come Bearzot*,” the day after Italy’s 2006 victory, repeating the nostalgic linkage to the past through coaches and demonstrating that this Italian anchoring in perpetual soccer tradition is ongoing and quite real.²⁵⁴)

Like the Italian journalists, writers in Italian-Canadian newspapers also attributed the 1982 World Cup victory celebration with an added sense of grandeur and continuity with their Italian past. Their hyperbolic writing styles fuelled the creation of a memory that might not have been considered valid or even sustained at all had it not been made official by published text. One Italian-Canadian newspaper publication, *Il Tevere* announced clearly on the July 12, 1982 front page, “*L’Italia Conquista Per La Terza Volta - Italy conquers for the third time.*”²⁵⁵ Rather than revelling in the glory of the win itself or describing the ensuing celebrations as the Canadian journalists had, the paper presents the victory as the third in a series. This apparently qualifies the Italian win as more significant in the overall scheme of World Cup play than that of any other nations who had won it in the past but did not have other trophies in their cabinet to add it to—in this case, only Brazil had three World Cup titles like Italy did; the rest had fewer, if any at all. *Il Corriere Canadese* featured an article that delved into the misery of a 44-year

²⁵¹ [Trans.]: “*C’è da credere che proprio il diffuso scetticismo da cui gli azzurri erano circondati abbia agito da pungolo per così sensazionale prova di carattere. In questa visione c’è un legame preciso con i “mondiali” del ’34 e del ’38: anche allora c’era molto scetticismo...*” Gino Palumbo, “Bearzot come Pozzo,” *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, (Milan: July 12, 1982), http://www.gazzetta.it/Speciali/Mondiale_2006/Primo_Piano/2006/07_Luglio/03/pezzo_palumbo.shtml [accessed June 19, 2011].

²⁵² [Trans.]: “*Non ci sono ombre su questo trionfo. Nessuno ci ha regalato nulla. L’Italia ha dapprima cancellato il meglio del calcio sudamericano e poi ha fatto i conti con il meglio del calcio europeo. E’ arrivata al titolo mondiale senza scendere a compromessi di convenienza.*” Gino Palumbo, “Bearzot come Pozzo,” *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, (Milan: July 12, 1982), http://www.gazzetta.it/Speciali/Mondiale_2006/Primo_Piano/2006/07_Luglio/03/pezzo_palumbo.shtml [accessed June 19, 2011].

²⁵³ [Trans.]: “*Quest’impresa che lo sport italiano, attraverso il calcio, regala al Paese - e che il Paese con ritrovato orgoglio festeggia - è carica di significati che vanno al di là del puro risultato agonistico: il vecchio giornalista, che vede sistemare nella vetrina della federazione la coppa del 1982, al fianco di quelle che da ragazzo salutò esultante nel ’34 e nel ’38, non deve vergognarsi d’aver gli occhi lucidi.*” Gino Palumbo, “Bearzot come Pozzo,” *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, (Milan: July 12, 1982), http://www.gazzetta.it/Speciali/Mondiale_2006/Primo_Piano/2006/07_Luglio/03/pezzo_palumbo.shtml [accessed June 19, 2011].

²⁵⁴ Marcello Lippi was the Italian National team coach in 2006; the headline “Lippi come Bearzot” means ‘Lippi like Bearzot’, and Bearzot was the winning coach of the 1982 squad; *Nazionale Italiana Calcio.it*, [http://www.nazionaleitalianacalcio.it/album/Giornali-Newspaper/slides/Mondiale%202006%20\(2\).html](http://www.nazionaleitalianacalcio.it/album/Giornali-Newspaper/slides/Mondiale%202006%20(2).html) [accessed June 20, 2011].

²⁵⁵ *Il Tevere: Settimanale di Orientamento Culturale, Sociale, e Politico*, Monday, July 12, 1982, p. 1.

drought since the last triumph, situated under the apt quip, “I didn’t want to die before seeing Italy return to first place once again.”²⁵⁶ Including the word “again” reminds the reader of Italy’s past triumphs and draws attention to this long tradition of success in the tournament, as if it were Italy’s rightful place to be first in the world. When contrasted with Canadian newspapers, the embedded connection with the past in the Italian-Canadian articles confirms the unspoken requirement to represent the longevity of the successful Italian soccer tradition among Italian culture-building avenues like the media.

The language used in writing the articles is central to the way that Italian-Canadian newspapers represented the 1982 World Cup and the ensuing celebrations. The word choices are important because of their ability to suggest certain expectations about the Italian-Canadian identity. In the case of *Il Tevere*’s post-win headline, Italy’s success is called a ‘conquest’, hiding subliminal messages of imperial gain. This makes an interesting parallel to consider within the Italian community in North America, where its role was one of submissive integration rather than triumphant conquest, while at the same time tending to unite itself with other ethnic groups to demonstrate its strength in a global forum – behaviour uncharacteristic of a nation that ‘conquers’. The front-page headline on *Il Tevere* gloats of the way the mostly Spanish crowd in attendance in Madrid was cheering for Italy for the finals and not their German opponents.

The language used to describe the play resonates with Interwar militaristic sports journalism, calling the contests between the Italian team and its various opponents throughout the tournament ‘*battaglie*’ (battles) just as they were by Mussolini’s press. Italian supremacy over the Germans in the finals is recorded as “inflicting the panzers with a very severe punishment.”²⁵⁷ These fighting words are not needed to explain how the eleven Italian men were more successful than eleven German men at carrying an air-filled spherical object over their opponents’ goal line without the use of their hands. Worse, referring to the German team as ‘panzer’ connotes the first armoured vehicles developed in the Interwar years by the German army and used infamously by Hitler’s Nazis in the Second World War—hardly a fair comparison for the West German soccer team of 1982. The issuing of a ‘very severe punishment’ is also quite drastic to describe a sporting defeat. Yet each case helps to create a ‘good-guy/ bad-guy’ binary, with the Italians assuming the former role and the Germans the latter. The sense of satisfaction borne in this binary is that of the good side winning and dealing the bad side the punishment it deserved. Such rhetorical methods could help inflate the Italian-Canadian community’s ego in a time of cultural unease, but doubtlessly (and ironically) they could also uphold some of the same cultural stereotypes that the community sought to combat.

The Italian-Canadian press also seemed much more interested than other writers to describe the Italian 1982 victory with the word ‘*merita*’ (literally translating to mean “deserve”). Subheadings and articles in the July 12th edition of *Il Tevere* are saturated with this sentiment, as if to prove to the audience that the Italian team, like them,

²⁵⁶ “Agonia dell’attesa, estasi del trionfo,” *Il Corriere Canadese*, July 12-13, 1982, p. 4 – Translated by Riccardo Lo Monaco from original in Italian.

²⁵⁷ “L’Italia Conquista per la Terza Volta,” *Il Tevere*, July 12, 1982. Toronto. p.1. [Trans.] “*infliggendo ai panzer una severissima punizione.*”

deserved the fruits of their hard work and struggle.²⁵⁸ *Il Corriere Canadese* also featured this notion of deserving the World Cup triumph, relating it explicitly to the deservingness of the Italian-Canadians to share in this victory through the pronoun ‘we’: “*Siamo i primi, lo abbiamo meritato*—We are first, we have deserved it.”²⁵⁹ Readers would be conditioned to interpret the triumph as a reflection of their resilience and hard work. It is not by coincidence that Franca Iacovetta titled her book on postwar Italians in Toronto, *Such Hardworking People*. Italian-Canadians proudly projected these qualities onto the Italian national soccer team, which was somewhat of an underdog going into the tournament and suffered intense criticism before demonstrating its ability to work hard and achieve its ultimate goal of being considered the best in the world.

While generally cohesive within their own respective communities, tensions clearly existed between the Italian-Canadians and the Anglophiles in Toronto. Apart from the spatial struggles resulting from *Little Italy* being carved out of a pre-existing *Little Britain*, there is also the inbred sentiment among Italians that the English did not appreciate their presence or contribution to society. Rocco Calabrese addressed this fact directly, exclaiming “the Italians have always been excluded from society; we knew very well that the English could not stand us.”²⁶⁰ Ottawa’s Italian-Canadian newspaper publication, *L’Ora di Ottawa*, reflects Calabrese’s feelings in an article titled, “*L’Inghilterra l’unica a non elogiare l’Italia* – England is the only country that did not congratulate Italy [following their World Cup win].”²⁶¹ Although this seems like it could stand as a straightforward and factual observation by the journalist’s account, it takes up a comparatively large space in the paper, suggesting a higher level of importance placed on this story. It is also endorsed by the editor of the newspaper for the purpose of connecting with the newspaper’s audience. Likewise, *Il Corriere Canadese* features an article on the front page of its sports section with a headline embedding the same sort of accusation, “The Italian victory and the English comments.”²⁶² These articles are clear illustrations of the popular belief among the Italian-Canadian community that the English were not fond of Italians and unwilling to accept them in Canadian society as equals.

The perceived English resentment towards Italians is apparent in a 1964 article by Robert Allen, featured in *Maclean’s* magazine. It captures a sense of how native Torontonians felt about *Little Italy* and the people who lived there:

[Many] still call Italians “Eyetalians” and misuse the word ethnic to mean exactly what they used to mean when they said “foreigner.” A few think vaguely of Little Italy as a cluster of grocery stores in an old part of town but many think of it as a tough neighbourhood of ward heelers, underground societies, and Tammany hall politics, where Italian youths

²⁵⁸ “*L’Italia Merita la Coppa*,” *Il Tevere*, July 12, 1982, p. 8.

²⁵⁹ “Una meravigliosa ‘coppa’ (di champagne) per celebrare una vittoria,” *Corriere Canadese*, July 12-13, 1982, p. 3.

²⁶⁰ Interview with Rocco Calabrese, [Trans.]: “*gli italiani sono sempre stati messi da parte; si sapeva che i inglesi non ci potevano vedere.*”

²⁶¹ *L’Ora di Ottawa*, N.432, July 19, 1982, p.11.

²⁶² *Il Corriere Canadese*, July 15-16, 1982, p. 7.

pinch girls' behinds, and more mature citizens, when they aren't eating spaghetti, are stealing jobs from Canadians... The general picture of an Italian immigrant as a labourer in a soiled ivy-league cap or as a swarthy, sinister fellow with hooded eyes was one that I shared, as a Torontonion with all the prejudices, and I never quite got used to meeting many Italians who spoke, thought and looked essentially the same as the people I grew up with in Toronto.²⁶³

This quote, ripe with culturally nativist observations, is heavily saturated with xenophobic attitudes against Italians. The connection with the space in which Italians lived and associated during the 60s is the method used to communicate negative attitudes. Although the article illustrates a 'typical' scene in *Little Italy* with great effect, it does so with patronizing overtones and judgemental analyses that seem to outcast Italians as ethnic foreigners rather than participants from whose hard work Toronto society benefited greatly. How public space became an ethnic place is something that received mixed reactions from Canadians living in Toronto.

Part of the ecstasy felt by Toronto's Italian fans following the World Cup win can ostensibly be traced to the intercultural tension within multicultural Toronto. Where numerous groups competed for the best possibilities for efficient integration, they often got in each other's way and antagonised one another based on cultural differences. Italians and Brits shared soccer as part of their cultural makeup, just as many other groups like the Croats and Serbs did. Since soccer makes a habit of pitting one nation against another in competition, it is a natural reconstruction of the real life tensions experienced by immigrants in Toronto - especially in the workplace where many of the Italian immigrants worked for companies with British owners, or competed for raises and promotions against Portuguese workers. The ability to win the World Cup trophy so coveted by the other ethnic communities is one way of staking claim to bragging rights in this perpetual cultural struggle, and would have been cause for many Italians to revel, regardless of their regular affiliation with soccer. Paolo Canciani analyzes this reality, "I think there was also another component on top of the soccer game or the victory. To be *the* best was something that our community [considered to be] a revenge; that we are not - I don't want to say second class, but you know - that soccer was not a sport for the poor people or the immigrants. It was a [matter of] social status [for us]."²⁶⁴ This is especially true for a community of people that had struggled for so long with English as a second language in their bid to integrate. Seeing their own triumphant celebration encoded quite literally and somewhat ironically in the English-speaking Toronto newspapers would have been a myth-making event in of itself, as this would have been something that had previously been regarded as a source of their inadequacy. The moment was now documented and would survive as a group memory, refracted and conditioned by the same means that made it official.

²⁶³ Robert T. Allen, "Portrait of Little Italy." *Maclean's Magazine*, 21 March 1964, p.18, 20. Iacovetta reproduces this article, *Such Hardworking People*, p.103.

²⁶⁴ Interview with Paolo Canciani.

Chapter Five: ‘Greatest day of my life!’: Concluding reflections on nostalgia

The camera seems purposely cast upon Italy’s #3, Fabio Grosso, as he abandons his defensive duties to enter the German penalty area for a 119th-minute corner kick. Stadium lights animate the golden characters on his shirt on a hot July night in Dortmund. The score is still deadlocked at zeroes with two minutes left in the period of extra time added to a fiercely contested semi-final match of the 2006 World Cup. Anticipation mounts in the most cliché of ways, with Italy having struck the goalpost twice leading up to this moment. The stadium shrinks around the players as each of the 65,000 spectators lean forward eagerly. Italy’s corner kick is taken but cleared by a German header to an Italian midfielder waiting just outside of the 18-yard penalty box, Andrea Pirlo, who takes an elegant touch to control it. Rising excitement in the commentator’s voice repeats the name ‘Pirlo’ multiple times as he dribbles the ball laterally, nervously confronted by four German defenders. Just beyond them lurks the aforementioned Grosso; a name directly translated from Italian to mean ‘big’ in English, and a role that he is unwittingly about to accept. Pirlo threads the ball through a gap in the approaching defenders with a clever pass to Grosso, who strokes a left-footed shot toward the goal with perfect form. The ball curls just out of the extended German goalkeeper’s reach and just centimetres short of the far post. Spinning, it caresses the mesh ceremoniously, suspended just long enough to prove to the audience that Italy is now up by a score of 1-0 with only one minute left to play. Grosso immediately tears away from the shocked and incredulous group of players still lingering inside the penalty area, prolonging his own sense of doubt for eight more seconds as he sprints at full speed toward his team’s bench, shaking his head like he has gone mad, wagging his finger back and forth to signify an emphatic “no,” and screaming perhaps loudest of all in the stadium, “Non ci credo! Non ci credo! – I don’t believe it! I don’t believe it!”²⁶⁵

Fabio Grosso’s goal and celebration in the 2006 World Cup semi-final match against the host Germany has already become a defining moment in the history of professional soccer. The dramatic combination of a last-minute winning goal and the resultant elimination of a tournament favourite draws out some of the deepest sensations in both emotionally-invested supporters and casual spectators alike. There are apparent connections between the present and the past through the sequence of events described above, upon realization that Grosso’s enthusiastic celebration intentionally re-enacts a legendary moment in 1982 when Marco Tardelli ran frantically away from the net which

²⁶⁵ Recorded video footage of this event can be found on Youtube’s website with the following link: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ce-h9AQ85Yk&feature=player_embedded [accessed July 8, 2011].

his shot just conquered in an expressive outburst of disbelief. Tardelli recalls his reaction after scoring the second of three Italian goals on the way to a 3-1 victory, “In that moment I went beyond madness. Amongst all those people, my team-mates, et cetera, I isolated myself. I couldn’t hear anything anymore, there was no longer anyone around me. It was like a movie...”²⁶⁶ He screamed, “No! No! No!” as his team-mates chased him toward the Italian bench, pulling him to the ground in an electric thrill felt vicariously around the world by fans cheering for the Italian team. Many fans have in fact identified with this sort of euphoric feeling at witnessing their teams score goals and win soccer games.²⁶⁷

Professional soccer players inspire their fans to experience similar intense feelings in their rejoicing after goals and victories. This is a fundamental component of a spectator’s decision to watch a match in the company of others. Communal game-watching succeeds partially because it re-creates an atmosphere like the one inside the stadium where the game is being played, and partially because it provides the opportunity to share powerful emotions of happiness, sadness, shock, disappointment, and pride with others. Just as nationality is a concept that exists when it is shared, the expression of nationalism through vicariously experienced emotions thrives when experienced in community with others. As Crolley and Hand put it, “National identity is, above all, a shared identity; it is not innate.”²⁶⁸ But on a smaller scale, the cultural institutions and traditions that sustain nationalism culminate in the eventual gatherings of people for a common purpose—regardless of the nature of the event.

The success of nationalism lies in the cohesion of the group surrounding a national cause. For example, in the 1981 “*Operazione Amore*” (meaning “Operation Love”) telethon held by CHIN in Toronto to support those in Italy who were affected by an Earthquake, the host and highly esteemed Italian-Canadian icon, Johnny Lombardi, pleaded for Toronto Italians to make a collective effort, “Everyone with an ounce of Italian blood in them is giving to this cause... doesn’t matter what part of Italy you are from we are all donating - together!”²⁶⁹ The same applied to sporting events; so long as a common event to symbolize Italianness existed, people could join together in a collective recognition of their national identity. Unlike the telethon, where nationalism was equated with a duty to care for and support co-nationals, sporting events provide an opportunity for the expression of esteem in the nation. Therefore, watching World Cup games, as well as partaking in the ensuing celebrations - returning ‘home’ to *Little Italy* to meet other Italians in the 1982 and 2006 Italian World Cup triumphs - legitimates the right to revel and helps consolidate feelings of national pride.

²⁶⁶ Marco Tardelli, “I scored a goal in the FIFA World Cup final,” ESPN Soccernet, <http://soccernet.espn.go.com/world-cup/i-scored-a-goal?cc=5901&ver=global> [Accessed on June 29, 2011]. [Trans.]: “*In quel momento sono andato oltre la pazzia. Fra tutta quella gente, fra tutti I miei compagni et cetera, in quel momento mi sono estraniato. Non sentivo piu niente, non ci avevo piu la gente in torno. Era come in un film.*”

²⁶⁷ All but one interview participant who remembered the World Cup of 1982 also described their feelings when watching games and positive results to be similar to those described by Tardelli. This shows the vicarious nature of watching the happiness exhibited by the players on television.

²⁶⁸ Crolley and Hand, *Football, Europe, and the Press*, p.8.

²⁶⁹ Johnny Lombardi, “Operazione Amore,” *CHIN Radio/Television International Collection*, Archives of Ontario— C-258-1-06 – DVD 502 - 0:19.

Much about the reaction to Italy's 2006 World Cup victory has been called an imitation of 1982, from Grosso's goal celebration to the Italian-Canadian community's reconvening on *Corso Italia* in demonstration of their happiness. The CBC's post-celebration news article in 2006 points this out, saying, "The win was reminiscent of Italy's last World Cup victory in 1982, when similar celebrations of Italian pride erupted along St. Clair."²⁷⁰ Not to discredit the real sense of joy experienced by those who had their interests invested in an Italian win, the 2006 celebration in Toronto's *Little Italy* was not a spontaneous public party by an otherwise marginalized largely first-generation ethnic community, as it is believed to have been in 1982. This time, in the opinion of many of those who were fortunate enough to experience both of Italy's most recent World Cup triumphs, the party on St. Clair merely repeated something far greater, far more authentic; something that had occurred unexpectedly among 'true' Italians.²⁷¹ As many confidently declared, in 2006 it was the Canadian sons and daughters of Italian immigrants who had by now become accustomed to outwardly wearing their Italianness like clothing, and who could not possibly understand the emotions attached to finally *earning* the right to represent their heritage proudly in public like had been the case in 1982.²⁷² This time it was about the perceived inferiority of every other team compared to the Italians, and not about how the *Azzurri* had provided the marginalized, ignored, and discriminated-against Italians living in Toronto with a reason to embrace their nationality and a right to be respected.²⁷³ "What I didn't like about 2006," recalled Luigi DiMario, "is that it became too commercialized.... people are waiting and they have stands ready. They have the ice cream guy, they got the popcorn guy, they got the t-shirt guy, they have the flag guy... to me it was too fake, while the '82 one was really spontaneous."²⁷⁴ Later in his interview, DiMario used the word "genuine" to describe the 1982 festivities, suggesting that perhaps any ensuing celebrations lost some of the emotional spark that made the first one so great, simply in the fact that everyone now knew it was supposed to happen if their team won, whereas before 1982 they did not.

After Italy conquered a difficult and star-studded French squad in a penalty shootout in the famous 2006 World Cup final, where French hero Zinedine Zidane was ejected for head-butting an Italian player in the chest, Italians arrived by the thousands with a certain air of relief to accompany their enthusiasm. But this time, they already knew about Italy's many positive qualities apart from the soccer element - from high fashion, to delicious cuisine, to a beautiful landscape, to a rich history and a romantic language that many yearn to speak. Italy had been tied with Germany for the second-highest number of all time World Cup victories, with three behind Brazil's five. For many second- and third-generation Italian-Canadian spectators, the securing of a fourth title was not a way of proving to the world - or to Canadian society more specifically - that Italy

²⁷⁰ "World Cup celebrations erupt across Toronto," *CBC News Canada*, July 10, 2006, <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2006/07/10/toronto-worldcup.html>> [accessed July 13, 2011].

²⁷¹ Interviews with Luigi DiMario, Marco Ricci, Giuseppe Piola, Agostino Grande etc.

²⁷² Interview with Carmine Marcantonio.

²⁷³ Interviews with Rocco Calabrese, Giuseppe Piola, Agostino Grande, Marco Ricci & others.

²⁷⁴ Interview with Luigi DiMario

was worthy of respect. Indeed, this time it was to affirm a pre-established sense of greatness. For this reason, the purpose and attitude of those celebrating in 1982 differed substantially from those in 2006. The former celebration established a tangible meaning for Italianness, while the latter demonstrated Italian superiority - an excellent illustration of how far the Italian community in Toronto had come from earlier days where they played the role of ethnic and cultural inferior.

The value of soccer in the lives of Italian-Canadians, regardless of their regular affiliations with the sport, is also apparent when considering that the World Cup win that came 24 years after the 1982 occasion generated an even greater turnout than the original. This suggests that the 1982 generation of soccer fans successfully passed down an interest in the game to their sons and daughters and communicated the value of finding their nationalism in the sport. For others, the sport that provided them with a method of augmenting their identity with something to be proud of grew to define them. As one man interviewed put it, “Soccer has given me so much... everything that I do has been affected by my love for the game in some way. All I have is happy memories, and really the pinnacle of it all was that 1982 World Cup and the celebration afterward.”²⁷⁵ Another’s final thoughts on the event concurred, making an even bolder statement about Sunday, July 11, 1982: “You know, my marriage didn’t help... but for me, the only thing that has always kept me going is soccer... and for me 1982 was the most beautiful thing I have ever experienced in my life!”²⁷⁶ Both men found a high level of comfort in soccer. Clearly, other Italians did as well. When times became challenging, soccer could bring joy and pride. As multiculturalism developed, other Italian immigrants like them found their roots through the sport, clinging on to them when they were unable to adapt smoothly into a changing Canadian society. Ironically, by doing so, their sentiments inadvertently played into the multiculturalism vision Trudeau’s government had for the nation, where cultural practices like sport were to be embraced and encouraged.

The Italian pioneers of ethnic public celebration in Toronto in the early 1980s set a standard that was so special that New Canadians from many different nations sought it in each opportunity afterward. This did not go unnoticed by the Italians, as it often became a conflicting site of pride in the Italians and contempt for the others. Rocco Calabrese explains this common Italian sentiment with his enthusiastic remarks: “It was nothing but glory, glory! Joy for everyone! Something truly phenomenal! Now, everyone is trying to copy us, but they will never succeed. That was not something prepared; it was spontaneous! And the people felt it inside them, the desire to participate and celebrate Italy’s victory. That was the beauty of it! Now, [the celebration] has to be prepared.”²⁷⁷ This memory is centred on emphasizing the spontaneous nature of the Italian celebration, but Calabrese’s analysis focuses on the superiority of the Italian one against all others

²⁷⁵ Interview with Luigi DiMario.

²⁷⁶ Interview with Rocco Calabrese [Trans.] “*Sai... il matrimonia non ha aiutato... ma per me, l’unica cosa che mi ha tenuto sempre su e stato il Pallone... e per me l’82 e stata la cosa piu bella che io ho vissuto!*”

²⁷⁷ Ibid.; [Trans.]: “*Non e stato altro che gloria, gloria! Gioia di tutti! Una cosa propria fenomenale! Tutti ci stanno copiando, vogliono fare come abbiamo fatto noi, ma nessuno ci riuscirà’. Quella non e stata una cosa preparata, e stato una cosa spontanea! E la gente si sentiva, dentro, che voleva fare, partecipare, e celebrare la vittoria dell’Italia. Quello e il bello! Adesso la devono preparare la cosa.*”

who came later – and perhaps by spontaneous he is referring more directly to the fact that this kind of celebration had never happened before in Toronto; so the Italian one of 1982 was the first. To him, everything after the Italian demonstration downtown was a meek attempt at imitating the greatness of Italians. Giuseppe Piola echoes Calabrese's feelings: "Then, after this celebration... these others came out... the Argentinians, the Brazilians, etc... all these other [ethnic] groups... and now whether it be hockey, whether it be football, they try to party publicly too. But the celebration of '82 will never be surpassed!"²⁷⁸

Canadians from other cultures, like the Italian-Canadians in Little Italy, staked a claim to their own locations in Toronto - the Greeks on the Danforth, the French on King St., etc. - and celebrated together with their own ethnic compatriots when their teams won a match. Worse still, in the opinion of territorial Italians, Toronto's Portuguese eventually began to celebrate on the same strip of road that the Italians used – oftentimes the victories of the Brazilian team when their own performed poorly. This prompted a less-than-impressed reaction by some members of the Italian community, as seen in Mario Colacino's remarks, "even when Brazil won a semi-final... [the Portuguese] all came to St. Clair to celebrate. Well guys, first of all, this is our turf, right?... Why are you coming here to celebrate? And secondly, you're not even Brazilian! ...That bothered me."²⁷⁹ The tradition of celebrating a national soccer victory publicly in a designated part of Toronto continues until today and remains heavily saturated with varying degrees and varieties of hyphenated nationalist sentiments.

Yet not all Italian-Canadians felt the way those discussed heretofore did about soccer and Italianness. Angela Peruzzi, for example, recalls feeling embarrassed of her Italian nationality growing up because the stereotypes socially constructed about Italians made her feel uncomfortable about associating with that identity. Aside from her assertion that she does not recall anything soccer-related until later in her life, including an absolute indifference toward the 1982 World Cup celebration, she opposes the idea of waving a flag when a soccer team from another country wins because, to her, it appears as though the flag-wavers have committed themselves to that nation wholeheartedly and abandoned Canadian values while it is convenient to do so. In her view, if a person makes a home and works in Canada, that ought to be the person's primary allegiance. Although her parents are Italian immigrants, she admits, "I don't know enough about the Italian culture beyond the language and the food; I've only been to Italy once in my lifetime... how can I say I'm Italian?"²⁸⁰ She believes that the World Cup and its celebrations, especially after what she saw in 2006, actually detracts from multicultural integration and solidifies difference between nations, encouraging conflict and perpetuating stereotypes. This opinion is both valid and valuable, doubtless held by other Italian-Canadians who

²⁷⁸ Interview with Giuseppe Piola . [Trans.]: "*Poi, dopo di questo celebrazione... sono venuti fuori quest'altri... i argentini, i braziliani et cetera, tutti quest'altri gruppi... e adesso sia con hockey, sia con football, cercano di fare, festeggiare. Ma la festa di '82 non sara mai sorpassato!*"

²⁷⁹ Interview with Luigi DiMario. Nicholas Harney writes about this as well, saying, "During the 1994 World Cup, Italian Canadians resented the Portuguese Canadians' rooting for Brazil on Italian-Canadian 'turf' (Dufferin Street and St. Clair Avenue)." *Eh Paesan!*, pp.76-77.

²⁸⁰ Interview with Angela Peruzzi.

are self-admittedly assimilated into Canadian society, indifferent towards soccer, and uncomfortable with public celebration in the name of a country any other than Canada, while living in Canada.

As critics of multiculturalism have argued, attempts at integrating different immigrant ethnicities into a society that accepts and preserves cultural beliefs and practices may have actually resulted in the ironic creation of ‘ghetto’ neighbourhoods.²⁸¹ From the evidence presented above, it does in fact seem as though the Italians wanted to claim that area of public space for themselves and not allow anyone from other ethnicities to use it for the same celebratory reasons that they did. The equality achieved from various efforts, including the 1982 announcement to the rest of the nation that they existed, could not be attributed equally to all other nations represented in Canada. Multiculturalism, an elusive thing, was experienced differently by Italians than others, especially after 1982. Intercultural tensions would be simultaneously a product of - and necessary for - its success. Tensions, however, should not be taken as evidence of the policy’s failures, but rather as a by-product of the coexistence of cultures in the ‘cultural mosaic’ that Canada aspires to be.

In 1982, the Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau sent a letter to the Prime Minister of Italy after the World Cup congratulating him on his national soccer team’s victory. The letter, as printed in *Il Tevere*, is addressed to, “His excellency Sandro Pertini, President of the Republic of Italy, Rome,” and reads, “*Auguri* [Congratulations] *Azzurri!*, Canadians join with the people of your country in saluting the victory of the Italian team in World Cup Competition. We applaud Italy’s achievement, and offer you our heartiest congratulations. VIVA ITALIA! - Pierre Elliot Trudeau.”²⁸² The newspapers in Toronto reported this the next day in various appreciative tones. Trudeau’s gesture, in the midst of budding multiculturalism, sent a message to the Canadian public and the Italian-Canadian community alike, on a global stage, displaying the Canadian government’s awareness of the influence of soccer on the identity construction of the Italian ethnic community in Canada. By officially recognizing the Italian victory, Trudeau showed Canada’s Italian residents that they were accepted and respected, and that their celebrations in places like Toronto and Ottawa were both welcomed and encouraged. The Italian-Canadian media also welcomed the act, as the journalist Carletto Caccia explained the meaning of the victory for Italians living in Canada. With a hearty “*Viva Italia!*,” Caccia wrote:

The moral of the story is that if there is commitment, spark and desire, Italians can establish themselves in the world. Why stop with soccer? Why not follow the *azzurri*’s example... [and] transplant the collaboration shown on the pitch to all the other sectors of daily life? To win against the famous and confident Brazil and Germany means knowing how to conquer obstacles deemed insurmountable. The *azzurri*’s exceptional abilities

²⁸¹ See: Daniel Stoffman, *Who Gets In: What’s Wrong with Canada’s Immigration Program and How to Fix It* (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 2002).

²⁸² *Il Tevere*, July 26, 1982, p.1.

reflect a rich potential full of talent and positive attributes... For this reason we must ask ourselves, “Why stop with Sunday’s victory?”²⁸³

Caccia attributes the qualities exhibited by the Italian national soccer team to all Italians, suggesting that everyone who comes from the same nation of origin as the players that won the World Cup is capable of commanding the same characteristics that helped these athletes win the cup. By linking his encouragement to the way Trudeau publicly congratulated Italy, Caccia aims to show that even the Canadian Prime Minister has admitted that the Italians are the best in the world. His article uses Trudeau’s letter as a sort of call to arms, encouraging the positivity and hard work of his Italian *paesans* in Canada. He asks them to use the results of the soccer tournament as encouragement, but to not stop there; to be confident in themselves and their co-nationals. Soccer did indeed have the ability to change the self-perception of an entire people, and just as Stéphane Mourlane - a onetime Vice President of the French cultural organization, *We are Football* - declared at an International football conference in 2009, perhaps 1982 was a neo-Risorgimento for Italians - re-inspiring the national esteem that had long been extinguished after the Second World War.²⁸⁴

The various representations in the media of such concepts as nation, place, heroes, and symbols, as explored in this research, demonstrate the variety of ways journalists help create and condition the collective memory of an ethnic group. The case study of the 1982 World Cup reveals the development and sustenance of a common consciousness through its popular portrayals of what was considered to be important to the Italian identity. The power of the Italian colours and flag are pervasive in most of the media-printed pictures of the post-match celebrations, while the necessity for the conversion of public urban space into an ethnic ‘place’ is instrumental for understanding where and how Italians belong in this increasingly multicultural Canadian society in the early 1980s.

The Italian national team, a group of male citizens bearing the colours of that nation’s flag, playing in a style widely attributed to Italian ideology, symbolized Italian nationalism and actively engaged people of Italian heritage from other nations in defence of Italy’s honour. Support for this national team meant support for the nation.²⁸⁵ The way that the media presented and portrayed this team is enormously important to the way

²⁸³ Carletto Caccia, *L’Ora di Ottawa*, 26 luglio 1982; [Trans]: “*La morale e che se c’è l’impegno, lo slancio e la volontà, gli italiani possono affermarsi nel mondo. Perché fermarsi al calcio? Perché non applicare l’esempio degli azzurri... [e] trapiant[are] la collaborazione dimostrata in campo di gioco a tutti i settori della vita quotidiana? Vincere contro il Brasile e la Germania, così famosi e sicuri di se, significa saper superare ostacoli ritenuti insormontabili. Le eccezionali capacità degli azzurri riflettono un potenziale ricco di doti e talenti... Per cui domandiamoci: <<Perché fermarci alla vittoria di domenica?>>*”

²⁸⁴ Stéphane Mourlane was the Vice President of the cultural preservation organization in Cannes, France, called *We are Football*. In 2009, he presented a paper titled, “*L’Italie championne du monde de football 1982: un nouveau Risorgimento—Italy, World Champions of football 1982: A new Italian Risorgimento,*” at the *Global Football: History, Gender, Nation* conference at York University on 3 December 2009. He argued in his paper that the World Cup victory of 1982 provided a new cause for the Italian public to believe in a capable Italian nation, hence acting as a uniting force in a theoretical sense akin to the way Garibaldi’s Risorgimento united Italy at the end of the 19th century.

²⁸⁵ Taken from Crolley and Hand, *Football, Nationality, and the State*.


people - regardless of ethnicity - perceived its worth. Italian-Canadian efforts, although initially reserved, if not sceptical, about Italy's chances of winning the cup after such a dismal first round performance, became increasingly proud of their squad. They featured larger pictures of important or popular players, more frequent articles, and more encouraging words in headlines as the tournament progressed.

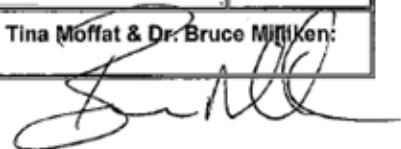
Italian supporters could also see this type of positive treatment reflected from the Canadian perspective in the *Sun*, *Star*, and *Globe & Mail*. Suddenly, their heroes were more widely known and respected and became quite important for the consolidation of the team's victory efforts. They provided iconic points of reference as well as instruments of self-defence in the face of external hostilities for fans. Paolo Rossi was Italian, and the top scorer of the tournament. His athleticism and brilliance in front of goal was second-to-none, and this fact was acknowledged by Canadians just as frequently as it was by the Italians. Heroes like Rossi therefore acted as a part of the symbolism of the nation which they represented and their power to act positively or negatively in this respect depended heavily on the praise or criticism they received from the media.

The media also conditions the way an ethnic group forms a collective or popular memory of its own past. Oftentimes the photographs that survive affect or replace the living memory a person has of an event. This happens because the most recent experiences observing these photographs will remain most prominent in a person's mind. The photographs act as tangible proof of an event's occurrence, while a memory is not static - it changes, fades, and blends with other experiences. The headlines and stories published about the celebration are worth examining for this reason. For instance, the common sentiment that it was a peaceful and non-violent celebration is represented in the Italian-Canadian media. Some Canadian editions also contain traces of this assertion. Through the perpetual repetition of that aspect, it has transformed into a sort of 'fact' that is independent of evidence and ignorant of opposing opinions. Likewise, the feeling that the Italians 'deserved' the world cup win was heavily sustained by the Italian-Canadian media and has now become solidly engrained in the collective memory of the event.

Clearly the factual occurrences of July 12, 1982 are not as important as the memories held by those who were there, however deeply conditioned or affected those memories have been over the years by the media and the folklore retelling of stories associated with that event. The 1982 FIFA World Cup is a pivotal part of the history of Italians living in Toronto. Like Nicholas Harney argues, it marks the point in time when the 'collectivity' realized its own worth in the world and in Canadian society. It also sparked a celebratory event that introduced Italians to one another as a peaceful, civilized, hardworking, and proud people - integral and indispensable to Toronto and every bit a part of the newly budding multicultural nation of Canada. All of these realizations were inspired by the initial event, but sustained by the evolution of the memory which has filtered down through the generations over the years since. A stable ethnic media source consolidated the voice of a community and fuelled the creation and maintenance of a collective memory. In this case, the celebration matters more than the game that inspired it. The evidence of changing attitudes and the evolving realities faced by Italians can be found in the way they celebrated their next world cup victory in 2006 - exactly the same as in 1982, but nothing like 1982 at all.

Appendix A: McMaster University Research Ethics Board Certificate

| | | | |
|--|----------------------|--|---------------|
|  | | McMaster University Research Ethics Board (MREB) c/o Office of Research Services, MREB Secretariat, GH-305/H, e-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca | |
| CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS CLEARANCE TO INVOLVE HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH | | | |
| Application Status: New <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Addendum <input type="checkbox"/> | | Project Number: 2010 215 | |
| TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT: While We Are Winning: Sport, Nationalism, and Italian-Canadian Identity, 1966-1982 | | | |
| Faculty Investigator (s)/ Supervisor(s) | Dept./Address | Phone | E-Mail |
| N. Bouchier | History | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| Student Investigator(s) | Dept./Address | Phone | E-Mail |
| R. Lo Monaco | History | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| The application in support of the above research project has been reviewed by the MREB to ensure compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the McMaster University Policies and Guidelines for Research Involving Human Participants. The following ethics certification is provided by the MREB: | | | |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The application protocol is approved as presented without questions or requests for modification. | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The application protocol is approved as revised without questions or requests for modification. | | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The application protocol is approved subject to clarification and/or modification as appended or identified below. | | | |
| COMMENTS AND CONDITIONS: Ongoing approval is contingent on completing the annual completed/status report. A "Change Request" or amendment must be made and approved before any alterations are made to the research. | | | |
| | | | |
| Reporting Frequency: | | Annual: Mar-02-2012 | Other: |
| Date: Mar-02-2011 Chair, Dr. D. Maurer/ Vice-Chairs, Dr. Tina Moffat & Dr. Bruce Milliken: | | | |



Appendix B: Sample Interview Questions

Information about these interview questions (Script): This gives you an idea what I would like to learn about the history of the Italian immigrant community in Ontario. Interviews will be one-to-one and will be open-ended (not just “yes or no” answers). Because of this, the exact wording may change a little. Sometimes I will use other short questions to make sure I understand what you told me or if I need more information when we are talking, such as; “So, you are saying that ...?”, to get more information (“Please tell me more?”), or to learn what you think or feel about something (“Why do you think that is...?”).

1) Information about you:

- a. Your age now?
- b. Your gender?
- c. Your place of birth? Where you grew up?
- d. The number of years you have been living in Canada? Where specifically?
- e. Your occupation?
- f. When talking about where you came from in Italy, which would you associate yourself with first: your region or your country?
- g. Presently, would you describe yourself as an Italian living in Canada, an Italian-Canadian, or a Canadian? Why?

2) Please tell me briefly about the following details from your childhood:

- a. Where did you spend most of your childhood?
- b. Did you ever play or watch soccer when you were growing up? In what setting?
- c. Did you follow professional soccer in Italy? Favourite team? Least favourite? Why?

3) Please tell me briefly about your experience as an immigrant to Canada.

- a. What inspired your move?
- b. Did you know anyone else migrating at the same time? Describe your relation.
- c. Were there difficulties? If yes, please explain.
- d. Were there positive parts of your move? Explain.
- e. Have you ever been a part of an Italian club or organization? OSIO, COSTI, Columbus centre, CIBPA, Church, sports affiliations?
- f. Do you like to follow Italian news? How do you do this?
- g. Do you consume any form of Italian media? TV, radio, print?

4) What role has soccer played in your life since you have been living in Canada?

- a. Do you watch? Italian league? Canadian League? International?
- b. Do/ did you play it?
- c. Does anyone you know play? Who?

5) Please tell me your most significant memories involving soccer.

- a. World Cups you remember watching? 1966? 1982? 2006?
- b. Did Italy winning the World Cup affect you in any way? If yes, how?

6) Is there something important we forgot? Is there anything else you think I need to know about Italian-Canadian identity and soccer? Do you have any final comments?

Appendix B (continued): **Alternative Phrasing of Interview Questions/ Supplementary Questions:**

- 1) Would you consider yourself to be a soccer fan? Yes no
- 2) Do you follow Italian Serie A soccer? Yes no
- 3) Do you have a favourite team(s)? If yes, specify:
- 4) Do you follow North American soccer? Favourite team(s)?
- 5) Do you follow any other sports? Which?
- 6) Do you/ have you ever played soccer on a team? Which? (Hate any teams?)
- 7) Do you follow international soccer? Do you support Italy? Do you support Canada?
- 8) Do you watch World Cup events? Why?
- 9) Did you watch any of the 2006 WC? 2010?
- 10) Did you watch any of the matches from the 1982 World Cup? 1966?
- 11) Did you celebrate? Where? With who?
- 12) Can you describe your recollection of the moment when you learned Italy won the world cup? Were you happy? Angry? Indifferent?
- 13) Can you speak on behalf of anyone in your family or related to you in some way on any of the above questions?
- 14) What is your nationality? Are you Italian? Canadian? Italian-Canadian?
- 15) Describe your childhood, briefly...
- 16) What can you tell me about your personal immigration experience? Hardships? Comforts?
- 17) Did you feel accepted in society? Describe your experience finding work, school, living arrangements, partnership, friends, etc.
- 18) What did/ do you do for fun?
- 19) Have you ever been to an Italian club-house?
- 20) Is there a soccer affiliation there?
- 21) What do you do on the weekend? (Church? Soccer?)
- 22) Do/ did your kids play sports? Soccer?
- 23) Do you know anything about hooligans?
- 24) Did you read the paper? Which ones?
- 25) What television channels did you/ do you watch? Radio?
- 26) Have you ever been a part of an Italian club or organization? (OSIO, COSTI, Columbus, CIBPA)
- 27) Do you work with other Italian-Canadians?
- 28) Do you have a lot of Italian friends? Family here? In Italy?
- 29) Do they support soccer teams? Are there rivalries?

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Interviews with Toronto Italian immigrants

Named interviewees:

Joe Busillo – April 11, 2011.
Paolo Canciani – April 15, 2011.
Carmine Marcantonio – April 16, 2011.
Colin Jose – June 7, 2011.

Interviewees with Pseudonyms:

(Pseudonyms in quotations used to protect participants)

Davide D'Angelo – March 30, 2011.
Tony Prochilo – March 30, 2011.
Sonia Marconi – April 3, 2011.
Anna Blasi – April 6, 2011.
Angela Peruzzi – April 15, 2011.
Silvio Signori – May 19, 2011.
Giuseppe Piola – May 19, 2011.
Rocco Calabrese – June 6, 2011.
Cristina Colombo – June 10, 2011.
Marco Ricci – June 17, 2011.
Luigi di Mario – June 20, 2011.
Giuseppe Corleone – July 29, 2011.
Daniele di Francesco – July 30, 2011.
Enzo Martino – August 2, 2011.

Newspapers/ Periodicals:

CBC News Canada, July 10, 2006.
Forze Nuove, July 1974.
Guerin Sportivo, July 12, 1982.
Il Corriere Canadese, July 2-23, 1982.
Il Tevere, August 25, 1973; July 2 – August 9, 1982.
L'Ora di Ottawa, July 19-26, 1982.
La Gazzetta dello Sport, July 12, 1982; July 10, 2006.
Lo Specchio, June 17th, 2011.
Milano, March 1929 - December 1931; March 1935 - December 1936.
Nuovo Mondo: mensile di politica, attualita', e cultura, June-July, 1978.
The Globe and Mail, July 6-20, 1982; November 28, 1983.
The Toronto Star, June 19, 1978; July 2 – 19, 1982.
The Toronto Sun, July 9-19, 1982.

Other Primary Sources:

- 360VirtualPhoto. "Italian World Soccer Cup Celebration, July 11, 1982." *Memory Archive*, <http://www.memoryarchive.org/en/Image:StClairPosterFrEmail.jpg> (accessed July 13, 2011).
- "Abide With Me." *Net Hymnal*, <http://www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/a/b/abidewme.htm> (accessed July 22, 2011).
- Allen, Robert T. "Portrait of Little Italy." *Maclean's Magazine*, 21 March 1964, pp. 1-19; 43-46.
- "Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms." Department of Justice Canada, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/charter/FullText.html> (accessed July 18, 2011).
- Buscombe, Edward, ed. *Football on Television*. London: British Film Institute, 1975.
- Canadian Multiculturalism Act R.S.C.*, 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.) An Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-18.7/FullText.html> [16 August 2011]
- Colantonio, Frank. *From the ground up: An Italian immigrant's story*. Toronto: Between the Lines : Distributed by University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- "Grosso's last minute goal vs Germany." 2007. *YouTube*. Flash video file, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ce-h9AQ85Yk&feature=player_embedded (accessed July 8, 2011).
- Hannon, Gerald. "1981 Bathhouse Riots." *Xtra! Canada's Gay and Lesbian News*, http://www.xtra.ca/public/viewstory.aspx?AFF_TYPE=1&STORY_ID=9718&PUB_TEMPLATE_ID=1 (accessed June 12, 2011).
- Harney, Robert F. and Vincenza Scarpaci, Eds. *Little Italies in North America*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981.
- Jansen, Clifford J. "A Study of Multiculturalism and Italian Media." *Wintario Citizenship and Multicultural Program*. October, 1977.
- Jansen, Clifford J. "Community organizations of Italians in Toronto." In *The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic*, edited by Leo Driedger. Toronto, 1978.
- Lemon, James. "Census of Canada, 1911-1981," *Toronto Since 1918*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1985.
- "Operazione Amore." DVD. *CHIN Radio/Television International Collection*, Archives of Ontario. C-258-1-06.
- "Prices in the 80s." *In the 80s*, <http://www.inthe80s.com/prices.shtml> (accessed July 18, 2011).
- Tardelli, Marco. "I scored a goal in the FIFA World Cup final." *ESPN Soccernet*, <http://soccernet.espn.go.com/world-cup/i-scored-a-goal?cc=5901&ver=global> (Accessed June 29, 2011).
- Toronto: City Directory, 1983*. Toronto: Dun & Broadstreet Canada Limited.
- Vocabulary.com*, s.v. "Apprestare," <http://www.vocabulary.com/definition/it/apprestare> (accessed July 16, 2011).

Secondary Sources

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *Seduction*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990.
- Beck, Peter J. *Scoring For Britain: International Football and International Politics 1900-1939*. London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999.
- Blain, Neil. and Raymond Boyle. "Sport as Real Life: Media Sport and Culture." In *The Media: An Introduction*, Adam Briggs and Paul Cobley, Eds. London: Longman, 1998.
- Boyle, Raymond and Richard Haynes. *Football in the New Media Age*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Boyle, Raymond and Richard Haynes. *Power Play: Second edition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.
- Buzzelli, Michael. "From Little Britain to Little Italy: an Urban Ethnic Landscape Study in Toronto." *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27, no. 4 (2001): 573–587.
- Chamberlain, Nigel. "Soccer, Multiculturalism and the Canadian State." Master of Arts Thesis. University of Alberta, 1983.
- Cornell, Stephen and Douglas Hartman. *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*. Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press, 1998.
- Crolley, Liz and David Hand. *Football, Europe and the Press*. London: Frank Cass, 2002.
- Crouch, Terry and James Corbett. *The World Cup: The complete history*. London: Aurum press, 2002.
- de Grazia, Victoria. *The Culture of Consent: Mass organization of leisure in Fascist Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Duke, Vic and Liz Crolley. *Football, Nationality, and the State*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1996.
- Field, Russell. *A Night at the Gardens: Hockey Spectators in Toronto and New York in the Interwar Years*. Unpublished Manuscript, University of Manitoba, 2010.
- Foot, John. *Winning at All Costs: A Scandalous History of Italian Soccer*. New York: Nation Books, 2007.
- Fynn, Alex and Lynton Guest. *Out of Time*. London: Simon and Schuster, 1994.
- Geertz, Clifford. "Thick description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York, 1973.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Thought and Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Giulianotti, Richard. *Football: A sociology of the global game*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.
- Goldblatt, David. *The ball is round : A global history of soccer*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2008.
- Green, Anna and Kathleen Troup. *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.
- Grele, Ron. "Listen to their Voices." *Oral History* 7 (1979): 33-42.
- Gruneau, Richard and David Whitson. *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics*. Toronto: Garamond, 1993.
- Gruneau, Richard. *Hockey Night in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

- Harney, Robert F. *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada*. Nicholas DeMaria Harney, Ed. Welland: Editions Soleil Publishing inc. Produced by Centro Canadese Scuola e Cultura Italiana, 1993.
- Harney, Nicholas DeMaria. *Italy is Enough: Ethnicity, Community and Ambiguity among Italians in Toronto*. Unpublished manuscript. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996.
- Harney, Nicholas DeMaria. *Eh Paesan! Being Italian in Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Harney, Nicholas DeMaria. "The Politics of Urban Space: Modes of Place-Making by Italians in Toronto's Neighbourhoods." *Modern Italy* 11, no. 1, (February 2006): 25-42.
- Haynes, Richard. "A Pageant of Sound and Vision: Football's Relationship with Television, 1936-1960." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15, no.1, (1998): 211-226.
- Higson, Andrew. "National Identity and the Media." In *The Media*. Briggs and Cobley, Eds. London: Longman, 1997.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 1-14.
- Hoffer, Eric. *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*. New York: Harper & Row, 1951.
- Iacovetta, Franca, *Such Hardworking People: Italians in Postwar Toronto*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Iacovetta, Franca. *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006.
- Johnson, Richard and Graham Dawson. "Popular Memory: Theory, Practice, Method." In *Making Histories: Studies in History-writing and Politics*. Richard Johnson, Ed. London: Hutchinson, 1982.
- Jose, Colin, and William F. Rannie. *The Story of Soccer in Canada*. Lincoln, ON: W.F.Rannie, 1982.
- Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1991.
- Kymlicka, Will. "The Merits of Multiculturalism." In *Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation*. R.D. Francis and D.B. Smith, Eds. Toronto: Tomson Nelson Education, 2002, pp. 480-499.
- Lehan, Marc. *Canadian Multiculturalism 93-6E*. Government of Canada: Depository Services Program, (revised 15 February 1999). <http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/CIR/936-e.htm> [Accessed 16 September 2011].
- Leloup, Xavier and Philippe Apparicio. "Montréal: A Multicultural City: Overview of Research on Ethnic Concentration." *Our Diverse Cities* 7 (Spring 2010): 171-179.
- Marchetto, Fr. Ezio. "The Catholic Church and Italian Immigration to Toronto: an Overview." *Polyphony*, Vol. 7, no. 2., 1985: 107-110.
- Martin, Simon. *Football and Fascism*. Oxford: Berg, 2004.

- Massey, Doreen and Pat Jess. *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures, and Globalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- McKay, Jim. "Entity vs Process Approaches to Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Identity: A Case Study of Ethnic Soccer Clubs in Toronto's Italian Community." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 12, no. 3 (1980): 56-80.
- Miller, Toby, Geoffrey Lawrence, Jim McKay, and David Rowe. *Globalization and Sport*. London: Sage, 2001.
- Molle, Ilena. *Identity and Social Participation: A Case Study of Chileans and Soccer in Toronto*. Masters Thesis. Toronto: York University, 2007.
- Mourlane, Stéphane. "L'Italie championne du monde de football 1982 : un nouveau Risorgimento—Italy, World Champions of football 1982: A new Italian Risorgimento." *Global Football: History, Gender, Nation Conference*, York University, Toronto, 2009. Unpublished conference proceedings.
- Murray, Bill. *The World's Game: A History of Soccer*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996.
- "Ontario , City of Toronto – CHIN-AM." *Radio Station History: Canadian Communications Community*, http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/index3.html?url=http%3A//www.broadcasting-history.ca/listings_and_histories/radio/histories.php%3Fid%3D403%26historyID%3D184 (accessed June 27, 2011).
- Passerini, Luisa. *Memory and Totalitarianism*. Oxford, 1992.
- Patrias, Carmela and Ruth A. Frager. "'This is Our Country, These Are Our Rights': Minorities and the Origins of Ontario's Human Rights Campaigns." *Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (March 2001): 1-35.
- Perin, Roberto and Franc Sturino. *Arrangiarsi: The Italian immigration experience in Canada*. Toronto: Guernica, 2007.
- Perry, Harriet. "The Metonymic Definition of the Female and the Concept of honour Among Italian Immigrant Families in Toronto." *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*. Betty Boyd Caroli, Robert F. Harney, and Lydio F. Tomasi, Eds. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978.
- Ramirez, Bruno. *The Italians in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989.
- Ray, Brian Kelvin. *Immigrants in a "Multicultural" Toronto: Exploring the Contested Social and Housing Geographies of Post-War Italian and Caribbean Immigrants*. Unpublished manuscript. Kingston: Queen's University, 1992.
- Stranger-Ross, Jordan. "An Inviting Parish: Community without Locality in Postwar Italian Toronto." *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, 3, (September 2006), pp. 381-407
- Rowe, David, Jim McKay, and Toby Miller. "Come Together: Sport, Nationalism, and the Media." *Mediasport*. Lawrence A. Wenner, Ed. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Rowe, David. *Sport, Culture, and the Media: Second edition*. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2004.
- Satterlee, Thom. "Making Soccer a 'Kick in the Grass': The media's role in promoting a marginal sport, 1975-1977." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 36, no. 3 (2001).

- Scavello, Nino A. *Italian Popular Piety and the North American Immigration Experience: A postwar comparative analysis*. Unpublished paper: York University, 2006.
- Steinwand, Jonathan. "The Future of Nostalgia in Friedrich Schlegel's Gender Theory: Casting German Aesthetics Beyond Ancient Greece and Modern Europe." In *Narratives of Nostalgia, Gender, and Nationalism*, Jean Pickering and Suzanne Kehde, Eds. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- Stoffman, Daniel. *Who Gets In: What's Wrong with Canada's Immigration Program and How to Fix It*. Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 2002.
- Sturino, Franc. "Family and Kin Cohesion among South Italian Immigrants in Toronto." *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*. Betty Boyd Caroli, Robert F. Harney, and Lydio F. Tomasi, Eds. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978.
- Sturino, Franc. *Forging the Chain: Italian Migration to North America, 1880-1930*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1990.
- "History: Background on Corso Italia." *Toronto Corso Italia*, <http://www.torontocorsoitalia.com/page.php?id=790> (accessed on July 5, 2011).
- Vertinsky, Patricia. *Sites of Sport, Space, Place and Experience*. London: Frank Cass, 2004.
- von Vulte, Manfred J. *Where Have All of Toronto's Germans Gone?* Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2004.
- Walvin, James. *The People's Game: The History of Football Revisited*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1994.
- Wayland, Sarah V. "Immigration, Multiculturalism, and National Identity in Canada." *International Journal on Group Rights* 5 (1997): 33-58.
- Williams, Jean. *A Game for Rough Girls? A History of Women's Football in Britain*. (London: Routledge, 2003).
- Wilson, Janelle L. *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1995.
- Wilson, Jonathan. *Inverting the Pyramid: The History of Football Tactics*. Great Britain: Orion Books, 2008.
- Zucchi, John E. "Italian Hometown Settlements and the Development of an Italian Community in Toronto, 1875-1945." *Gathering Places: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*. Robert F. Harney, Ed. Toronto, 1985.
- Zucchi, John E. *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.