

**Sporting Multiculturalism:
Toronto's Postwar European Immigrants, Gender, Diaspora,
and the Grassroots Making of Canadian Diversity**

by

Stephen Fielding
B.A. (Hons), University of Winnipeg, 2005
M.A., Simon Fraser University, 2008

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of

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

This dissertation offers an alternative lens to understand Canada's gradual embrace of multiculturalism. Scholars have typically "worked back" from Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's famous 1971 declaration to unearth the origins of multicultural legislation, focusing on departmental policies, intense lobbying by ethnic organizations, and changing attitudes during the sixties' container of "third force" (of neither English nor French origin) activism. This story of Canadian multiculturalism is told from the grassroots level of immigrant leisure, where a pluralistic envisioning of English Canada was foreshadowed, renegotiated, and acted out "from below." It argues that the thousands of European immigrant men who played and watched sports on Toronto's sport periphery were agents of change. They created a competitive model of popular multiculturalism that emphasized cultural distinctiveness during a period of rapid social and political transformation and national self-reflection. By the 1980s, the first-generation immigrants and community leaders moved this model of competitive pluralism into transnational spheres and interacted with other diasporic projects when they sent their Canadian-born children on "homeland trips" to Europe to discover their roots in the context of sport tournaments. At the same time, popular multiculturalism moved into the mainstream when the City of Toronto appropriated soccer fandom as the example for its own rebranding as a metropolis of urban harmony and conviviality. This dissertation also studies how and why one immigrant community played an outsized role in the grassroots organization of diversity. Italians were the first to establish a profitable model out of ethnic sport, and the estimated 250,000 people who celebrated unscripted on the streets of Toronto after Italy's 1982 World Cup victory, it is argued, produced a watershed moment in the history of Canadian multiculturalism. The World Cup party inaugurated new modes of citizen participation in the public sphere, produced the narrative with which Italians formed a collective memory of their post-migration experience, and prompted mainstream political and commercial interests to represent themselves to the public in the symbols and language of multiculturalism as sport. This dissertation also shows how the movement of a male-driven, competitive pluralism to the centre, sometimes accompanied by outbursts of rough masculinities, revealed the paradoxical problem that in the new vision of inclusivity, cultural distinctiveness had to be identified, maintained, and sometimes defended to survive.

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Introduction



Figure 1. Source: Roberto Portolese

This iconic picture, taken halfway between the end of the Second World War and the present, captures a watershed moment in the history of Toronto. The photographer's lens tilts down to an endless sea of people and hovering flags extending beyond the frame. This mass Italian immigrant celebration in the wake of Italy's 1982 World Cup victory on the streets of the city was both a flashpoint and tipping point in a six-decade story of European newcomer organization, identity and belonging, diasporic engagement, collective memory, and multiculturalism. The photo was taken by Roberto Portolese, a freelance photographer who immigrated to Canada from Italy the previous year, and today it hangs from the walls of Italian

businesses throughout the city of Toronto.¹ It freezes in time a moment deeply cherished by the hundreds of thousands of Italians who filled St. Clair Avenue West that day and the younger generations who learned its significance from their immigrant parents and grandparents, material culture, and the new podiums it created for inter-ethnic street theatre during every FIFA World Cup and UEFA European Championship ever since.

Toronto's streets filled on July 11, 1982, after Italy won the soccer World Cup in a dramatic 3-1 victory over West Germany. Across the Atlantic Ocean from Spain, where the tournament was held, an estimated crowd of more than 250,000 spilled out of homes and business in Toronto's Italian quarters onto St. Clair Avenue West, staging in dramatic fashion what was then the largest public demonstration in the city's history. Portolese found a way to access the rooftop of a three-story apartment building on the north side of the 1200 block, and from there angled his camera west at the mass of revelers and Italian *tricolore* flags. In today's self-conscious age of social media and "selfies," it is hard to imagine such a throng of people so caught up in the moment. No one in the picture is looking at the camera. Even the young people in the foreground, their legs dangling precariously over the roof's edge and high above the first story awnings, seem to be unaware of or uninterested in the photographer's presence. No one gets out of Portolese's sightlines to let him take an unobstructed shot because they are fixated on the spectacle below. From the rooftop, we can read visibly Italian names on storefronts, tell-tale signs that St. Clair West is an Italian neighbourhood, and the two abandoned buses—one with a testosterone-fueled individual standing on its roof and waving a

¹ According to Gus Mandarino, who was co-owner of Toronto Italia F.C. at the time, the team paid Portolese \$5,000 for permission to include the picture in its promotional material. Portolese also gave a copy of the calendar to Italy's coach Enzo Bearzot during a visit to Italy. Bearzot, together with tournament hero Paolo Rossi and goaltender Dino Zoff, signed the original. Years later in 2002, the image was chosen to commemorate the Columbus Centre's 25th Anniversary. Gus Mandarino, interviewed by author, June 24, 2012, Toronto, ON.

flag—make it clear that this event disrupted the normal flow of the city. Architecturally, there is nothing exceptional about this row of two and three-story brick apartments anchored by ground-floor family businesses. But the picture shows that the mass gathering of Italians extending further than the eye can see is making a bold claim to the neighbourhood and what it now represents in a city long reluctant to embrace its cultural diversity.

Paradoxically, the photographer does justice to the scene by failing to capture its entirety. The social and political significance of this event, like the immense sea of revelers, extends well beyond the frame. The revelers were celebrating their identities as Italian Canadians, but also performing ethnicity in a social and political setting that placed increasing value on the expression of cultural difference. In 1982, alongside this unexpected and momentous event, a new political agenda of inclusion was enshrined in Canada's patriated constitution and Charter of Rights. At the national level but with local variants, minority cultural identities were moving into the Canadian mainstream as entities to be valued, rather than tolerated, for their distinctiveness. Italian Toronto's World Cup celebration was a defining moment in the history of Canadian multiculturalism because it entrenched one large immigrant community and a liberal model of bourgeois, do-it-yourself values as the prototype for future "spontaneous" displays of ethnic pride in the city.

As a large immigrant-receiving centre, Toronto has been a vivid site of cultural exchange and struggle. When these dialogues took place in the arena of sport, they led to the creation and organization of immigrant communities, cultural boundary markers between them and mainstream society, claims to urban territory, debates about the use and appropriation of public space, and new forms of engagement and accommodation with the socio-economic

order. Although Italians were the first to take their message to the streets, sport-loving immigrants from many backgrounds had been gathering and differentiating themselves in the masculine spatial domains on Toronto's social periphery for decades. The long story of immigrant sport in postwar Toronto consists of recurrent but changing types of encounters among diverse peoples in a small city space, affording us a unique and important perspective on the fields, arenas, and streets where immigration and ethnicity intersected with urban gendered geographies, diaspora, memory, and identity.

I grew up a couple hours' drive from Toronto in the smaller Ontario cities of Niagara Falls, Fort Erie, and Sarnia. Like many immigrant kids, my childhood summers were spent on the soccer pitch. I was a pinky white, Anglo-Saxon kid of a railroad worker and homemaker mother, predisposed to play the game mainly for personal enjoyment and the prestige of representing my city at the most competitive level. I played for culturally diverse teams, but many of the clubs we met on the field from places such as Toronto, London, and Detroit represented immigrant communities. From my position at a right receiving fullback, I noticed that the other teams' parents seemed to know one another so well, and there was the noticeably unmistakable sight of immigrant fathers pacing up and down the sideline shouting out instructions in southern European accents. Oddly, it rarely seemed to matter if the kids receiving their commands belonged to them or someone else. These ethnic teams seemed to perform under a higher level of pressure and they approached the game with a greater edginess and intensity (my one booking from a referee came against a Portuguese club). For ethnic clubs, there was more at stake than the final score or playing for the enjoyment of the game.

This project explores how a diverse population composed of primarily young European migrant men created grassroots forms of adapting to mainstream Toronto and multiple newcomer groups until the 1980s, when the “mainstream” tried to appropriate this world as its own model of urban harmony and conviviality. Postwar immigrants built a vernacular and gendered model of pluralism of ethnic institutions, social webs, and identities that was based on sport participation and fandom. The project follows this first generation into their middle years to investigate how they tried to impart ethnic allegiances to their Canadian-born children, to varying success, by sending them on “homeland trips” to Europe to discover their roots in the context of sport tournaments. It also explores how Toronto’s large and increasingly mobile Italian population, in response to the 1982 World Cup street celebration, formed a collective memory of themselves and reconstructed traditional Italian neighbourhoods—and St. Clair Avenue West, in particular—with new symbols and meanings. This urban space was memorialized as the place to express what Frances Swyripa calls “grand emotions.”² Every World Cup and Euro Cup tournament that followed was an opportunity to re-commemorate what took place in 1982.

The final section moves to the period after 1982, when the vernacular model of pluralism based on sport, already made into a profitable business by Italian entrepreneurs in multilingual media, was appropriated by the City of Toronto and exploited by St. Clair West merchants. Soccer fandom, once the maligned pastime at the fulcrum of male immigrant socialization, was now celebrated by dozens of communities every World Cup and Euro Cup, whose parties in their enclaves forced street closures in the style of the Italians in 1982.

² Frances Swyripa, “Edmonton’s Jasper Avenue: Public Ritual, Heritage, and Memory on Main Street,” in *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, eds. James Opp and John C. Walsh (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 82.

Fandom was rebranded in the language of civic boosterism as the basis for “Toronto stories,” linking the fortunes of Italian Toronto and the City of Toronto in their shared promotion of popular multiculturalism because gatherings were most concentrated and culturally diverse in Italian neighbourhoods. Extensive oral history interviews show that Italians viewed themselves as ethnic leaders in Toronto’s emerging multicultural marketplace, and more specifically as establishing the norms and regulating the practice of diversity by promoting new “Canadian” ways of civic behavior through sport fandom. But Italian claims of pre-eminence and City Hall’s declarations of cultural cohesion were simultaneously threatened when young men from the Italian and other communities clashed over the title to the symbolic heart of the Italian experience in postwar Toronto—St. Clair Avenue West.

Over the past four decades, scholarship on migration and ethnicity has greatly expanded our understanding of migrant communities in their places of resettlement. Historians, however, have been regrettably slow to explore how immigrant experiences are mediated through what they do in their leisure time. Researchers in anthropology and sociology, particularly in Europe, have long argued that sports help us answer key historical questions about migration and ethnicity. Central among these is the process by which migrants adjust to their new living environment through events, relationships, and identities that reproduce, to a varying extent, the cultures from which they came. Cities were unparalleled places of social adhesion and encounter. In them, sports were very popular, highly valued, and accessible activities for immigrants. A few years ago, historian John Zucchi challenged scholars to devote more

attention to poly-ethnic neighbourhoods.³ This project reflects Zucchi's concern for the urban geography of immigrant community, but identifies a sphere of interactions cutting across urban locales that formed an alternative map or "city within a city," where immigrants played, watched, discussed, and remembered athletic contests as they adjusted to life in Canada and tried to make sense of their experiences. Thousands of immigrant men competed and connected with another in the playing fields, bleachers, streets, and businesses on Toronto's sport periphery. They created their own communities and social maps around a marginal leisure activity—especially soccer—and in the process transformed themselves, in Daniela Kraemer's words, from "unplaced to emplaced persons."⁴

Toronto's sphere of immigrant sport was a local consequence of geopolitical upheaval in Europe, where millions were displaced by the Second World War, faced economic hardship, or tried to escape the widening orbit of the Soviet Union. Canada, by contrast, was entering a period of economic growth and labour shortage. Perhaps more out of economic necessity than hospitality, the Canadian government amended the Citizenship Act in 1947 to allow applicants and sponsored migrants from non-traditional sending regions of Southern and Eastern Europe.⁵ This policy change was felt most acutely in Toronto because approximately one-third of the 1.42 million continental Europeans and 796,000 British who came to Canada between 1945 and

³ John Zucchi, "Ethnicity and Neighbourhoods: Looking Backward, Facing Forward," *Urban History Review* 31, no. 1 (2010): 76.

⁴ Daniela Kraemer, "Planting Roots, Making Place: An Ethnography of Young Men in Port Vila, Vanuatu," (PhD diss., The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2013), 3.

⁵ The amended 1952 Act gave officials in the Department of Immigration discretionary powers to limit the entry of "less desirable" groups or individuals. For more on postwar immigration patterns, read Harold Troper, "Immigration into Toronto since the Second World War," in *The World in a City*, eds. Paul Anisef and Michael Lanphier (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 19-62.

1982 settled there.⁶ In contrast to the war years, when military service had created a domestic shortage of young men, Toronto's postwar immigrant neighbourhoods—such as College Street, St. Clair Avenue West, Kensington Market, The Danforth, and the arc of inner suburbs extending eastward from York to Scarborough—were awash with young men. Particularly among Italian newcomers, manpower flows created a skewed male to female ratio that peaked in the year 1952, when 70 percent of Italians entering Canada were male and 54 percent of them were single.⁷ The age and gender imbalance among new arrivals persisted into the 1970s and the population demographic of Toronto's Italian population continued to be slanted in favour of adult men in spite of natural increase. General immigration registers show that for almost every year between 1947 and 1973 (the exceptions were 1957 and 1961-66), unmarried male arrivals outnumbered their married counterparts, but there were more married than unmarried females.⁸ Italian women either came to Canada at their husbands' sides or sometime after their partners had sufficiently established themselves. These gaps were slow to close. The male-to-female ratio was still significant in 1971 at 109:100, compared to the city average of

⁶ The ratio is proximate because of the difficulty finding comparative migration data. The *Historical Statistics of Canada* lists 2,018,646 people arriving from Europe for the period 1956-1976, to which I added the annual totals of arrivals for each year between 1977 and 1981 provided by Employment and Immigration Canada. The total figure does not include the years before 1956. The Toronto CMA in the 1981 Canada Census showed 738,120 individuals born in Europe, composed of 226,975 from the British Isles and 511,145 from continental Europe. The Toronto proportion is therefore slightly overvalued because it includes those who arrived in Canada before 1956 (it states 81,570 European-born residents who arrived in Canada before 1945). Sources: *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Series A385-416, Immigration to Canada by country of last permanent residence, 1956 to 1976, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1983; *Government of Canada*, Employment and Immigration Canada, Statistics for Years 1977-81, Country of Birth and Country of Last Permanent Residence, Accessed November 20, 2017, http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/202/301/immigration_statistics-ef/index.html; and *Statistics Canada*, 1981 Census, Profile Tables, Toronto CMA.

⁷ From calculations based on *Annual Reports* of Department of Citizenship and Immigration in Table 9 of Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1992), 212.

⁸ *Ibid.*, and *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Series A385-416, Immigration to Canada by country of last permanent residence, 1956 to 1976.

97:100.⁹ Also that year, more than half of the population was under the age of 25 (compared to 43 percent of the general population) and the largest adult age cohort was 20 to 24.¹⁰ However, immigration figures indicate that the rate of Italian entries was slowing and the overall male-to-female gender disparity among the newest arrivals had virtually closed. It is worth noting that the age cohort slowest to follow the trend was young adults, among whom men outnumbered women by a ratio of 1.3 to 1.¹¹

As the largest continental European group to settle in Canada, Italians had the capacity to shape the organization of cultural diversity at both the popular and political level. In total, 415,177 Italians immigrated to Canada between 1947 and 1977, and of them only 36,061 returned to Italy.¹² No city experienced the Italian influx to the extent of Toronto. According to the 1981 census, 35 percent of Canadian-bound Italians settled there, a total of 297,165 single-answer respondents.¹³ Large sections of north and west Toronto were so thoroughly Italian in origin that we might speak of these neighbourhoods, taken together, as a receiving sub-society. Scholars have already explored the powerful Italian efforts to create unions, demand workers'

⁹ Lydio F. Tomasi, "The Italian Community in Toronto: A Demographic Profile," *The International Migration Review* 11, no. 4 (Winter 1977): 499.

¹⁰ Between 1956 and 1960, thirty-four percent of Italian landed immigrants were between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years and that number increased to forty-six percent five years later (39,593 out of 73,046 total males). Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1950-1962, *Annual Reports*, cited in Table 9 of Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 212; and *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Series A369-384, Immigration to Canada by age, sex and marital status, 1933 to 1976, Age 20 to 39.

¹¹ That is, 4.7 percent of males and 4.4 percent of females were between the ages of 20 and 24. The ratio among arrivals is more pronounced. Between 1969 and the first 5 months of 1971, 8,945 Italian-born males and 8,745 females arrived in Canada. Among them, there were 4,180 men and 3,310 women between ages 20 and 24, but 1,780 women and 1,335 men between the ages of 35 and 64, by comparison. The average age of marriage for males was 25-9. Numbers adopted from the 1971 Canada census data compiled into tables in Tomasi, "The Italian Community in Toronto," 491 and 499, Accessed January 8, 2014, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/4147436-eng.htm#4>.

¹² From Table 1, "Postwar Emigration to Italy and Return Migration from Italy," compiled in Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 204.

¹³ Clifford J. Jansen and Lee R. La Cavera, *Fact-book on Italians in Canada* (Downsview, ON: York University, 1981), 2; and *Citystats*, Accessed March 16, 2013, <http://citystats.uvic.ca/>.

rights, and form lobby groups to challenge discrimination and pressure governments to fund heritage language programs and folk festivals.¹⁴ The strength of Italian institutions was to some degree attributable to the longstanding Italian presence in Canada. Postwar Italian immigrants did not encounter a landscape devoid of community institutions. Toronto, for example, had a sizeable Italian population before the turn of the century that grew to 17,887 persons (by paternal lineage) by 1941.¹⁵ They had the critical mass to make powerful statements in an emerging pluralistic society. In the realm of sport, this translated to a large pool of athletes and fans, a strong market share, and an urban geography of sport that was also very much their own. The parks, sidewalks, and businesses where people of varied origins came to watch, play, and discuss soccer in the postwar period were located in or close to Italian dominated neighbourhoods to the west and northwest of downtown.

Italian Canadians were well positioned to capitalize on Canada's post-1971 multicultural climate. When immigrant soccer fandom grew into a commercial enterprise, Italian entrepreneurs were the first to enter into the new market, creating what became Canada's first multilingual television and radio empires. The spectacle of 250,000 Italian soccer fans taking to the same streets, beautifully captured by Roberto Portolese's rooftop lens, opened another chapter to their claim as Toronto's leaders of cultural diversity through sport. In the 1980s,

¹⁴ Italians were prominent in the founding of powerful construction unions, Locals 183 and 506, during the 1960s, and Italian workers composed majorities in inter-ethnic worker events such as the Artistic Woodwork Factory strike of 1973 and the founding of the Union of Injured Workers a year later, which demanded better work safety and compensation for those hurt on the job. Vincenza Scarpacci, *The Journey of the Italians in America* (New Orleans; Pelican, 2008), 218-9; Nicholas DeMaria Harney, "Eh, Paesan! Being Italian in Toronto" (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 33; and chapter 7 of Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*. In the interests of lobbying government, thirty Italian organizations in Toronto formed the Italian Federation of Associations and Clubs of Metro for this purpose in 1970. This was followed shortly after by the Federazioni di Associazioni e Club Italiani (FACI), which became the National Congress of Italian Canadians in 1974.

¹⁵ Canada Census (1941), cited in John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 44.

international soccer fandom replaced the local leagues as the favoured vehicle for ethnic expression. Italian merchants enticed people of other backgrounds to return to Italian neighbourhoods to participate in a cafe, bar, and street culture centered on sport fandom.

By studying the interconnected leisure lives of newcomers, this dissertation complicates the “single ethnic group in relation to the dominant society” paradigm—Chinese in Vancouver, Ukrainians in Alberta, Portuguese in Toronto, for example—that has characterized much of the historiography of migration and ethnicity since the 1960s. This “single group plus” study is concerned primarily with Italians not only in their interaction with the host society, but also their engagement with other newcomers and ethnic counterparts. This approach, I argue, preserves the strengths of specialization in the history of one immigrant group, but does so without overly narrowing the frame to that group alone in relation to a host society. There have been notable additions to what might be called an intersectional ethnic history. Whiteness studies, led by David Roediger, Matthew Frye Jacobson, and Thomas Guglielmo, respectively, have revealed the mechanisms through which white European ethnics formed political and economic alliances in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁶ These populations organized through labour activism, machine politics, and neighbourhood covenants to create racial distance between themselves and the southern black populations who relocated to northern U.S. cities during the Great Migration. Addressing the same region and time-period as this study, Franca Iacovetta’s *Gatekeepers* situates Toronto’s postwar European immigrants as recipients of a top-down hegemonic project by middle-class Anglo government staffers, social

¹⁶ David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 2007); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); and Thomas Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

workers, teachers, and policy makers. This group sought to make “good Canadians” out of newcomers by teaching them how to adopt English Canadian customs, habits, foods, and parenting styles. By comparison, Mark Wild’s *Street Meeting*, though not concerned with sport, takes a more lateral approach to migrant relations. Wild follows the everyday interactions among a diverse population of newcomers who encountered one another at school, leisure, work, and worship.¹⁷ Nevertheless, we still know very little about the competitive and collaborative types of relationships that have taken place in large immigrant-receiving centers.

Historian Amy Bass describes sports as “a field—symbolic, historical, cultural, social, [and] political—that transcends the game itself.”¹⁸ For European immigrants, athletic competitions were highly readable exchanges that simplified the complex realities of their post-migration experience. Thomas F. Carter explains, paraphrasing anthropologist Roger Caillois, “Games coordinate and manage orderings of time and space, specifying terms of engagement and procedures, turning mere behavior or process into an ‘event’ in order to reach a conclusion.”¹⁹ Transcendent and meaningful, sports were central to what T.S. Eliot might call the immigrant’s “whole way of life.”²⁰ Although not everyone involved or who identified with

¹⁷ Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006); and Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). An older book with continued relevance is Steven Reiss’ *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

¹⁸ Amy Bass, “State of the Field: Sports History and the ‘Cultural Turn,’” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (June 2014): 153.

¹⁹ Thomas F. Carter, “‘God Does Not Play Dice with the Universe, or Does He?’ Anthropological Interlocutions of Sport and Religion,” *Religion and Society: Advances and Research* 3 (2012): 143. Based on Roger Caillois, *Man, Play, and Games* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1961).

²⁰ T.S. Eliot, *Notes toward the Definition of Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948), 29; John Hughson, David Inglis and Marcus Free, *Uses of Sport: A Critical Study* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 20. A comparative study featuring the situation in Sydney, Australia is Steve Georgakis’s, “Football Phoenix: The Story of the PanHellenic Football Club,” *Modern Greek Studies* 11 (2011): 187-207, Accessed June 3, 2016, <http://openjournals.library.usyd.edu.au/index.php/MGST/article/view/5977/6543>. p. 189.

an ethnic community played, watched, or hinged their hopes on the outcome of a soccer or hockey game, the realm of sport impacted the lives of supporter and withholder alike.

The urban spaces of parks, arenas, and small business where migrants gathered to watch, play, and discuss sports were generative soil for changes taking place in the lives of newcomers, their communities, and English Canada itself. Live games and later, broadcast feeds, were generally inexpensive and accessible, providing spectators with regular occasions for social assembly, personal pleasure, and community construction. The athletic competitions themselves were rule-bounded but lacked a script, a paradoxical arrangement that offered players and fans a predictable format with the prospect of surprise, immediate gratification, or disappointment. These variable outcomes and their confrontational nature differentiated sport gatherings from other well-studied forms of immigrant culture, such as folk festivals, beauty pageants, and religious processions. Another reason why participants invested sports with so much money and meaning was the belief that athletic competitions were—or at least should be—a meritocracy. Winners were unambiguous and titles earned, with supporters sharing in the victory by proxy. Lastly, sports were portable and malleable social practices that **could** travel great distances and be invested with new meanings.

When young men settled into early postwar Canada, one of the first things many of them did was form or join a sport team. They played and watched for sheer enjoyment, much as they did in pre-migration Europe, but repositioned these activities with new goals. Soccer helped speed the formation of new communities and identities among disconnected populations, and games were special venues to express their desires for status, recognition, and belonging. The unfamiliar sports first encountered in Canada—most of all, hockey—were also

malleable for this purpose. Moments of *play* generated social attachments and created memories for ethnic communities in various stages of their development, which surfaced in symbols and meanings that helped them “tell stories about themselves to themselves.”²¹ Sports also enabled the Canadian mainstream audience to re-evaluate and reconsider the markers of what constituted a *good* immigrant and, more self-reflexively, what values should be considered an English Canadian mainstream ideal.

The grassroots multiculturalism that places immigrants and street-level encounters at the forefront of social change was a highly gendered phenomenon. Immigrant men confronted one another in an urban geography of bars, soccer parks, stadiums, barber shops, and restaurants outside mainstream Toronto that constituted its own masculine domain. In this respect, postwar Toronto evokes Linda España-Miram’s study of single Filipino men in interwar Los Angeles, which showed that migrant men will gravitate to the limited range of leisure spaces and activities permitted by the host society.²² In comparison to studies of men’s leisure activities, much of the literature on migrant men, and particularly fathers, to date has assumed the common occurrence of father-absence among breadwinners,²³ characterized men as independent and non-relational, or treated them as “individual units of labour.”²⁴ A critical article from more than a decade ago by Lawrence D. Berg and Robyn Longhurst asked researchers to think spatially about men and masculinities to understand where and how they

²¹ Clifford Geertz, “Deep Play: Notes from a Balinese Cockfight,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 424, 436-437, 444-6, and 451.

²² *Ibid.*, 7.

²³ An observation by Rhacel Salazar Parrenas, *The Force of Domesticity: Filipina Migrants and Globalization* (New York: NYU Press, 2008), 82.

²⁴ A review of the limited literature is provided in a gendered study of 22 Poles who settled in London c. 2008-9. The age of most men was between 25 and 45. See Majella Kilkey, Ania Plomien, and Diane Perrons, “Migrant Men’s Fathering Narratives, Practices and Projects in National and Transnational Spaces: Recent Polish Male Migrants to London,” *International Migration* 52, no. 1 (2014): 178-9.

relate to one another and the larger political, economic, and gendered order.²⁵ Franca Iacovetta accomplished this task in her chapter in *Gatekeepers* that investigated how European immigrant men in postwar Toronto were pathologized as social dangers. Immigrant sport—possibly because the activity is commonly organized as a manly pursuit due to its physical and competitive nature—positions men as relational subjects. Players, fans, coaches and promoters pursued social bonds, nurtured and transmitted values to younger generations, served as guides and travelling companions on homeland trips, and acted as stakeholders in the local organization of cultural difference.

This project builds on the limited work written about Italian newcomer men and masculinities²⁶ and places it in the broader historiography of Toronto and southern Ontario. But more broadly it has wider implications for how we understand the repositioning of first and second generation immigrant men in popular and official imaginaries during the processes of integration and larger political change. Sport fandom was a highly visible forum to evaluate the performance and place of immigrant men, and immigrant sport in postwar Toronto was a male-driven phenomenon before and after 1982. However, the World Cup Party on St. Clair Avenue, which featured multiple generations of Italians and significant numbers of women in attendance, made it possible for ethnic entrepreneurs, the city establishment, and the larger Italian community to construct a narrative around the idea that international soccer fandom in Toronto and the street-level multiculturalism that it represented began as a family event and that any violent outbursts involving young men occurring thereafter were a deviation from this

²⁵ Lawrence D. Berg and Robyn Longhurst, "Placing Masculinities and Geography," *Gender, Place and Culture* 10, no. 4 (December 2003): 352.

²⁶ Robert F. Harney, "Men without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930," in *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*, ed. Betty Caroli et al. (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978), 79-101; and chapter 8 of Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*.

standard. This historical pattern reveals that immigrant men and masculinities are more likely to be considered socially acceptable to the mainstream in a family context. Taking the argument a step further, the mainstream's appropriation and reformulation of a longstanding masculine practice illustrates how political and ethnic elites uphold the reputations of communities moving into the category of "model immigrants" by suppressing or avoiding discussions of their young men's activities that once generated fears, even when these behaviours reappear. Rough masculinities were an unwelcome but persistent feature of this unsettled pluralism.

The story of immigrant and ethnic sport, where newcomers met, and what these encounters meant allows us to read the making of a popular pluralism, marked by participants' emerging sense of belonging to multiple imagined communities, that occurred at the same time as Toronto's postwar social and political transformation.²⁷ Over the course of two generations, immigrants and their children negotiated multiple attachments: to local ethnic communities, to wider diasporas, and to their country of adoption. Chapter One shows how sports were central to formal and personal immigrant networks, giving shape to an alternative urban geography that linked communities through shared spaces, discussions, and the consumption of sports. Soccer and hockey are compared to show how a newcomer community could be foreign or welcomed depending on what sports—and more specifically, the cultural and class-based *terms* of those sports—that a mainstream Canadian audience and emerging ethnic elites considered to be sufficient proof of immigrant assimilation. The early mainstream struggles to appropriate immigrant sport as a viable market illustrate its unwieldiness as a product entangled with a

²⁷ This is an expanded application of national belonging, as described in Harry Walker, "State of Play: The Political Ontology of Sport in Amazonian Peru," *American Ethnologist* 40, no. 2 (May 2013): 383.

peripheral people. The alternatively positive or negative reception of the same immigrants, based on what they did in their spare time, provides a unique lens into how the dominant group opened the door to Canadian newcomers while still holding on to the keys.

Chapter Two picks up after European immigration falls into steep decline in the late 1970s (with the exception of the Portuguese). Most arrivals who came to Canada after the Second World War were approaching their middle years or older, upwardly mobile, and had well-established community infrastructures. The majority were married, had purchased homes, and were raising children of their own. At the same time, there was growing anxiety about the future of their communities, in part because a new, Canadian-born generation was about to inherit the impressive array of cultural centers, churches, businesses, and services built by their parents. This chapter explores how immigrant parents addressed these fears by sending their Canadian-born children on “homeland trips” to Europe. Community leaders calculated that sports tournaments “back home” would narrow the cultural distance between themselves and their children and preserve the community in the face of assimilatory forces. Abetted by advancements in technology, transportation, and their own socio-economic improvement, the parents were well positioned to send their children abroad to discover their roots and sense of place in a diaspora. We follow these transnational worlds at play, from the conception and organization of a homeland trip for sport, to the movement of the young travelers to and around Europe, their interactions with the host society, and how participants later described the impact of these trips on their own sense of belonging and involvement with extended family and co-ethnics in Toronto and beyond. Generally speaking, diasporic networks were mobilized to instill in the young people an identity rooted in the ancestral homeland. This

chapter probes how and why the second generation's attachments and identification with their ancestral birthplace, a diasporic people, and local community varied among themselves and from their parents' generation.

The postwar immigrants who organized around sport fandom were agents of change during a period of rapid social and political transformation and national self-reflection in Canada. It is this relationship between immigrant sport and national or civic identity that distinguishes the Canadian case from other English-speaking countries with high numbers of European immigrants, such as Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.²⁸ A central argument here is that the Italian community played an outsized role as forbearers and co-creators of Canadian multiculturalism. By the 1960s, the Quiet Revolution in Quebec had become a serious political movement and English Canada had embarked on a less palpable but equally profound re-imagining of its social and political character.²⁹ Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's 1971 declaration of Canada as a multicultural society (notably rejected in French-speaking Quebec) has often been viewed as the watershed moment in this transition. Scholars have typically "worked back" from this announcement when trying to unearth the origins of multicultural legislation, focusing on departmental policies, intense lobbying by ethnic organizations, and changing attitudes during the sixties' container of "third force" (of neither

²⁸ Phillip Mosley, "Ethnic Involvement in Australian Soccer: A History, 1950-1990," National Sports Research Center, University of Canberra, 1995; Charles Little, "The forgotten game? A reassessment of the place of soccer within New Zealand society, sport and historiography," *Soccer & Society* 3, no. 2 (2002): 38-50; and Derek Van Rheenen, "The promise of soccer in America: the open play of ethnic subcultures," *Soccer & Society* 10, no. 6 (2009): 781-794.

²⁹ This is the central assumption and topic explored in Jose E. Igartua's *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identity in English Canada, 1945-1971* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

English nor French origin) activism.³⁰ Franca Iacovetta's *Gatekeepers* explored efforts by Canada's Citizenship Branch in the 1950s to promote a form of cultural pluralism that served "to enrich Canadian society [but] not change it in an substantial way."³¹ With some validity, the driving force behind the multicultural movement is usually attributed to Ukrainian Canadians.³² But far from the seats of power, the supposed "recipient" populations of such policies were developing, for both practical and promotional purposes, their own conceptions of a society based on the preservation and celebration of cultural differences.

There is an alternative trajectory of Canada's embrace of multiculturalism told from the grassroots level of immigrant leisure, where a pluralistic envisioning of English Canada was foreshadowed, renegotiated, and acted out "from below." Ewa Morawska has explained that ground-level actors play an important and constitutive role in sustaining and transforming the policies, legal provisions, and public discourse of multiculturalism. Postwar Toronto is a vibrant illustration of Morawska's argument that segments of the general population can be quicker than political institutions to recognize cultural differences as legitimate features of society. At the level of "immediate social surroundings," people are sometimes more eager to embrace

³⁰ Some key studies include: Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-68*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); and Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010). A few authors, most notably Harold Troper, have shown that some ethnic communities rejected the "third force" definition. Read Harold Troper, *The Defining Decade: Identity, Politics, and the Canadian Jewish Community in the 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010). Lee Blanding provides a good discussion of the terms "third force" and "multicultural movement," showing that the two were not necessarily synonymous. I recognize that the term "third force" is contested, but it is useful in this context. Blanding, "Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974," (PhD dissertation, University of Victoria, 2013), 18-19.

³¹ Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 76.

³² For example, read the works of Julia Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism - Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the 'Third Force,'" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 38, no. 1 (2006): 47-62; and Lalande, "'Building a Home Abroad' — A Comparative Study of Ukrainian Migration, Immigration Policy and Diaspora Formation in Canada and Germany after the Second World War," (PhD dissertation, University of Hamburg, 2006).

and promote a sense of overarching, universal values that hold a multicultural ideal together and ensure its endurance over time.³³ The most important contribution of Morawska's argument to this study is that individual and collective activities at these grassroots levels can sustain or transform local level and, ultimately, larger-scope structures in both deliberate and unintended ways.³⁴ Immigrant sport participation and fandom was an especially powerful marker and means of grassroots pluralism in the changing relationship between official and popular forms of multiculturalism.

The following chapters show that the national conversation was not only unsettled at the time of Trudeau's 1971 announcement, but that from there it progressed in fits and starts and varied according to locality. In Toronto, popular multiculturalism through sport fandom rose above the grassroots level when it was appropriated for official political purposes after 1982. However, the popular form did not disappear, despite sharing the same assumptions about the preservation and promotion of cultural difference. At this point, popular multiculturalism in Toronto created a situation that extended beyond the realm of the "structural model" assumed by Ewa Morawska, which contains human action within existing economic and political structures, cultural configurations, and technological formations.³⁵ Indeed, many new local and diasporic networks among immigrant sport fans were shaped by overarching policies, new technologies, economic opportunities, and cultural change, but ground-level cultural activities remained an outside force and sometimes threatened what

³³ This question is inspired by Ewa Morawska's article "Multiculturalism 'from Below': Reflections of an Immigrant Ethnographer," in *Debating Multiculturalism in the Nordic Welfare States*, eds. Peter Kivisto and Östen Wahlbeck (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 50-52. A less politically focused study of quotidian multicultural encounters is Amanda Wise and Selveraj Velayutham, eds. *Everyday Multiculturalism*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

³⁴ Morawska, "Multiculturalism 'from Below,'" 49-50.

³⁵ Ibid.

Morawska has identified as predominant structures. Immigrant sport fandom was always a male-driven practice and the undesirable outbursts of violence and vulgarity between communities that marred post-1982 celebrations presented the City and ethnic entrepreneurs with uncomfortable and embarrassing challenges at the dawn of the new millennium. The inverse implication of Canadian multiculturalism at the official and popular level is that in the space between promoting and preserving cultural differences, boundaries sometimes had to be *defended*. A gendered turf war threatened to undermine the model itself.

It is significant that Italian Toronto's 1982 World Cup celebration occurred in the same year as the patriation of the Constitution and the entrenchment of the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms within it. There is some room to consider how official and vernacular multiculturalisms overlapped in the general debates about Canadian citizenship activated by Charter politics. The new Charter itself had a dedicated section to multiculturalism (Section 27), in addition to a set of bill of rights guarantees addressing religious freedom and anti-discrimination (Sections 2 and 15), which advanced the multicultural ideals of protecting and promoting minority rights and distinctions.³⁶ The multicultural values underlying and activated by this political paradigm manifested at street levels, such that the rejoicing Italians in 1982 and the many communities that followed in their wake believed that celebrating their own cultural distinctiveness was a quintessentially Canadian thing to do and should be housed in the public sphere. Increasingly, police and mainstream media agreed with them. This pattern confirms Will Kymlicka's argument that Canadian multiculturalism is unique for its movement away from regarding culture as a private affair to an integral part of a person's identity that should be

³⁶ Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, s2, 15 and 17, Part I of the Constitution Act, 1981, being Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), c.11.

accommodated in the public sphere for an individual to enjoy fuller participation in Canadian life.³⁷ The public playing fields of sport participation and fandom, much like the theatre of liberal democratic discourse, were based on the assumption that open participation is both desirable and possible, and that skill and hard work is duly rewarded. The immigrant story through sport in postwar Toronto also reveals that unresolved material disparities and cultural and gendered complications were woven into the new forums for identity expression.

Chapter Three shows how the 1982 World Cup Street Party gave Italian Toronto an “identity-giving past,”³⁸ around which it built a collective memory to explain their story of settlement, struggle, success, and distinction in a country increasingly modelled on cultural diversity. “Collective memory tends to select particular events as symbolic markers of change,” explains Yael Zerubavel.³⁹ Moreover, “a memory evoked too often, and expressed in the form of a story,” Primo Levi colourfully describes, “tends to become fixed in stereotype...crystallized, perfected, adorned, installing itself in the place of the raw memory and growing at its expense.”⁴⁰ Notwithstanding distinctions between “real and raw,” the dissertation unpacks how the memory of what precipitated the momentous celebration became very different than what people knew or believed at the time.⁴¹ It asks why the popular narrative of a model immigrant community having proven itself on a public stage was so important in a society

³⁷ Will Kymlicka, “Canadian Multiculturalism in Historical and Comparative Perspective: Is Canada Unique?” *Constitutional Forum* 13, no. 1/2 (2013): 4; and Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 83, 173-4. I would like to thank Avigail Eisenberg for introducing me to this work.

³⁸ Alister McGrath, *Christianity’s Dangerous Idea: The Protestant Revolution—A History from the Sixteenth Century to the Twenty-First* (New York: HarperOne, 2007), 314.

³⁹ Yael Zerubavel, “The Death of Memory and the Memory of Death: Masada and the Holocaust as Historical Metaphors,” *Representations* 45 (Winter 1994): 72-73.

⁴⁰ Primo Levi, *The Drowned and Rosenthal* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 24.

⁴¹ Daniel James, “Meatpackers, Peronists, and Collective Memory: A View from the South,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1409-1410.

increasingly organized and self-identified by cultural differences, both for Toronto Italians and the City of Toronto. I interviewed thirty Italians over the age of fifty and asked what they remembered about 1982, and to my astonishment all of them recalled that hot summer day in similar, nearly identical, terms. This memory narrative⁴² first appeared in the ethnic Italian newspapers in 1982 and continues to impact how Italians view themselves and their relationship to other communities, the political establishment, and the built environment. Put differently, the “epiphanic”⁴³ moment on St. Clair Avenue was their “coming out” party—a historical turning point and a benchmark from which they became conscious of themselves as a community, altered their position vis-à-vis English Canadian society, and engaged other cultures. That Toronto Italians perceived themselves to be leaders in the organization of diversity and entitled to claim St. Clair West as an Italian neighbourhood presents a second instance where popular multiculturalism through sport in Toronto varied from Morawska’s model. It indicates some level of confidence among Toronto Italians in their position and the importance of geographical symbolism, whereas Morawska envisioned a horizontal social arrangement in which representational images faded in importance.⁴⁴ These chapters treat Italian collective memory, like ethnicity, as something remade in the years since 1982. They put *what* is remembered into the social, cultural and political contexts that gave it shape, helping us unpack *why* Italian Toronto remembers as it does, and *how* one narrative came to dominate at the expense of others.⁴⁵

⁴² Robin Wagner-Pacifici, “Memories in the Making: The Shape of Things that Went,” *Qualitative Sociology* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 302.

⁴³ DeMaria Harney, *Eh, Paesan!*, 160.

⁴⁴ Morawska, “Multiculturalism ‘from Below,’” 53.

⁴⁵ The contextualist argument is effectually made by Alon Confino in “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1388 and 1395. For a classic

Toronto was host to Canada's great urban immigration experiment of the twentieth century. One of the most interesting aspects of this transformation was the municipal government's reluctance to identify with its diverse population. As Toronto overtook Montreal to become Canada's largest city in the early 1980s, it was slow to abandon certain Anglo-Canadian ideals in the organization of public life. Chapter Four moves us to the period after the Italian community's epic 1982 World Cup party, when the city concluded its uncomfortable journey from the last Victorian vestiges of Toronto the Good to "The World in a City."⁴⁶ It publically identified with the forms of popular multiculturalism through soccer fandom on display every World Cup and Euro Cup, but struggled to manage the public relations fall-out caused by young men defending and challenging culturally-significant city spaces through violence.⁴⁷ Italians were at the centre of these exchanges because most of them took place on St. Clair Avenue West.

A short space is necessary here to explain the methodology I used to find the sixty-four oral history accounts that were a key part of the dissertation research process. The interviews largely reflect a well-connected network with the immigrant sporting world; thus it is reasonable to assume that a different method might have revealed alternative testimonies about the importance of sport in immigrant life. Newcomers undoubtedly expressed varying levels of interest and commitment to sport and sport fandom. However, there is strong evidence to suggest that this network was important to thousands of other people and

example of a "real" vs. "raw" memory dialectic, see John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

⁴⁶ The term comes from Anisef Lanphier's edited volume *The World in a City*.

⁴⁷ This study is informed by an investigation into Turkish male migrant soccer fans in Germany. Patricia Ehrkamp, "Risking publicity: Masculinities and the racialization of public neighbourhood space," *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 2 (March 2008): 119.

politically impactful well beyond its immigrant core. I employed a “snowball method” to connect with a diverse subset of participants, in most cases beginning with well-connected individuals of the immigrant “elite” who were former team owners, club and league presidents, trip organizers, small business owners, star players, politicians, media personalities, sport reporters, coaches, and other respected figures in the sport community. Although “everyday” players and fans were represented among those interviewed, the most prominent voices are from the group most heavily invested in the world of immigrant sport and most likely to view it as a central component of the immigrant experience. They were the leading lights of grassroots multiculturalism through sport, their successes and failures a key indicator of newcomers’ best efforts at using their leisure time to reinvent their lives, build new communities, and win approval of and admission into mainstream English Canada.

To stay within the scope of my research, certain topics are not addressed in detail. Race, for one, is often entwined with sport and there are a good number of studies exploring how the U.S. colour line intersects with athletic competition.⁴⁸ The population of racial minorities in Toronto differed from that of large American cities because it was proportionally small until after the Canadian immigration system opened to the Global South in 1967. Although the proportion of racial minorities was increasing quickly by this time, the Toronto public was still predominantly white and of European descent in the early 1980s. It is therefore reasonable to argue that until this point in the postwar period the vast majority of Immigrants engaged one another more often in a climate of ethnic, rather than racial, difference. One might draw

⁴⁸ See, for example, Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); and Linda España-Miram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles’ Little Manilla: Working-class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

significance from that fact that the mass street party of 1982—the first of its kind in Toronto—was staged by the largest non-British white ethnic population to come from the new post-war immigrant ranks. That Italians were publicly declaring themselves as *mainstream* Canadians in the city during a period of fast-growing racial diversity evokes earlier whiteness studies that found Italian Americans entering the racialized “white” mainstream in response to black migration to the same northern industrial cities where they had settled a generation earlier. Demography, however, does not explain the events of 1982 because Italians were for the most part defending urban spaces and their cultural distinctiveness in celebration of themselves and defiance of the Anglo establishment, not as a xenophobic measure against residential incursions by racialized minorities.

This dissertation does not dedicate much attention to the experiences of women because the vast majority of players and fans involved in immigrant team sports were male. It is important to note that some of the larger organizations, such as Toronto Italia F.C. and the First Portuguese Canadian Club, did field female sport teams at certain times.⁴⁹ Franca Iacovetta has observed that older male subjects interviewed by female historians tend to reflect more often on the women in their lives and gender constructions.⁵⁰ The opposite may also hold true: older men can be more likely to recall times with male family members and friends in the presence of a male historian. In the interview format, the highly masculinized terrain of immigrant sport re-

⁴⁹ Angelo Delfino shared with me a picture of a women’s Toronto Italia squad, estimated to be from the late 1950s. *Angelo Delfino’s Private Archives*. João Santos said his daughter was part of a First Portuguese Canadian Club women’s team that lasted for two years in the mid-1970s. João Santos, interviewed by author, February 4, 2011, Toronto, ON.

⁵⁰ Franca Iacovetta, “Postmodern Ethnography, Historical Materialism, and (De)centring the Male Authorial Voice: A Feminist Conversation,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 32 (November 1999): 286. See also Stacey Zambryzcki, “‘There Were Always Men in Our House’: Gender and Childhood Memories of Working-Class Ukrainians in Depression-Era Canada,” *Labour/Le Travail* 60 (Fall 2007): 78-9.

emerged prominently in their recollections of the past. Immigrant women undoubtedly sacrificed a great deal of time and money at community team fundraisers; moreover, wives and daughters disproportionately bore the negative side of a sports scene that directed their husbands' time and energies away from the home. But rather than risk token attempts to "just add women and stir," or conflate women's history and gender history, the project considers the gendered question of what male-driven sport does for immigrant community imagination and organization and the making of grassroots multiculturalism. And it probes how dominant gender roles influence men's memories of their post-migration experience with sport. It will be the task of another project to further complicate the discussion and ask how both masculinized and feminized notions of ethnic identity interacted through immigrant sport.

Much has changed since photographer Roberto Portolese leaned over a ledge and captured a quarter of a million Italian soccer fans in unprecedented jubilation. Large numbers of Portuguese and Latin Americans have moved into the neighbourhood, challenging its once overwhelming Italian majority. The rooftop from where he shot the picture now stands above a sushi restaurant, and its presumably non-Italian owner displays the familiar red, white, and green tri-colour flag in the window. Sashimi and maki rolls are a long way from Italian cuisine, but in a cosmopolitan city such as Toronto they are often consumed by the same people. Regardless of what they put on the table, the proprietors' acknowledgement of the street's Italian character is a neighbourly act and good business strategy. Outside the restaurant, Italian flags are permanently fixed to street lamps in a long row down St. Clair Avenue West. And the city has since renamed the side street at the epicenter of the 1982 street party "Via Italia." Soccer fans still congregate in the bars and restaurants here as they did fifty years ago, but they

more often follow the play on a television screen than from the grandstands of an open-air stadium.

By the time Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government announced its "Multiculturalism means Business," policy to the country in 1987, Italian immigrants in Toronto had already established and grown a profitable model out of ethnic sport for more than two decades. In this vein, Italy's 1982 World Cup victory celebration on St. Clair Avenue West was a watershed moment in the history of Canadian multiculturalism. It provides an entry point to explore the role of sport in the immigrant communities of postwar Toronto—specifically as a nexus for social interaction and integration, gateway to transnational networks, setting for contact among Toronto's diverse immigrant communities, and site for mainstream reform initiatives. St. Clair West became the contested central piazza of the new popular pluralism through soccer fandom. In sport, immigrant settlement and integration took most tangible shape in everyday social interactions, and the immigrant minorities who stood at the touch lines were also on the front lines of intercultural contact and change in a pluralistic urban society.

Unsettled Scores: Immigrant Men and the Making of Popular Multiculturalism on Toronto's Sport Periphery

In 1948, the *Times Journal* of St. Thomas, Ontario gave readers a special report on twenty-one Maltese men arriving at the immigrant processing centre of Pier 21 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. They were the first of five hundred coming to Canada, a diplomatic gesture from the Canadian government to recognize Malta's outsized contributions to the Allied Cause during the Second World War. While the men were being transferred onto westbound trains, a reporter approached a few and inquired about their future ambitions. The writer implies a bit of humour when quoting a migrant who states his general destination as "Ontario" and lists his initial goals. "I'm not anxious to meet American girls," the man says. "I am more interested in sports. I hope I can get somewhere where I can play soccer."¹ He was unlikely to be disappointed, for if sport was part of immigrant aspiration, it was also part of immigrant culture. Six years later, another young man, Rocco Lofranco of Policoro, Italy, passed through Pier 21. United with his brother in Toronto, Lofranco spent many of his first years in Canada at the soccer park or outside a gift store on St. Clair Avenue, where a group of homesick Italian immigrants huddled around a shortwave radio mounted on the window ledge to listen to Serie A soccer broadcasts direct from Italy.²

¹ Most Maltese arrivals had to satisfy an agricultural placement arranged by the Canadian government. From there, they moved to the city of Toronto and Canada's largest Maltese community. *The Times Journal of St. Thomas*, June 28, 1948, p. 1, and newspaper clipping from the *Times of Malta* entitled "Migrants from Malta," February 2, 1948 [n p.], *Library and Archives Canada* (LAC).

² Rocco Lofranco, interviewed by author, January 28, 2011, Toronto, ON.

Thousands of European migrants spent hours during their settlement years in Canadian parks, arenas, stadiums, community clubs, or small businesses in the company of other sport-loving newcomers. Sports clubs were among the first entities created by newcomers, who hinged many of their aspirations for community, recognition, and inclusion on the backs of the athletes who represented them. “All the teams were ethnic,” says Lofranco, “Italia, Olympics, Germans, Hungarians...The rivalries between clubs brought ethnics together. That was all we could do back then, play soccer.”³ Such teams formed the heart of a vibrant soccer scene on the social margins of postwar Toronto that began just after the Second World War and survived until the decline of European immigration in the late 1970s. During this transformative period, urban sport was a point of contact between migration, diasporas, host institutions, class, identity, and gender. Due in large part to an outsized role played by the Italian community, immigrants’ leisure lives helped to transform English Canadian society at the grassroots level in unexpected ways that took on new meaning in 1982 when 250,000 people celebrated Italy’s World Cup victory on St. Clair Avenue West.

This chapter shows how the earliest postwar arrivals, from the late 1940s to the precipitous decline of European immigration thirty years later, created grassroots forms of adapting not just to mainstream Toronto, but also multiple other newcomer groups, through their own “world” of sport. As revealed in Chapter Four, the “mainstream” later tried to appropriate this immigrant sporting periphery as its own model of urban harmony and conviviality in the 1980s. Sport was a critical arena of activity, socialization, community formation, and identity formation in the immigrant saga. Mirroring their own precarious

³ Ibid.

position as newcomers of modest means seeking stability, recognition, and success, it bolstered the morale of those who faced daily the “proximity of failure.”⁴ People of similar regional backgrounds who typically did not know one another before coming to Canada formed collectivities around sports teams, creating through symbols and socialization real and imagined links to former homes while their lives were being recreated in Canada. Immigrant pasts met present needs in clubs, stadiums, businesses, and arenas, a constellation of urban spaces with their own urban circuitry connecting men to stable employment, the company of co-nationals, and sometimes marriage.⁵ This chapter profiles two different sporting practices and paths of integration into English Canada—soccer, the game European newcomers brought with them, and hockey, Canada’s national obsession. The two games and the attempts by different types of elites to manage player behaviour and public perceptions of their operations reveal two different conversations about immigrant “fitness” for Canadian life at a time when political leaders were re-evaluating Canada’s attachment to its colonial past and considering a national identity based on cultural differences.

Immigrant sport was gendered terrain. Most soccer and hockey leagues, teams, and especially fan activities were male-dominated and took place in predominantly male spaces. In this space, the physical movements of male bodies were performed, evaluated, debated, and celebrated. Male athleticism was a highly valued social currency among immigrant men and communities attached to the exploits of their young male ambassadors the meanings they conceived of themselves and wished to project to others. There is limited archival evidence to suggest that extensive women’s sport programs existed in immigrant Toronto before the early

⁴ Robert F. Harney, “Men Without Women,” 21 and 34.

⁵ Harney states this as the goal of turn-of-the-century Italian migrants to Canada. *Ibid.*, 42.

1980s. A photo survives of a women's soccer team from the Italian community's flagship franchise, Toronto Italia F.C., in 1958. It is not clear if they were part of a small women's league, but the fact that none of the participants interviewed in this study knew much about them indicates that their tenure was short. There are a few other standout examples. Saints Cyril and Methody Macedono-Bulgarian Church had a women's basketball and gymnastics program in its large hall during the early 1950s; the Finnish "Sisu" Athletic Club managed an active women's gymnastics program the same decade; and the First Portuguese Canadian Club fielded a women's soccer team for two years in the early 1970s.⁶ In some instances, Immigrant men and women competed against one another or trained together. Saints Cyril and Methody ran a co-ed bowling league for sixty members in 1952 and built an alley in the church basement three years later, which was still operating in the early 1970s.⁷ The Finnish "Sisu" Athletic Club had their own co-ed ski program.⁸ Although sports were not played exclusively by men, the highest profile and most popular ones of soccer and hockey were heavily skewed in their favour.

The realm of immigrant sport was an urban network of diverse peoples and neighbourhoods made for and by its residents,⁹ a city within a city that fit sociologist Robert

⁶ A photo of the girls' basketball team is marked for the year 1945. Saints Cyril and Methody Macedono-Bulgarian Church 50th Anniversary Almanac, compiled by the church executive committee, April 22, 1958, p. 48. *Saints Cyril and Methody Church Archives*. The "Mari-Girls" gymnastics team, founded in 1968, was still in operation and popular, according to a 1975 letter from its board of directors. Sisu club minutes, January 17, 1956, MHSO Fonds, Series 62 MU-9869, *Archives of Ontario*; and unaddressed letter from board of directors of the Finnish-Canadian Gymnastic Club for Women of Toronto, dated January 1975; *Ibid.* João Santos, interviewed by author.

⁷ Foto Tomnev, "Macedonian folk stories and my memories," unpublished book, *Saints Cyril and Methody Church Archives*, p. 33, 60-2.

⁸ Sisu newsletter, vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1976), p. 1, MHSO Fonds, Series 62 MU-9869, *Archives of Ontario*.

⁹ Three decades ago, Robert F. Harney proposed that Toronto's Italian population was so large, culturally and linguistically distinct, and institutionally complete that it could be considered an ethnic borough. Taking this idea a step further, Michael Katz has argued more recently that there can be multiple, overlapping "cities" occupying the same urban space. See Robert F. Harney, "If One Were to Write a History of Toronto Italia," *Polyphony* 6, no. 1, Special Issue: Toronto's People (Spring/Summer 1984): 3; and Michael Katz, *Why Don't American Cities Burn?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 19. Raymond Breton introduced the term "institutional

Park's description of a "world which man created, [but also] the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live."¹⁰ It was socially remote from mainstream leisure settings such as golf courses or the storied Granite Club of Anglo Canadian privilege. And it bore little resemblance to the burgeoning middle-class suburbs, with their plentiful recreation facilities. The leisure worlds of newcomers and the mainstream population were largely incomprehensible to one another. Toronto's postwar growth into a cosmopolitan city was rapid, with 893,315 of the total population of 2,628,045 born abroad in the early 1970s, according to the Canada Census.¹¹ Nevertheless, Anglo Canadian population still dominated key institutions, cultural mores, and sporting practices. Host institutions—particularly city legislators, law enforcement, and homeowners—and a strained recreational infrastructure circumscribed where these immigrants met and moved and played the dominant role in shaping the discourse over what their sporting activities communicated about immigrant assimilability. Yet within this constrained moral, spatial, and legislative framework, newcomers built their own leagues and created their opportunities for intercultural collaboration and contestation. Immersed in serious play, few likely understood that they were turning moments into a movement—a grassroots model of interactive diversity that would become a force and symbol of Toronto and English Canada's gradual embrace of cultural pluralism as its central defining character.

completeness" in his seminal study, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 70, no. 2 (September 1964): 193-205.

¹⁰ Robert Park, *On Social Control and Collective Behavior* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1967), 3.

¹¹ *Statistics Canada*. 1971 Census, Census Tracts, Toronto, Table 1, Population Characteristics by Census Tracts, p. 2.

Becoming Foreign and Settling In: The Beautiful Game and Newcomer Men in Postwar Toronto

Soccer was the most popular athletic activity among immigrant men and it best represents the intimate and uneasy relationship between sport, ethnicity, gender, and integration. The game was introduced to Canada in the 1870s by immigrants from Great Britain.¹² In the 1920s, British veterans of the First World War created an extensive network of professional leagues across Southern Ontario that soccer historian Colin Jose calls “the golden years of North American soccer.”¹³ At this early stage, teams distinguished themselves from one another with titles and colours reflecting their English, Scottish, Northern Irish, and Welsh origins. After the Second World War, however, the soccer house that Brits built was flooded with new tenants, who went on to dominate it. Tables 1 and 2 show teams for select years in the First Division of the semi-professional National Soccer League (NSL), the region’s most popular and longest-lasting enterprise. The rapid decline of British-named teams and full saturation of clubs with other ethnic affiliations is apparent in the year 1958. A similar story was taking place a decade later in the amateur Toronto & District Soccer League. In the 1966 campaign, forty-three out of fifty-five teams had names pointing to the immigrant origins of their players.¹⁴

¹² The first recorded soccer match in Canada took place on Toronto’s Parliament Street in 1876, surprisingly, between the Carlton Cricket Club and Toronto Lacrosse Club. It was played according to the 1863 Football Association guidelines or “London Rules.” *Canadian Soccer Hall of Fame* (CSHOF), “Our Soccer History: Ontario,” 2013, Accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.thesoccerhalloffame.ca/en-us/oursoccerhistory/ontario.aspx>.

¹³ So geographically and linguistically cohesive were the leagues that it was rare to find a non-British player on a roster. Colin Jose and William F. Rannie, *The Story of Soccer in Canada* (Lincoln, ON: W.F. Rannie, 1982), chapters 16 and 17, [n.p.].

¹⁴ Some of the remaining twelve from 1956—a collection of businesses, Royal Canadian Legion chapters, and unions—likely included numerous European immigrants. Team tables originally compiled by David A. Litterer for the Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation, “Canada—Canadian National Soccer League,” (2013), Accessed April 17, 2015, <http://www.rsssf.com/usadave/cnsl.html>. “Affiliation” section is by author. Descriptions of the 1958 and 1966 teams and their ethnic backgrounds are found in *Canadian Soccer Year Book, 1966*, Fonds 2011.2.66 and

Table 1: NSL First Division, 1941

<u>Club</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>
Toronto Maple Leafs	Unknown
Toronto Ulster United	Northern Irish
England United	English
Toronto Scottish	Scottish
Kenwoods	None

Table 2: NSL Premier Division, 1958

<u>Club</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>
Montreal Hungaria	Hungarian
Toronto Italia	Italian
Toronto Olympia	Greek
Toronto White Eagles	Polish
Toronto Ukrainians	Ukrainian
Montreal Cantalia	Italian
Montreal Sparta	Czech-Slovak
Hamilton Hungaria	Hungarian
Toronto Tridents	Ukrainian
Toronto Ulster United	Northern Irish
Toronto Sparta	Czech
Toronto Hungaria	Hungarian
Hamilton Italo-Canadians	Italian
Toronto Canadian-Scots	Scottish
Malta United	Maltese

The mainstream media and general public were soon labelling the game as “foreign.”

Hamilton Spectator sports columnist Gary Lautens offered a witty *apologia* in 1961.

Before I’m investigated for un-Canadian activity, I confess that I dearly love our native games with all their faults. But it does seem that soccer is ideally suited as a schoolboy sport as a conditioning agent, as a relatively safe amusement. Soccer has so much universal appeal that, in endorsing the game, I feel much like a man who delivers a sermon on the virtue of motherhood.¹⁵

Lautens was no doubt alluding to the “House of UnAmerican Activities Committee” across the border that had recently purged the U.S. State Department, Hollywood, and mainstream media of alleged communist sympathizers. Soccer expanded on the basis of “limited identities” until well into the 1970s. In 1971, for example, there were eighty-eight teams and more than 2,000

Program, NSL vs. Mexico World Cup Team—1958, May 8, 1956, Fonds 2011.2.56, *CSHOF*. Special thanks to soccer historian Colin Jose for helping me identify the affiliations of clubs.

¹⁵ “Hamilton writer endorses soccer for high schools,” Reprinted from the *Hamilton Spectator*, Program, p. 3, Toronto Italia vs. Reims of France, June 21, 1961, Varsity Stadium, ECPSL Fonds, File 2011.2.35, *CSHOF*.

players spread across eleven divisions in the T&DSL, prompting its officials to declare themselves the largest senior amateur soccer league in North America.¹⁶ While dominating in numbers, continental European organizers, teams, and fans lagged behind their British counterparts in terms of representation in administrative positions and economic strength. The organization of immigrant leisure followed a power structure that reproduced that of the larger society. At the highest level of leadership, it was not until 1977 that the Ontario Soccer Association (known as the Ontario Football Association until 1970), the parent governing body for soccer operations in the province, elected a president who was not a British immigrant or Anglo-Canadian.¹⁷ League and organizational officers of British and Anglo Canadian backgrounds were dedicated individuals who sacrificed much of their free time for the local game, but their occupation of top positions stood out as a reminder to the continental European majority of their peripheral place in society and sport.

Despite dominating the local scene, non-British communities lacked the financial wherewithal to host high-profile and expensive events in numbers more fitting of their fan presence until the 1960s. Table 3 provides a list of teams that participated in international friendlies in Toronto between 1950 and 1979, organized by period and geographic origin. It shows that the number of visits from non-British (mostly continental European) clubs held

¹⁶ Ibid., "Soccer on March," *Toronto Soccer* 1, no. 1 (May 1971): 1 and 6.

¹⁷ The exception was the Greek-born John Taganitis, who served as president from 1977-1978. A representative from the Toronto Ukraina organization served as president of the NSL from 1963-6. Nevertheless, Robert Iarusci, a second generation Italian Canadian who captained Team Canada in the late 1970s and early 1980s, says that his Italian coaches during his youth found it difficult to break into the existing power structure, which he calls "the English mafia." I have not been able to find a list of NSL presidents or administrators, which makes it impossible to compare the numbers of league officials from British immigrant and Anglo Canadian backgrounds with those whose originated in continental Europe. Robert Iarusci, interviewed by author, March 7, 2012, Toronto, ON; Colin Jose, *On-Side: 125 Years of Soccer in Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Soccer Association, 2001), Ontario Football Association/Ontario Soccer Association Annual General Meetings, 1970-2000, Chapter 1 [n.p]; *Toronto Star*, "Region farmhouse to be Greek centre," by Vicki Heard, May 27, 1986, N7; and "History of Ukraina Sports," Ukraina Sports Association, Accessed December 9, 2017, <http://ukrainasports.ca/history.html>.

steady during the 1970s, even as incidence of visits from British clubs—and likely more generally of declining soccer fandom among people of British origins—reversed.¹⁸ It is also worth noting that there were also few homegrown Canadians performing at the semi-professional level until late in this period. In 1957, for example, only one native-born Canadian was playing in the National Soccer League.¹⁹ Soccer in Canada was first organized along immigrant lines and it remained a peripheral leisure activity of newcomers until a quarter million Italians took soccer fandom to the streets in 1982.

Table 3: European Touring Teams in Toronto by Period and Geographic Origin²⁰

<u>Period</u>	<u>Visits from UK/Irish based clubs</u>	<u>Visits from other clubs</u>
1950-9	26	6
1960-9	33	33 (Italy=10, W. Germany=5, Greece=4, France=5, Czech=2, Other=7)
1970-9	13	32 (Italy=10, Brazil=6, W. or E. Germany=4, Poland, Greece, or Israel=2 each, Other=6)

Civic authorities and the Toronto Police Department played a guiding role in determining the moral and political boundaries of when and where sport-loving newcomers could meet and move during their leisure time. In early postwar Toronto, public gatherings were apportioned in accordance with values that originated in the city’s colonial past.

¹⁸ Jose, *On-side*, Exhibition Games in Ontario: Ontario Club Teams versus Touring Teams, Tables, Chapter 28, [n.p.]. The list does not include games between the Ontario Provincial Team and Touring Clubs.

¹⁹ The player’s name was Norm Briley and he played for the Canadian Scots. Program, NSL, 1957, NSL Fonds, File 2011.2.58, *CSHOF*.

²⁰ Colin Jose, *On-Side: 125 Years of Soccer in Ontario*, Exhibition Games in Ontario: Ontario Club Teams versus Touring Teams, Tables, (Vaughan, ON: Ontario Soccer Association-Canadian Soccer Hall of Fame, 2001), Chapter 28, [n.p.]. The list does not include games between the Ontario Provincial Team and Touring Clubs.

According to the late historian Robert F. Harney, the city was more open to a multicultural demographic by the Second World War. It was not openly hostile to non-Anglo-Celtics, but had “little tolerance for group difference and complete confidence in the superiority of British ways.”²¹ Louis Jannetta, the hockey playing maître d’ at the Royal York Hotel profiled later in this chapter, described “British ways” as a demure social landscape with empty streets. “You could fall asleep on a lamp post on Yonge Street. It was so quiet.”²² The most potent symbol of Victorian propriety was Sunday. Lord’s Day Laws created at the turn of the century were still



Figure 2. A Toronto Italia FC striker closes in on opposing keeper c. 1958. Notice the picket fence barrier and the number of men in the crowd wearing dress shirts and ties, suggesting that the occurred on a Sunday after church. Source: CSHOF

being enforced in the 1940s. But these laws, which were intended to be a respite for workers, also prevented most people from participating in commercialized leisure. The amended federal

²¹ Harney, “If One Were to Write a History of Toronto Italia,” 3. For a comparative perspective from the United States, read Stefano Luconi, “Discrimination and Identity Construction: The Case of Italian Immigrants and their Offspring in the USA,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 32, no. 3 (2011): 293-307.

²² Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author, February 28, 2011, Toronto, ON.

Lord's Day Act of 1927 forbade engagement "in any public game or contest for gain, or for any prize or reward [or] public meeting, elsewhere than in a church, where a fee is charged."²³

City alderman and future mayor Allan Lamport altered the moral politics circumscribing immigrant male leisure and set in motion a relationship between immigrant soccer fandom and municipal politics that endures to this day. In 1952, Lamport courted early postwar European newcomers and reform-minded Anglo Torontonians to launch a career-defining crusade against the Lord's Day Laws.²⁴ Since the 1880s, Sunday organized leisure had been complicated by religious and class considerations. Colin D. Howell notes that upper and middle-class Canadians had for years viewed for-profit sport as a vulgar and disreputable activity. They were likely to contrast it with amateur sport—most famously preserved in private schools and Pierre de Coubertin's modern Olympic movement—which purportedly fulfilled higher personal values such as physical health, character building, and spiritual fortitude.²⁵ By early 1950s, however, the socially conservative City of Toronto had much to gain from soccer fandom. A recent Wednesday night friendly between Newcastle United and Kamraterna of the Swedish League in March 1950 made a profit of \$30,465, a significant amount of money at the time. The City charged the game's promoters a 25 percent levy to rent Exhibition Stadium, its largest outdoor

²³ Canada, *Lord's Day Act*, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, Chapter 123, Sec. 6.

²⁴ The historical background to the Lord's Day laws are described in a legislative discussion. Bill no. 116, *Lord's Day Act—Ontario*, Second Reading by Hon. L.M. Frost, 1960-61, 2d sess., 23rd Legislature, Night session, Extract—Debates and Proceedings, March 23, 1960, p. 4-6, *Archives of Ontario*.

²⁵ A key turning point in Canadian sport history from an amateur to professional orientation is outlined in Andrew C. Holman, "Curing Hockey's Ills: Sir Henry Gray's Address to the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, March 1933," The Champlain Society, [n.d.], Accessed March 16, 2016, <http://www.champlainsociety.ca/curing-hockeys-ills-sir-henry-grays-address-to-the-montreal-amateur-athletic-association-march-1933/>; and Colin D. Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 6-7.

facility.²⁶ There were greater revenues in store if international friendlies and local league games were permitted on Sundays. Toronto Mayor Hiram E. McCallum and council put the matter to a popular vote and Lamport's "Sensible Sunday" measure passed with a slim majority of 52 percent. The Department of Parks and Recreation began issuing permits within days.²⁷

What at first glance seemed like a clear victory for the immigrant fan allowed the city to retain tight control of where and when immigrant men could gather to watch and play sports. Council approved a subsequent bill restricting commercialized leisure to a narrow time slot between the hours of 1:30 and 6:00 to avoid interfering with church services and Sunday school.²⁸ Later in the soccer season as the days shortened, city workers were known to abruptly turn off the field lights when the match extended beyond the grace period, leaving both players and fans in the dark. Further complicating the situation was the City's reluctance to administer commercial sport permits due to fears that area homeowners would be offended by a Sabbath disruption. A memo from the Parks and Recreation Department, dated March 31, 1950, offered applicants a list of locations least likely to disturb local residents. All were located in immigrant-

²⁶ A couple notable examples can be found in Fonds 200, Series 487. Letter from F.S. Quirk to W.J. Love, December 6, 1949, Committee on Parks and Exhibitions, File 923, and Memo no. 128 to Mr. O.L. Pearson, March 28, 1950, Subject: Accommodation for Sunday Soccer Games, CTA.

²⁷ Information gathered from Sunday Sports, Lord Day's Act, 1950-1, and "Can't Buck Voters on Sunday sport, Lamport asserts," *The Globe and Mail*, January 17, 1950, clipping [n.d.], Premier Frost Fonds, RG 3-24 B292268, *Archives of Ontario*; and "Never Mind Ford Nation: Hogtown has a Long History of Drunks, Tyrants, and Loudmouths Running City Hall," by Allan Levine, *National Post*, October 1, 2014, Accessed March 16, 2015, www.news.nationalpost.com/2014/10/01/allan-levine-never-mind-ford-nation-hogtown-has-a-long-history-of-drunks-tyrants-and-loudmouths-running-city-hall.

²⁸ This was proposed three years earlier by the committee chaired by Lamport. Interestingly, the bylaw stated that horse racing would not be considered a public game or sport. Extract from the minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Parks and Exhibitions, held on Thursday April 22, New Toronto City Law: An Act to Provide for Certain Exceptions to The Lord's Day Act (Canada), 1948, Assented to April 6, 1950, Fonds 200, Series 487, File 1044, CTA.

receiving neighbourhoods to the immediate west and east of downtown.²⁹ That Toronto's recreational infrastructure was woefully insufficient to meet demand created additional pressures on the leagues because a social disturbance at only one game could result in having to forfeit a coveted time slot.³⁰ Desperate to secure access to fields, soccer bodies were largely at the City's mercy. The Ontario Football Association Commission wrote a letter in 1950 citing their rapid growth and requesting permission to pass around a collection hat. They promised that "no loud speakers, bands, unnecessary noise, or any behavior likely to give offense will be tolerated."³¹ Collection hats were replaced by formal ticket sales by the 1960s, but immigrant soccer fans were still meeting in parks that the City considered to be sites of least public resistance. In a broader historical lens, Alderman Lamport's political response to agitation from his constituents for Sunday sports was a critical first step in a process that culminated in the post-Charter era of the 1980s, when federal and provincial courts ruled that Sunday closing laws were unconstitutional because they discriminated against people of non-Christian faiths. Although many Sunday sports fans in the early 1950s likely identified with a Christian denomination, the partial removal of Lord's Day Laws reflected the early belief that Christian

²⁹ Memo no. 121. March 31, 1950, Parks and Recreation Department, Subject: Sunday Sports, p. 4 and Report from Mr. J.P. Kent and W.J. Love from the Office of the City Solicitor regarding where organized soccer would be allowed, City Hall, Toronto [1950?], CTA. The selected parks were Bickford Ravine, Earls court, Eglinton, Greenwood, High Park, Keating St. Playground, Millen Memorial Stadium, Willowvale Park, Withrow Park. Those allocated only to baseball were Bellwoods Park, Toronto Island, Kew Gardens, Stanley Park, and Trinity Park.

³⁰ The National Survey of Recreation in Canadian Municipalities listed a mere six designated soccer fields, 16 designated rugby fields, 10 cricket grounds, and a box lacrosse court. National Survey of Recreation in Canadian Municipalities, B—Facilities Owned by Civic Authorities File, Ontario Recreation Governing Bodies, p. 28, Fonds RG 65-15, *Archives of Ontario*.

³¹ Memo no. 128 from Mr. A.M. MacGregor to Mr. O.L. Pearson, March 28, 1950, Subject: Accommodation for Sunday Soccer Games City, Fonds 200, Series 487, File 1848, CTA.

religious services should not have precedence over the general public's right to commercial activity.³²

Immigrant men from southern Europe, and particularly the large Italian population, brought to Canada a sidewalk culture from regions where men mingled as groups and moved seamlessly between indoor and outdoor spaces. In sport, these streets fused with small businesses, the private homes, workplaces, and community centres to create an alternative geography of locations to watch, discuss, and play their favourite games. But whereas the public presence of male immigrant bodies *at work* caused little alarm in postwar Toronto, their visibility in parks and on city sidewalks during leisure hours was a different matter. Franca Iacovetta writes that the Toronto mainstream media, with the help of many institutional “gatekeepers” in social work, mental health, and law enforcement, frequently portrayed newcomer men from war-torn Europe as a serious threat to women and the Canadian way of life.³³ The same press that provided sympathetic and welcoming immigrant arrival stories, such as the ones that opened this chapter, was also quick to explain incidences of violent crime as the product of importing, and not properly managing the activities of, psychologically damaged and emotionally disturbed men from Europe. Toronto Police Department's solution was to dispatch beat officers to prevent immigrant men from gathering in groups and transgressing “proper” Anglo Canadian socialization, which was generally understood to be private and occur indoors. The constabulary regularly descended on Italian and Maltese neighbourhoods to disperse the clusters of men forming outside the immigrant businesses and threaten violators

³² Key decisions in the removal of Sunday closing laws in the wake of the 1982 Charter were *Big M Drug Mart v. AG Canada*, [1985], 1 SCR 295, and *R. v. Edward Books and Art Ltd.*, [1986], 2 SCR 713.

³³ Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 203.

with loitering charges or worse.³⁴ So maligned were southern European men who socialized along boulevards that Maltese men tried in vain to disassociate themselves from the Italians and make common cause with the police. Tony Tanti remembers an officer calling him and his friends “WOPS” and “DP’s” and he tried—unsuccessfully—to explain that they were from Malta, a British colony, which made them subjects of the same Queen. He realized it was futile to try to convince a constable to recognize their shared status when the officer chose to see and evaluate him based on his darker Mediterranean skin complexion. “You’re new here and afraid, so [then] what do you say?”³⁵ Toronto’s streets were made for walking, but some southern European men chose to dig their heels in. Armand Scaini remembers a friend spending a night in jail for refusing to “keep moving” on St. Clair Avenue.³⁶ A story in Chapter Four shows that even Italians serving in the police force were expected to impose old Anglo Canadian ideals of proper socialization on their co-nationals. The policing of immigrant men’s leisure time, alongside restricted Sunday operating hours, a strained infrastructure, and the risk of team suspensions, placed more significance and pressure on the soccer park as one of the few places where immigrant men could assemble and were less likely to threaten Anglo Canadian sensibilities.

In the limited geographical space for soccer fandom won in part by immigrant voters and managed by host institutions, the game still thrived as a powerful social adhesive for populations in the process of resettlement. The stories of Toronto’s Italian and Portuguese communities and their flagship soccer teams illustrate the intimate connections between

³⁴ Gordon D’Aloisio, interviewed by author, December 10, 2010, Toronto, ON.

³⁵ Tony Tanti, interviewed by author, March 1, 2012, Toronto, ON.

³⁶ Armand Scaini, interviewed by author, January 31, 2011, Toronto, ON.

immigrants' leisure lives, formal and informal social networks, long-term employment, petty entrepreneurship, and the transmission of diasporic links and longings. The Toronto Italia Football Club was the premiere franchise and flywheel in the organization of Italian community life. At its founding in 1955, the entire executive of its parent sponsor, the Italian Canadian Recreation Club, consisted of former and current players.³⁷ Its clubhouse in the fast-growing Italian enclave of St. Clair Avenue West boasted a strong youth wing of 2,000 members. Players and fans came from the same immigrant cohort and they mingled at their events. The most popular occasions were dances, which doubled as team fundraisers. In the winter, young men played soccer in the building's basement, but in summer the hotly anticipated event for men and women each week was the Sunday streetcar trip to Fred Hamilton Park or Varsity Stadium to cheer on the "A" team.³⁸ These fan spectacles were exhilarating and played an important role in the social lives of Italian youth, helping them to congregate and identify as Italians.

Bruno Bertolin holds the distinction of being Toronto Italia's longest-serving player. He came to Canada at the age of eleven and began his career as the waterboy for Friuli FC, an earlier incarnation of Toronto Italia (renamed in 1953). With the exception of Bertolin, the Friulians were a group of bricklayers and stonemasons who moonlighted as soccer players. He first put on a Toronto Italia jersey in 1956 while studying at the University of Toronto. The money he made on the pitch—\$15 for a win, 10 for a tie, and 0 for a loss—helped subsidize the tuition. In 1962, Bertolin was invited to stay on the team when it joined the awkwardly named

³⁷ Italia F.C. replaced the former Friuli F.C., which represented immigrants from the northeastern corner of Italy. Italia F.C. entered the Continental League in 1953 before switching to the more popular National Soccer League. Program, NSL, 1957, National Soccer League Fonds, File 2011.2.58, *CSHOF*, p. 23; and *La Giovane Fiamma*, Special Second Reunion Edition, October 30, 2005, *Angelo Delfino's Private Archives*.

³⁸ Angelo Delfino, interviewed by author, January 19, 2011, Toronto, ON; Gus Mandarino, interviewed by author; and Alberto De Rosa, interviewed by author, January 31 and February 13, 2011, Toronto, ON.

and short-lived Eastern Canadian Professional Soccer League. Considering his options, he decided it was too risky to delay a long-term, stable career for a shorter stretch as a professional footballer in an upstart league. He retired in his prime and was guided by Toronto Italia's president to a position in the insurance industry.³⁹



Figure 3. Bruno Bertolin greeted by fans after Toronto Italia victory [c. 1958]. Source: CSHOF

Toronto's Portuguese community formed many key relationships around sport fandom during their early settlement in Canada. The first Portuguese enclave in the city coincided with the launch of the First Portuguese Canadian Club (FPCC) and its namesake team. The founding families moved into the former Jewish quarter of Kensington Market in the mid-1950s and gathered at a small eatery called Sousa's before opening their own rented space across the street. Like their Italian contemporaries, the FPCC's operations were financed with proceeds from dances, banquets, and individual donors.⁴⁰ One pioneering player, Amérigo Henriques

³⁹ Bruno Bertolin, interviewed by author.

⁴⁰ Alan De Sousa, "The First Portuguese Canadian Club," *Polyphony* 7, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1985): 65.

Carvalho, remembers how the team performed well until mid-season, but then lost a third of its roster to seasonal work in the tobacco and carrot farms of southwestern Ontario.⁴¹ “Soccer was the only thing we had besides work. It was an escape...All the pioneers played soccer,” says José Mario Coelho, later the first Portuguese-speaking DJ on Toronto radio.⁴² When Coelho immigrated to Canada in 1970, Kensington Market had become the heart of a fast-growing Portuguese community and there were dozens of adult soccer teams—even a Portuguese league.⁴³



Figure 4. Newcomer men congregate outside the Portuguese Bookstore in Kensington Market to listen to *Primiere Liga* games over a shortwave radio and purchase imported soccer magazines. [c. 1968]. Source: Tomaz family.

A large crowd of men regularly gathered outside the Portuguese Bookstore until late into the evening, anticipating the arrival of an imported soccer magazine called *A Bola*. It first had to be

⁴¹ José Mario Coelho, *Small Stories, Great People: Portuguese Pioneers in Canada*, trans. Ana Fernandes-Ira and Ana Sofia Costa (Toronto: Creative 7 Inc., 2004), 68-99.

⁴² José Mario Coelho, interviewed by author, February 24, 2011, Toronto, ON.

⁴³ Toronto’s Portuguese population mushroomed from an estimated 10,000 in 1962 to more than 80,000 in 1976. The figures are taken from Domingos Marques and João Medeiros, eds. *Portuguese Immigrants: 25 Years in Canada*, trans. Brenda Duncombe, Ian Martin and Manuel Cuoto (Toronto: Marquis Printers, 1980), 154.

unloaded off the 2:00 pm *Canadian Pacific Airlines* flight from Lisbon. Storeowner Mario Tomaz or one of his employees would drive to airport, wait for the boxes to clear customs, and return to the store at 7pm to find a hoard of customers already lined up to purchase a copy. “They’d be talking about the games and arguing even before the papers got there,” recalls his son, José. On shipment days, the Portuguese Bookstore stayed open until 11 pm to accommodate the spike in activity. The busiest periods, however, were the weekends, when men huddled around a shortwave radio Mario set up in the window to transmit *La Liga* games from Portugal. One of the men in the crowd was João Santos, who he thought nothing of standing outside in the January winter cold to hear the sounds of soccer from the homeland. In his words, “Soccer meant everything to the Portuguese here. It was a religion.”⁴⁴ Fortunately for the Portuguese Bookstore, the Toronto Police seemed to be less interested in preventing outdoor gatherings in the congested enclave of Kensington Market than the nearby Italian neighbourhoods.

José Tomaz remembers how the family business, with its ever-present throng of countrymen, became a community social hub. “They’d come to the store just to talk to each other. When Portuguese immigration was at its height (in the 1970s), they’d come and ask for work. Someone else would point and say, ‘Go talk to him.’”⁴⁵ The sport-mediated street scenes around the bookstore generated new friendships, a nostalgic connection to the homeland through print and audio media, and a rite of passage for Portuguese men into the Canadian workforce. From the store’s opening in 1965 to the late 1970s—when the new Portuguese-language CIRV-FM station made it possible for listeners to follow European games from their

⁴⁴ João Santos, interviewed by author.

⁴⁵ The Portuguese Bookstore opened in 1965. José Tomaz, interviewed by author, February 18, 2011, Toronto, ON.

homes—imported magazines and shortwave radio broadcasts were a crucial link for Portuguese immigrants to their homeland and to one another.⁴⁶

Bars, Barbers, and Broadcasting: The Male Domains of Soccer Pluralism

The mainstream media's general lack of interest in soccer left an untapped market for a new generation of entrepreneurs in radio, television, and print media to connect the immigrant soccer fan on Toronto's sport periphery to Europe and the local leagues. Soccer coverage was sporadic in mainstream newspapers and a rarity on Canadian network television and radio.⁴⁷ A generation of publishers who were also emerging leaders in immigrant communities across Toronto grew their readership on the strength of large sport sections with heavy soccer coverage. Some even competed with one another on this basis. The masthead of a paper in 1968, for example, boasted "No other newspaper covers soccer like the Malta Herald."⁴⁸ As leaders in commerce and communication, the entrepreneurs were an alternative authority to the traditional British-dominated league executives in the realm of immigrant soccer. Their

⁴⁶ The conclusion of shortwave radio events outside the Portuguese Bookstore roughly coincided with the beginning of live games shown over satellite television at the nearby First Portuguese Canadian Club, according to then-club president, João Santos. However, the signal was expensive, and the club had to charge a hefty ten dollar entry fee to break even. João Santos, interviewed by author.

⁴⁷ In 1957, CHUM FM was the first radio station in the country to cover soccer with a Sunday afternoon show hosted by George Gross, a Slovakian immigrant and sports writer for the *Toronto Telegram*. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) covered whole or kinescopes of NSL games only in 1953-4; and 1959-61. In other instances, the NSL had to venture outside the city—and country—to show its 1957 season games on Buffalo, New York's WGR-TV, Channel 2. Local station CBLT produced a soccer round-up each week that year. "It's Soccer Time on TV!" by Ed Fitkin, NSL Program, 1957, p. 13, File 2011.2.58 CSHOF; and *The Globe and Mail*, "Publicity helping soccer become major sport in Canada, by Ed Waring, [1957], p.5, newspaper clipping, CSHOF. In 1974, City TV channel 79 offered live, mostly Italian-language, streams of weekend games from Europe with local commentators. They included "Tele-sport con Tino Baxa e Bruno Bonomi, "Calcio Europeo," and "Campionato Inglese," each sponsored by Dan Ianuzzi's *Corriere Canadese*, 11 maggio 1974, p.11-12, CSHOF.

⁴⁸ *Malta Herald* 6 (June 28, 1968): 3, Box MG-28-V11, Vol. 7 Newspaper Clippings, 1962-1974, LAC.

ascendancy was a key factor of the soccer fandom's gradual and uneven transition to a sphere for the production of a popular multiculturalism.

When satellite technology became available in the late 1960s, entrepreneurs purchased signals for closed-circuit broadcasts of World Cup and Champions League matches and aired them at large theatres and hockey arenas.⁴⁹ Fausto di Marco remembers when he was a pipe fitter in his twenties and paying fifteen dollars to watch important Serie A games at a theatre on the corner of Dufferin and St. Clair West.⁵⁰ For high stakes international games, entrance fees could reach as high as twenty dollars, a large sum of money at that time. But demand always outstripped supply because fans were eager to catch a rare glimpse of elite football.⁵¹ Despite its peripheral status to mainstream sport media, soccer fandom created new business opportunities for emerging elites and strengthened the channels linking immigrant communities to their sport and one another.

The roots of multilingual media in Canada are inextricably linked to soccer fandom, and Italian businessmen were the first to advance this type of popular multiculturalism and reap its rewards. Most studies of immigrant elites focus on "direct" leadership at the institutional and political level, whereby leaders speak on behalf of other members.⁵² The problem with this

⁴⁹ The event was coordinated by Dan Ianuzzi, founder of *Il Corriere Canadese* and Multilingual Television. Nicola Sparano, interviewed by author, February 1, 2011, Toronto, ON.

⁵⁰ The theatre site is now occupied by a Scotiabank branch. Fausto di Marco, interviewed by author, March 4, 2011, Toronto, ON.

⁵¹ The first closed-circuit television event in Toronto was likely the world middleweight bout between Italian hero, Nino Benvenuti, and Emil Griffith, hosted by Dan Ianuzzi. Emilio Mascia is the third media mogul. His consortium was a pioneer in CCTV offerings and they owned the rights to bring World Cup soccer to Ontario until the CBC purchased them in 1982

⁵² See, for example, Jack Jedwab, "Leadership, Governance, and the Politics of Identity in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, no. 3 (2001): 4-38; Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Robert F. Harney, "Caboto and other Italian Canadian Parentela," in *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada*, ed. Nicholas DeMaria Harney, 29-74 (Welland, ON: Soleil Publishing, 1993); Joan Saverino, "Italians in Public Memory: Pageantry, Power, and Imagining

view is that it distinguishes between public and private, social and individual. As opposed to event organizers and associational leaders, media magnates connected with their audiences in environments as varied as the home, personal vehicle, café, sports bar, barbershop, and workplace. In a variety of settings, people consumed a shared script of events, personalities, and ideas. To borrow from cultural theorist Marshall McLuhan, multilingual media pioneers could communicate “totally.” One survey conducted in 1960, long before the advent of multilingual television, revealed that 89 percent of Italian respondents were listening to Italian radio programs and 28 percent regularly purchased Italian language newspapers on at least a weekly basis.⁵³ By comparison, a different study eight years later found that only a small proportion of postwar Italian immigrants were interested in formal associational activities—the type being organized by the emerging leadership elite.⁵⁴ No formal membership was required to tune in to immigrant community life: consumers could listen to a radio or purchase a newspaper or magazine from a specialty store. The Italian media pioneers had a historical head start in this regard, because long before the general Italian population began enrolling in clubs and associations in significant numbers during the 1970s, they had already made regular connections to Italian language media.⁵⁵ When these operations expanded beyond the Italian

the Italian American,” *The Italian American Review* 8, no. 2 (Autumn/Winter 2001): 83-111; and chapter six of Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*. The survey was conducted in November 1959. “A Survey on Advertising among Toronto-Hamilton Ethnic Groups,” Canadian Association of Broadcasters ads in German and Italian Communities, Conducted for the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, by Elliot Research Corporation, Toronto and Ottawa, November 1960, Fonds F-245-23-0-1448, *Archives of Ontario*.

⁵⁴ Clifford Jansen, “Leadership in the Toronto Italian Ethnic Group,” *International Migration Review* 4, no. 1 (1969): 25-41.

⁵⁵ In 1977 Clifford Jansen prepared a report for the Ontario government to gauge the efforts of Italian ethnic media to help listeners and viewers integrate into mainstream society. He concluded that the current community offerings were largely self-serving. His assessment, it appears, focuses on the *content* of Italian programming and not efforts to promote multicultural/multilingual media partnerships, which by the 1970s could be considered “mainstream” initiatives in English Canadian society. Clifford Jansen, “A Study of Multiculturalism and Italian Media,” Wintario Citizenship and Multicultural Program (October 1977), p. 2.

community, their owners were powerful players in the creation of a sport-based grassroots pluralism.

Three Italian pioneers stand out in the making of multilingual media: Dan Ianuzzi, Johnny Lombardi, and Emilio Mascia. Dan Ianuzzi began his empire in 1954 with an Italian-language newspaper called *Il Corriere Canadese*, to which he added English and other language editions in the sixties. When Ianuzzi hired Nicola Sparano as a sport editor in 1967, his new recruit noticed that the twice-weekly paper had very little sports coverage from Italy itself and he was granted permission to improve their offerings. That same year, he rented Maple Leaf Gardens to show a closed circuit broadcast—the first in Toronto—of Italian boxer’s Nino Benvenuti’s world middleweight match against Emile Griffiths.⁵⁶ The popularity and financial success of the event convinced both men that there was a significant market for overseas sport, but their readers needed someone who could relay the news from Italy to them. Ianuzzi bought Sparano a shortwave radio, who wrote down whatever he heard from Italy and reprinted it the paper. In 1972, *Corriere Canadese* added a regular insert from Italy with news about Serie A soccer.⁵⁷

Nicola Sparano calls Ianuzzi the pioneer of media multiculturalism: “Nobody else had the idea of bringing in...broadcasts of events that did not raise the interest of local stations, but were highly interesting for many new Canadians.”⁵⁸ Ianuzzi lobbied the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) for years to allow third language television in the

⁵⁶ Nicola Sparano, interviewed by author.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Nicola Sparano, “In Memorium: A Pioneer also in Sports: A Eulogy for Dan Ianuzzi,” Accessed April 25, 2012, http://www.multimediano.com/in_memoriam/Eng_rem.htm; and Nicola Sparano, interviewed by author.

country.⁵⁹ When the commission ended its opposition in 1978, he won the bid for the signal, defeating strong proposals from co-Italian Johnny Lombardi and the Ukrainian Canadian and co-founder of the Caravan Metro International Festival, Leon Kossar.⁶⁰ Ianuzzi's brainchild, Multilingual Television (then called "MTV"), was the first of its kind in the world, and it featured programming in twenty different languages.⁶¹ Similar to his print media offerings, Ianuzzi's MTV television venture prominently featured sport fandom and relied heavily on its Italian customer base.⁶² The station went on the air in 1979 to a wider audience on the Rogers cable network, with live feeds of Italian Serie A, English Premier League, German Bundesliga and UEFA matches, in addition to the popular weekly "World Soccer Report." The talk show featured local experts discussing the European leagues and viewers regularly called in with comments and questions.⁶³ Ianuzzi's MTV chose as its slogan "a bridge to new markets."⁶⁴ However, other Italian entrepreneurs and the City of Toronto itself were forming their own spans between popular pluralism through sport and profitability over the next decade.

⁵⁹ The CRTC continually rejected bids for a national multicultural network until the late 1990s. For a study of the CRTC's handling of bids, see *The Globe and Mail*, "CRTC Deflates Promoters of Multicultural TV Channel," by John Partridge, November 6, 1991, H5. In 1972, Ianuzzi started providing soccer highlight bundles for both Italian and Portuguese audiences on other local stations. *Multilingual Television Newsletter* 1, no. 4 (April 4, 1979): 2, in Fonds F-1204-8-2-154, *Archives of Ontario*.

⁶⁰ "An Examination of Competing Applications for a new Multilingual television station in Toronto," *CRTC*, August 8, 1977, p. 2-4, Fonds F-1204-8-2-154, *Archives of Ontario*; *Toronto Star*, "Ethnic TV: A Tower of Babel?" June 4, 1979, C1; and *The Globe and Mail*, "Multilingual TV coming to Metro; Iannuzzi bid wins," by Victor Malarek, December 28, 1978, p. 2.

⁶¹ *Tandem News* (Toronto), Obituary by Honorable Jeremiah S. Grafstein (Senator), December 5, 2004, Accessed April 25, 2012, <http://www.tandemnews.com/printer.php?storyid=4697>.

⁶² In the station's draft presentation to the CRTC, prospective director and treasurer Robert Wong claimed there were 400,000 Italians in Toronto "whose interests are nowhere reflected in prime time television." Multilingual Television Draft Presentation to CRTC, p. 5, Fonds F-1204-8-2-154, *Archives of Ontario*.

⁶³ *TV Guide*, "MTV's World Soccer Report is trying to give the sport 'That Extra Kick,'" by Paul Welsby, February 19, 1983; *The Globe and Mail*, "Basic Service backed for Multicultural TV," January 3, 1978, p. 2; and Multilingual Television Channel 47 1980-1 Season Schedule, Fonds F-245-23-0-1448, *Archives of Ontario*.

⁶⁴ Multilingual Television: A Bridge to New Markets, Promotional Booklet, [1980?], Fonds 2187-7-5, *Archives of Ontario*.

As a young war veteran, Johnny Lombardi invested his gratuities from the Department of Veteran Affairs to start a wholesale and retail food business. Beginning in 1949, his side venture was The Johnny Lombardi Show, a 30-minute weekly slot he disc-jockeyed on CHUM radio that played Italian ballads for homesick immigrants. A radio survey in 1960 found that 51% of Toronto Italians were tuning to the program every Friday evening.⁶⁵ Like Ianuzzi, Lombardi struggled with the CRTC, but in 1966 he won approval to launch CHIN Radio, the country's first multilingual radio station. CHIN Radio made soccer coverage its mainstay as it expanded with programs in thirty languages. Disc jockeys, with the help of the station's own shortwave radio, gave listeners regular updates from the local and European leagues.⁶⁶ In the early 1970s, Lombardi tried to improve his product, so he and DJ Umberto Manca made two special trips to Italy to arrange direct soccer game feeds from the state's RAI network. The signal came free of charge and passed through New York City on its way to Toronto's airwaves.⁶⁷ CHIN was never able to find a gendered balance in programming that satisfied its male and female listeners. Men frequently called the station to complain that there should be more dedicated soccer programming, while women called in to say there was too much.⁶⁸ For a short time, Lombardi enhanced the links between his sport and media investments when he owned a professional soccer team called Toronto Roma and aired their games on his station. A 1972 article in the *Toronto Sun* attributed CHIN's success to its soccer emphasis, saying, "As

⁶⁵ Canadian Association of Broadcasters ads in German and Italian Communities, "A Survey on Advertising among Toronto-Hamilton Ethnic Groups," Conducted for the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, Toronto and Ottawa, by Elliot Research Corporation, November 1960, Fonds F-245-23-0-1448, *Archives of Ontario*.

⁶⁶ Toronto Italia vs. Toronto Portuguese Official Program, 26 February 197[?], Fonds 70, Series 306, Subseries 5, File 49 Soccer, 1968-1978, p. 1, CTA; Umberto Manca, interviewed by author, June 24, 2011, Toronto, ON; and *Toronto Star*, "Johnny Lombardi: High Profile," by Elaine Carey, December 7, 1982, E1.

⁶⁷ Umberto Manca, interviewed by author.

⁶⁸ Michele Amatiello, "CHIN Radio and its Listeners: A Negotiation in the Postwar Commerce of Ethnicity," *Quaderni d'Italianistica* XXXIII, no. 1 (2012): 66.

everyone knows, everybody on that station has a soccer accent.”⁶⁹ Most people watching and playing soccer in Toronto *had* an accent as well.

Lombardi synchronized local Italian identity with popular multiculturalism in a manner that foreshadowed the mosaic of soccer fandom on St. Clair Avenue West after 1982. His brokering position as an Italian in the organization of diversity was on bold display at the annual CHIN Radio International Picnic. These get-togethers originated the same year as CHIN’s founding in 1966 and were held at the Toronto Islands until 1982, when large crowds forced their relocation to Exhibition Place. They were designed to be an extension of CHIN Radio’s *modus operandi*—which his children eulogized after his passing as, “to promote multiculturalism and to bring people of all backgrounds together to enjoy this wonderful country, Canada.”⁷⁰ The picnics were also, however, multiculturalism on an Italian Canadian stage. Main events usually featured entertainers flown in from Italy, Italian musicians, a spaghetti-eating contest, and the ever-controversial bikini pageant. Olindo Romeo Chiocca’s autobiography *College Street*, which humorously paints life in Italian Toronto during the seventies and early eighties, describes the CHIN International Picnic as “hordes of Italians [with] token minority vendors and performers scattered about.”⁷¹ The picnics, like the radio station that hosted them, were Italian initiatives featuring a multicultural cast. Acutely aware of his influence, Lombardi remarked in late 1982: “Until somebody better comes along, I’ll champion the cause of multiculturalism, of Italo-Canadianism. I’ll speak up.”⁷²

⁶⁹ *Toronto Sun*, “It was CHIN’s Accent on Soccer that gave them the Upper Hand,” by Paul Rimstead, July 26, 1972, p. 22.

⁷⁰ “36th CHIN International Picnic,” Official Program, A Message from the Lombardi Family (A Eulogy), June 29-July 1, 2002, p. 1. Provided by Umberto Manca.

⁷¹ Olindo Romeo Chiocca, *College Street* (Toronto: Guernica Press, 2004), 74-5.

⁷² *Toronto Star*, “Johnny Lombardi: High Profile,” by Elaine Carey, December 7, 1982, E1.

The last magnate in multilingual media, Emilio Mascia, introduced closed-circuit soccer and boxing broadcasts to the ethnic market in 1970. He also held exclusive control of World Cup soccer broadcasting rights until 1982, when the CBC, with the help of Labatt Breweries, outbid his consortium. In 1969, Mascia Enterprises began producing local Italian and Spanish language programming and purchasing slots on Toronto-area stations to air them. Mascia's big opportunity came in 1984, when he won government approval to launch his own network, Telelatino, a pay-per-view channel featuring local and overseas Spanish and Italian language programming that joined the Rogers cable network.⁷³ Multicultural media was a growing business in the Toronto region and Italians were the big players.

The threat of police harassment for sidewalk loitering, the outdoor chill of a long Toronto winter, and strident bylaws against outdoor patios before the mid-1960s—not to mention the limited number of patio liquor permits granted until the 1980s—ensured that immigrant-owned businesses were among the few locations in the city outside the summer soccer park where immigrant male sport fans could gather in large groups. A generation of newcomers created their own male commercial spaces where the messages of soccer fandom

⁷³ Mascia's early programs often appeared on Hamilton's CHCH. Telelatino initially survived on the advertising revenues of local pasta factories and small furniture salesmen who were known to offer customers half a lamb as an incentive to purchase a dining suite. The station hit it big four years later when Mascia fortuitously discovered that a Rogers Cable employee was illegally decoding the channel and selling it on the black market. In 1997 Mascia retired as president of Telelatino. He sold 20 percent stake in the company to Shaw Cable, which was later purchased by Corus Entertainment who extended their share to majority ownership. Since this time, the station has focused less on foreign-language programming to offer English-language shows that appeal to second and third generation Italian and Hispanic viewers. Maja Milic, "Lost in Translation," *Ryerson Review of Journalism*, June 23, 2003, Accessed April 25, 2012, <http://rrj.ca/lost-in-translation-2/>; and Leah Hochbaum Roser, "Salute to TLN: Canada's Premiere Tri-Language Network Celebrates 25 Years," *Video Age International*, January 1, 2009, Accessed April 25, 2012. For the ruling, see Canada, *CRTC*, Decision 84-444, May 24, 1984.

could be seen and heard.⁷⁴ As with the sports editors of non-English newspapers, the centerpiece of these operations was the shortwave radio. This treasured item was the only live connection most immigrant men had to European soccer before the mid-seventies; it was also large and expensive and possessed by a fortunate few. Some men discovered that listening to it was an emotional experience. Italian newcomer Leonardo Cianfarani, for one, struggled to hold back tears when he heard his first broadcast from Rome.⁷⁵

The owners of shortwave radio became custodians of the diaspora, transforming their businesses into outposts of elite soccer and distant Europe. On any given weekend during the long European campaign, a typical scene played out in Toronto's immigrant enclaves. Postwar Toronto's first Little Italy was a ten-minute walk west from the Portuguese Bookstore on College Street. Italian men gathered on Sunday mornings to hear their favourite sides direct from Italy at two popular hangouts in particular, Bar Clinton and Il Gatto Nero. The owner of Bar Clinton was a former *carabiniere* (national gendarmerie police) officer from Milan. He owned a Clinton radio about the size of a fridge that he had purchased from an elderly Jewish woman who was moving out of the area, and it became the business' namesake.⁷⁶ Italian immigrants were also crowding around a shortwave radio at Il Gatto Nero, what was perhaps the oldest surviving Italian men's club in Toronto.⁷⁷ For a few years until Johnny Lombardi purchased his own shortwave system, an Italian-speaking DJ from CHIN radio would run down

⁷⁴ There are some excellent recent works on how immigrant populations have utilized "interior" urban spaces. One is Isabela Seong Leong Quintana, "Making Do, Making Home: Borders and the Worlds of Chinatown and Sonoratown in Early Twentieth Century Los Angeles," *Journal of Urban History* 41, no 1 (January 2015): 47-74.

⁷⁵ This was in 1953. *Toronto Star*, A Minority Report: Special Investigation, 1985, p. 44.

⁷⁶ The owner was Giuseppe Simonetta. *Saturday Night* (magazine), "Stations of the Heart," David MacFarlane, April 1987, p. 47. From Magazine, Newspaper Clippings, 1969, 1973, 1981, and 1987, Ethnic Catholic Groups OC 21, box 1, Italian Catholics, *Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto* (ARCAT).

⁷⁷ This claim was made by in the same article from 1987. *Ibid.*

to the café and ask patrons for an update on the score and the major highlights, then rush back to the station and report what he heard over the airwaves.⁷⁸

Sports bar owners enhanced camaraderie among their clients and their local distinction by fielding their own teams in the local leagues. Players and fans of Delia S.C., for example, mingled together in a male-oriented variation of the community centre. In the growing postwar Italian enclave of St. Clair Avenue West, the Delia crowd shared drinks and shot billiards at A.C. Ranch sports bar, while five blocks to the west another group met at Bar La Paloma.⁷⁹ Both businesses were owned and operated by immigrant men from the island of Sicily who sponsored teams in the amateur T & DSL named after their home towns—Palermo S.C. and Delia S.C., respectively. And they were both located close to EarlsCourt Park, the headquarters of Toronto amateur soccer and ground zero of the 1982 Italian World Cup victory celebration. Salvatore Giannone made La Paloma his second home during his early years in Canada, including a few years on its team in the late sixties. “I would finish work, go home and eat, then come here and play billiards. Or play soccer.” On Sunday mornings at 9:30 am, Giannone and other Italian newcomers huddled close to the owner’s shortwave radio to catch the sound of Italian Serie A matches from across the Atlantic. Down the street, male patrons at A.C. Ranch gathered around owner Charlie Alaimo’s German Telefunken radio. “Guys of all ages would come,” he says with a laugh. “They’d leave the wife at the [St. Clare Roman Catholic] church

⁷⁸ Carmine Raviele, interviewed by author, June 24, 2011, Toronto, ON.

⁷⁹ Palermo S.C. played in the T & DSL for four years (1968-72), while Delia S.C. founded their team and social club in 1967. It also played in the T & DSL, capturing the first division title in 1976 and making it to the premier division final in 1979. Salvatore Giannone, interviewed by author, June 28, 2011 and March 8, 2012, Toronto, ON; Charles Alaimo, interviewed by author, June 23, 2011, Toronto, ON; and Delia Social Cultural Centre, 40th Anniversary Program, 2003, p. 99, *Private Archives of Charles Alaimo*.

and come listen to the game.”⁸⁰ His bar and restaurant named A.C. Ranch was across the street from the Delia Social Club that Alaimo and four friends had founded in 1963. The club was a central meeting place for the Delia families,⁸¹ but the bar was primarily a male space and extension of the soccer park for those enjoying drinks after the game or listening to Serie A matches. Sport fandom legitimated a gendered arrangement in which men could exempt themselves from a family activity such as church attendance, a practice already strongly associated with female piety in Italian culture.⁸² Bars were the *de facto* team clubhouse where players, owners, and fans mingled, simultaneously strengthening the fortunes of the business and its owner, the community, and soccer team.

Some immigrant sport fan venues were better known for having a diverse clientele. Proprietor Gus Angelekos’ shop with a non-assuming title never owned a shortwave radio, but it became a recognized meeting place for soccer fans in the city for decades. Angelekos first cut his teeth—or hair, more accurately—as a 13-year-old apprentice in Riviotissa, a town near Sparta in Greece. After coming to Canada in 1959, he worked briefly at an Italian barbershop called Martinelli’s on the corner of Yonge and Dundas, then settled in at George’s Barbershop on Bloor Street West.⁸³ In 1966, he purchased the business and renamed it “Gus the Other Barber” because people had started calling him a hairstylist. “Other,” he explained, meant

⁸⁰ Charles Alaimo, interviewed by author.

⁸¹ Alaimo and four friends established the Delia Social Club in 1963 and it became incorporated by the province a year later. Their soccer team began playing in 1967. A.C. Ranch is located at 1201 St. Clair Avenue West. Delia Social Cultural Centre, 40th Anniversary Program, 2003, p. 99, *Private Archives of Charles Alaimo*.

⁸² An excellent source on Italian female migrant piety is Robert A. Orsi’s, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

⁸³ Gus the Other Barber remained at the corner of Bloor and Brunswick for 39 years until it relocated to 596 Bloor Street West in 2005.

“different.”⁸⁴ It bothered him that a stylist was charging more than a barber for haircutting services and he wished to remain Spartan in both senses of the word. For the modest price of 75 cents, patrons sat down for a trim and neck shave with a straight razor, immersed in a relational and unpretentious environment.⁸⁵ Like the bar owners with shortwave radios, Gus was an informal gatekeeper who facilitated his clients’ participation into Canadian society alongside his own. “My business became like an institution. It became a new centre where everyone wants to know what happens in Greece, especially with sports...I was their barber and they thought I knew everything.”⁸⁶ He later told the *Toronto Star*, “That place was like a home to me. My life in Canada started there. All these people, that’s what it’s all about. They kept me strong to go through the whole ordeal.”⁸⁷

Angelekos’ client base grew and diversified during the 1960s, along with material expressions of their soccer fandom on his shop walls. His initial customers were Greek countrymen living in the small enclave around his Bloor Street shop, which no longer exists.⁸⁸ Fellow Greeks gave him pictures, jerseys, and flags of his favourite Greek side, Olympiakos, as a

⁸⁴ “The difference was the barber asked you how you would like your hair cut, and the hair stylist would ask you what style you want,” Gus explains. He was the Greek immigrant who avowed pragmatism and thrift in a profession concerned with appearances. Gus Angelakos, interviewed by author, December 13, 2010, Toronto, ON.

⁸⁵ Today, Gus the Other Barber has been recognized as an icon of postwar European immigrant life in Toronto. His shop has been frequently profiled in Toronto area newspapers and featured in Canadian storyteller Stuart McLean’s CBC *Morningside* radio series. For a couple example of these stories, read *Toronto Star*, “Barber marks half-century of cutting hair on Bloor St.,” by Jim Wilkes, February 22, 2010, GT1; and *The Spectator* (Hamilton), “World Cup hair styles a barber’s nightmare,” by Neil Davidson, June 15, 2002, E3.

⁸⁶ Gus Angelakos, interviewed by author.

⁸⁷ *Toronto Star*, “When barber moves, so goes a slice of life,” by Jim Wilkes, July 13, 1998, B1.

⁸⁸ With the recent sale of Honest Ed’s department store (in 2017), Gus the Barber and Wiener’s Home Hardware are the last vestiges of the commercial strip’s European past as Bloor Street becomes increasingly dominated by Toronto’s Koreatown or restaurants catering to university students. Another stalwart, N. Markus Fashions, of Transylvanian immigrants, closed in 2013. *The Globe and Mail*, “A Toronto Retailer Stitches up the End of an Era,” by Kelli Kordecki, April 5, 2013, Accessed March 15, 2015, <https://beta.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/a-toronto-retailer-stitches-up-the-end-of-an-era/article10817048/?ref=http://www.theglobeandmail.com&>; and *Toronto Star*, “Fabricland to move into Honest Ed’s,” by Francine Kopun, January 21, 2015, Accessed February 17, 2015, <https://www.thestar.com/business/2015/01/21/fabricland-to-move-into-honest-eds.html>.

token of friendship, and he festooned them around the mirror of his barber station. Soon other regulars returned from visits to the Greek homeland and donated memorabilia bearing the names of their own soccer fealties. *Gus the Other Barber* soon became a popular hangout for non-Greeks as well, among them heavyweight boxer George Chuvalo and businessman-cum-theatre impresario Ed Mirvish.⁸⁹ As the procession of people sitting in his chair expanded with Italians, Portuguese, and Hungarians, his walls became covered with more than 350 pieces of memorabilia representing other European clubs. It was a visible illustration of the owner-client friendship and implied a level of reciprocity and recognition. Loyal customers expected to return for their next cut and find their team and homeland—an extension of themselves—displayed in a space where soccer fandom was the *lingua franca*. His favourite was a framed picture of the local Hellas F.C. squad that won the 1960 British Consuls Cup.⁹⁰ Even in this early shrine celebrating multiculturalism through sport fandom, tribal loyalties still came first.

Competitive Pluralism: Decoding and Defending the Touchlines of Cultural Difference

Since its origins in the city, soccer in Toronto was a social practice organized around the creation and expression of cultural identities. Immigrant men found one another in the male leisure spaces; communities mobilized in support of their teams; and a new generation of entrepreneurs built their shops and media empires on the strength of newcomers clinging to the game they loved before coming to Canada. Soccer's expression as a grassroots form of competitive pluralism drove its growth, but also demarcated its limits. Moreover, its association

⁸⁹ Gus Angelekos, interviewed by author; and *National Post*, "Getting a cut that's above the rest," December 19, 2008, Accessed February 17, 2015, <http://www.pressreader.com/canada/national-post-latest-edition/20081229/281694020648563>.

⁹⁰ Hellas' victory that year is also chronicled in Jose, *On-Side*, chapter 16 [n.p.].

with non-mainstream identities hindered mainstream acceptance of the game, and by extension the immigrant men who played and watched it. Derided as a foreign practice played by foreigners, soccer was a powerful community adhesive and basis for new ventures in media, but it was an unlikely vehicle for integration into mainstream English Canada. When violence broke out among men in a game organized by cultural variances, it was easy for critics inside and outside the soccer scene to conclude that soccer was a social aperture for behaviours and allegiances incompatible with English Canada.

Enmeshed in an immigrant sphere of competitive pluralism, soccer clubs and their community sponsors went to exceptional lengths to field a strong roster, host friendlies with high-profile European clubs, and defeat their rivals. A successful team and community in these respects won special recognition for themselves in an immigrant working-class culture that placed high value on physicality, sporting success, and access to talented players. The path to community pride and prestige required victories over other newcomer populations, whether direct or by proxy. Clubs attached secondary importance to financial profit, which set them apart from the norms of late capitalism and mainstream sport franchises in ice hockey and gridiron football. A team's operating costs almost always exceeded revenues. Even the ledgers of teams with large fan bases and higher gate receipts—such as Toronto Italia, the NSL's top draw in 1960—reported a loss at the end of the year. It is possible that some owners still managed to profit personally, but the reality for the clubs was tight budgets and financial sacrifices.⁹¹ João Santos, president of the First Portuguese Canadian Club, knew the margins

⁹¹ "Toronto Italia, Westminster Royals most successful teams in 1960," *Soccer and Sport News* 8, no. 23 (December 1960) [n.p.], newspaper clipping, *CSHOF*.

would be slim when he made trips to Portugal to secure a Toronto visit from F.C. Benfica and Sporting Lisbon.

Those few days [to host a team in Toronto] cost a lot of money. Each team has about 36 people. We need 13 or 14 [hotel] rooms, the restaurants and bars. You can imagine how expensive that was. We usually broke even or made just a small profit. But it was the prestige that we acquired for our club and our community.⁹²

By hosting a Toronto stop-over from a storied franchise, they made a powerful statement to other immigrant communities that they had the fiscal wherewithal, determination, and international reach to host an event of such caliber. As Santos explained, they also enjoyed the prestige of being able to claim a direct connection to soccer's highest expression. This type of event certainly also enhanced the social capital of the elites who organized them. As a general rule, soccer clubs and their fans who were settling into Canadian life reasoned that—at least in the realm of leisure—recognition was more important than economic advancement.

Much of the financial strain came from the new practice of recruiting foreign talent, which benefitted the larger immigrant populations because their teams had big budgets. Teams at all levels of play brought in players from southern and eastern Europe and Latin America, where professional football salaries remained modest until the 1970s. The trend apparently began in 1956 when Toronto Hungaria and Montreal Hungaria of the NSL fielded almost entirely new squads with pro footballers selected from the refugees of the failed Hungarian Revolution.⁹³ Even the team doctor for Toronto Hungaria, Tom Freid, was a former Magyar

⁹² João Santos, interviewed by author.

⁹³ Harold Troper, "Immigration to Toronto since the Second World War," 38; Program, NSL, 1957, "Immigrants Strengthen Hungaria," p. 27, NSL Fonds, *CSHOF*. Toronto Hungaria's club manager, Johnny Kiss, flew to Europe the following year to arrange for quality soccer players to be included among the nearly 37,000 refugees being granted shelter in Canada. Many of these émigrés had played at the professional level before coming to Canada. In fact, only three players in the 1957 line-up had performed with the team the previous year; the rest were new recruits. One standout import was Steve Fecske of Toronto Hungaria, a ten-time junior international and regular on

international.⁹⁴ In 1958, Montreal Hungaria and its reconstructed team captured the NSL league crown and cup. Four years later, a game program for Toronto Italia explained that the increasingly competitive league compelled their team to import higher caliber players to “meet the needs of the fans.”⁹⁵ Teams representing community rooted in “closed” countries with heavy emigration restrictions, such as Toronto Ukraina, found themselves at a disadvantage in the competition for foreign acquisitions, although some organizations—such as the Polish White Eagles—managed to win the approval of both communist and Canadian immigration officials. White Eagles president Marian Turek was able to bring in four Polish nationals in 1960.⁹⁶ Salvatore Giannone, who played for the small-budget amateur Palermo S.C. team mentioned earlier, took to the field in the late 1960s alongside new arrivals from South America.⁹⁷ In 1977, the board of directors at the T & DSL tried to put an end to imported players at the amateur level and restore “the spirit of the game” by passing the resolution that all players provide proof of Canadian citizenship or landed immigrant status.⁹⁸

The amateurs and semi-professionals who came to Canada to play soccer are the product of the competitive pluralism that marked Toronto’s immigrant sport periphery. The overseas recruiting efforts by immigrant communities created a headache for chary Canadian

Budapest MTK. Colin Jose, "The National Soccer League," *Canadian Soccer History*, Accessed February 20, 2011, <http://www.canadiansoccerhistory.com>; Program, NSL, 1957, p. 27, National Soccer League Fonds, File 2011.2.58 and Program, NSL vs. Mexico World Cup Team—1956, University Stadium, Toronto, May 8, 1956, NSL Fonds, File 2011.2.56, *CSHOF*.

⁹⁴ “Dr. Tom Fried, 81: Soccer Doctor,” by Catherine Dunphy, *Toronto Star*, March 8, 2007, Accessed October 7, 2016, https://www.thestar.com/news/2007/03/08/dr_tom_fried_81_soccer_doctor.html.

⁹⁵ Program, Toronto Italia F.C. vs. V.C. Sampdoria of Italy—1960, July 11, 1960, translated from Italian by author, NSL Fonds, *CSHOF*. At least one of the players was brought in from Hungary, his name is listed as A. Ferency. Program, NSL, 1957, NSL Fonds, File 2011.2.58, *CSHOF*.

⁹⁶ NSL Souvenir Program, 1960, p. 8 and 18, NSL Fonds, File 2011.2.61, *CSHOF*.

⁹⁷ La Paloma, the Italian café founded in the late 1960s by immigrants from the city of Palermo, fielded a line-up of mostly South American imports, including two from the Colombian national team, according to Salvatore Giannone, interviewed by author.

⁹⁸ Bruce Thomas, “Quality people for vast operation,” *Toronto Soccer* 6, no. 2 (June 1977): 14, *CSHOF*.

customs officials, who had difficulty determining if the applicants were coming to Canada for work, soccer, or a combination of the two. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many footballers simply wrote general types of employment on their forms such as “tool and dye” or “construction.” The strategy was an effective one. Italian immigrant Gus Mandarino counts more than ten personal friends who came to play soccer and decided to stay.⁹⁹ One reason for this is that many had few career prospects back home when they hung up their cleats. Francisco Balota, for example, played professional soccer in Portugal and came to Canada in 1977. At the end of his career, he discovered that there were few prospects outside of soccer. “I had no profession in Portugal; I never did anything but play soccer. I found a job with an Italian construction boss [and] I stayed in that place for 25 years.”¹⁰⁰

Soccer fandom was a fraught practice in the efforts of European immigrant men to win the acceptance of mainstream society. Violence frequently erupted at the soccer park and its vicinity, and the incidents had serious economic and cultural consequences for the game and public perceptions of those connected to it. That passions so frequently boiled over at the soccer park was ironic because city alderman and future mayor Allan Lamport originally campaigned to legalize commercialized sports on Sundays as “a deterrent to juvenile delinquency.”¹⁰¹ Here, and once again in Chapter Four, we discover that the marriage of cultural diversity and soccer fandom was good for business, but it also created problems because large numbers of men organized by cultural differences faced one another in an

⁹⁹ Gus Mandarino, interviewed by author.

¹⁰⁰ The Portuguese national coach connected Balota with a scout from Toronto Italia. Balota went on to enjoy a professional stint in the North American Soccer League with the Rochester Lancers and a long career in the NSL with the First Portuguese Canadian Club, where he and his teammates mingled with co-ethnics after each game. Francisco Balota, trans. Clara Abreu, interviewed by author, January 24, 2011, Toronto, ON.

¹⁰¹ Extract from the minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Parks and Exhibitions, held on Thursday April 22, 1948, Fonds 200, Series 487, File 1044, CTA.

emotional and competitive arena with clear winners and losers. Soccer was the focal point of tensions between the City and general public and European men. Civic leaders were quick to conclude that the violent outbursts were a reflection of unwelcomed Old World grudges, brought to Canada and then released in the presence of a 16-ounce ball.¹⁰² In some cases, this assessment was fair. Clashes between the Croatian and Serbian community were common on and off the field during the 1960s and 1970s. In the late sixties, both communities could be seen protesting outside of the Yugoslav consulate to assert their ambitions for an independent Serbia or Croatia, respectively. The building was twice bombed by extremists.¹⁰³ In 1970, a Serbian DJ on Johnny Lombardi's multilingual CHIN radio station was accused of inciting listeners to assassinate the Yugoslav Consul, which contributed to the station's temporary closure.¹⁰⁴ Officer Julian Fantino, who later became Toronto's chief of police, remembers the political tensions turning into heated exchanges at the soccer park: "These people had very bitter feelings towards each other. The soccer matches became a battleground and sometimes we had to respond with paddy wagons and horses."¹⁰⁵ However, Old World Grudges were more exception than explanation for the violence between men at soccer games because most riots—such as the famous one between fans of Italia FC and Hungaria FC—involved

¹⁰² Franca Iacovetta gives the example of the City responding in this language to a riot involving the Toronto Ukrainian Soccer Team in 1957. Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 93.

¹⁰³ The Yugoslav embassy was also bombed in Ottawa. Canada, Ministry of Public Safety, *Terrorism in Canada, 1960-1989*, No. 1990-16, Solicitor General of Canada, p. 64, Accessed December 30, 2016, <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/hv%206433.c2%20t4%201990-eng.pdf>. A history of protests and bombings at the Yugoslav Consulate in Toronto is provided in "Historicist: Bombs on Spadina Road," by David Wencer, *The Torontoist* (April 26, 2014), Accessed December 30, 2016, <http://torontoist.com/2014/04/historicist-bombs-on-spadina-road/>.

¹⁰⁴ The act resulted in the station almost having its licence revoked by the CRTC. CHIN was ordered off the air, ostensibly for management issues, from April to December 1970. *Toronto Star*, untitled newspaper clipping dated February 12, 1970, [n.p.] LAC; and *Toronto Star*, "Serbian Program on CHIN Invited an Assassination," April 1, 1970 [n.p.], LAC.

¹⁰⁵ Julian Fantino, with Jerry Amernic, *Duty: The Life of a Cop* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2007), 41.

communities with minimal exposure or animosity to one another before coming to Canada. Few people, however, saw the need to distinguish whether the conflicts were motivated by *pre-existing* prejudice or isolated passions. Soccer's pariah status as a "foreign" game compartmentalized by teams reflecting alternative identities confirmed the opinions of many that fan and footballer were ill-suited to English Canada. Soccer roused both ethnic pride and problems.

As suggested, "historical conflicts" was a broad-stroke and sometimes inaccurate explanation for the violence that sullied operations such as the National Soccer League. More glaring was the dangerous combination of male socialization, improper stadium infrastructure, and limited municipal recreation resources. It was a common sight to find half of the people in attendance without proper seating, gathered along a sloped grass hill or the edges of the playing field. Ed Waring, sportswriter for *The Globe and Mail*, testified after a 1954 game that he had to peer over the heads of people four rows deep and that the referee made his initial entrance onto the field area by scaling a fence.¹⁰⁶ Fan tensions were much more likely when thousands of men were crammed together with poor sightlines to the play. During the 1955 season, the city agreed to continue leasing Hamilton Park stadium to the NSL in return for the league bankrolling extensive renovations to make the park safer for spectators.¹⁰⁷ Despite spending most of its revenue that year, the NSL's problems persisted. "Our soccer parks," complained the NSL's disciplinarian, Lt. Cmdr. Allan C. MacNeish, "are the greatest contributing factor to disquiet at the games. Possibly nowhere else in the world are there worse conditions

¹⁰⁶ *The Globe and Mail*, "6,200 Soccer Fans see Italia, Ukrainians Tie, 1-1," by Ed Waring, August 18, 1954, [n.p.], *CSHOF*.

¹⁰⁷ That is, the NSL made \$26,657.88 in ticket sales, but had to spend \$26,296.29. *The Globe and Mail*, "Soccer League Drops Combines for Sparta," by Ed Waring, December 5, 1955, [n.p.], *CSHOF*.

for large attendances.”¹⁰⁸ In 1956, recurring riots at its east end hub, the Broadview YMCA, which lacked a barrier to separate fans from the pitch, forced the NSL to abandon its other field of operations.¹⁰⁹ Now reduced to one venue, the league purchased \$57,000 in renovations to Hamilton Park Stadium for additional seating, lighting, re-sodding the field, new dressing rooms, a press box, and a boardroom.¹¹⁰ Shortly after the stadium’s reopening, a large disturbance erupted during a match between Toronto Italia and Toronto Hungaria. In the chaos, fans tore pointed wooden pickets from the perimeter fence and used them as weapons; five police officers were hospitalized, and a game of cat and mouse ensued between police and firebrands in the surrounding neighbourhood and into homeowners’ backyards.¹¹¹ Italia captain Bruno Bertolin remembers how the melee kindled with only a spark. “At the end of the game, I was walking off the field with the captain of Hungaria. He made a lewd comment to someone in the stands and then all hell broke loose.”¹¹²

That spark was enough to embolden the residents living in the stadium’s Ossington-Shaw Street corridor, who were already lobbying City Hall to shut down the venue. The public outcry over the Italia-Hungaria riot prompted the City to bulldoze the Hamilton Park stadium—and along with it the recent renovations—in favour of a parking lot. The league had no other option than to accept the City’s loan and compensation package. They also had to move their

¹⁰⁸ National Soccer League Yearbook, “Soccer Discipline,” by Allan C. MacNeish, p. 61, NSL Fonds, 1955, File 2011.2.66, *CSHOF*.

¹⁰⁹ *Toronto Star*, “First Division to Use Fred Hamilton Field for all its Games,” by Bill Entwistle, July 23, 1957 [n.p], Fonds 200, Series 487, File 981, *CTA*.

¹¹⁰ “Have Well-Organized Clubs,” by Frank W. Thirkettle, NSL Secretary-Treasurer, Program, NSL, 1957, p. 5, *CSHOF*; NSL 1958 Program, “Word from the President: A Hearty Welcome to NSL Games for 1958,” by W.J. Freer, p. 4, File 2011.2.59, *CSHOF*; and *Ibid.*, newspaper clipping, *Toronto Telegram*, “Biggest and Best in Canada,” by Matt Dodds [1958?], p. 9.

¹¹¹ *The Globe and Mail*, “Five Policemen, Boy Hurt, after Riot in Soccer Game,” August 24, 1959, p.1.

¹¹² Bruno Bertolin, interviewed by author.

operations to the former city dump site at South Stanley Park, where they were expected to shoulder the expense of new grandstands. Adding insult to injury, shortly after the new bleachers were built, inspectors discovered they were sitting on top of a precarious sand base and a new mortgage was needed to replace them.

The league's response to the Italia-Hungaria incident did not result in a safer environment for players and referees or change the public perception that soccer and those who followed it were ill-suited to Canadian life. Rather, the new building at South Stanley Park became the site of the next neighbourhood controversy. The NSL started hiring police officers to escort officials from the field after each game,¹¹³ but a year later the president of the NSL, W.J. Freer, still had to implore his spectators: "I repeat my plea of last year—Please keep off the playing field—Do not litter paper in the park—Keep away from the Dressing Rooms [sic] and above all respect the Referee and Linesmen."¹¹⁴ In a move that revealed the roughshod nature of semi-pro soccer in postwar Toronto, Frank Thirkettle, NSL secretary and treasurer the previous year, conceded to the fans their criticisms about poor officiating. He assured them that referees were taking classes during the winter "in order that the officiating remains on a

¹¹³ Ed Waring, "Pity the Poor Referee," *The Globe and Mail*, [1957?], copied in 1956 NSL Souvenir Programme, File 2011.2.57, *CSHOF*.

¹¹⁴ NSL Souvenir Programme, 1958, p. 4, NSL Fonds, File 2011.2.59, and Ed Waring, "Pity the Poor Referee," p. 67 and 69, in NSL Souvenir Programme, 1956, NSL Fonds, File 2011.2.57, *CSHOF*. There are a variety of sources about the plight of referees at the amateur level. In 1956, *Toronto Daily Star* sports reporter Ed Waring counted two players suspended for life, five for five years, and twenty for a period between three months and three years. In addition, there were ten attacks on referees, which was apparently an improvement on the previous three years. The Toronto and District Society of Soccer Referees were fed up with repeated player and fan attacks and forced the cancellation of games for a week until their resolution demanding greater protection for themselves was approved by the league. *Toronto Daily Star*, "The chemistry of discipline," by Ed Waring, p. 34, newspaper clipping from Fonds F-1405, DUT Series 58 MU-9403, File 3, Neerlandia Football Club, *Archives of Ontario. Neerlandia News*, June 2, 1964 [n.p.], in *Ibid*; and Letter from Hugh S. Morrow (secretary) to Commissioner of parks [n.d.] Fonds 200, Series 487, File 1635, *CTA*.

par with the class of play.”¹¹⁵ The NSL suffered a near-fatal blow when the short-lived Eastern Canadian Professional Soccer League (ECP SL) surfaced in its backyard in 1961, poaching its top teams and half its paying customers. It defaulted on its arrears and surrendered its material assets to the City.¹¹⁶ The repeating cycle of incidents and complaints continued at South Stanley Park for another thirteen years until the league proposed installing artificial turf at the site, provoking about one hundred neighbours to counter with their own petition calling for the 2,000-seat stadium to be torn down. In 1973, city alderman and NSL president Joe Piccinnini yielded to public pressure and agreed to the construction of a new building in a non-residential area along King Street West.¹¹⁷ Completed in 1975, the 9,000-seat stadium was appropriately named Lamport Stadium in honour of the politician who successfully lobbied for soccer matches to be allowed on Sundays two decades earlier.¹¹⁸ In 1974, a writer for *Toronto Soccer* noted that the addition of moats, high fences, and a phalanx of police officers at Lamport Stadium had reduced fan access to the field, but individuals were still hurling objects at the players and referees.¹¹⁹ And the NSL manager’s report from eight years later in 1982 that

¹¹⁵ However, an article in the 1957 NSL Program criticized a recent article in *Soccer and Sports News* blaming riots on miscalls by referees who know the game less than those watching it. The writer argued that “an arbiter should not have the pressures brought to bear on him that he has to face in Toronto,” and faulted fans for their own actions. “Have Well-Organized Clubs,” by Frank W. Thirkettle, in NSL Souvenir Programme, 1957, NSL Fonds, File 2011.2.58; and “Support for Referees,” by Ray Morgan, National Soccer League Souvenir Programme, 1956, Ibid., CSHOF.

¹¹⁶ Faced with declining revenues and fan numbers, the NSL defaulted on its arrears and the city assumed its debt and ownership of the stands. The recent history of problems at Hamilton Park and South Stanley Park is contained in Report no. 9 of Board of Control, clause 5, adopted by City Council, March 27, 1963, p. 830, Fonds 200, Series 487, File 11, National Soccer League, CTA; *The Globe and Mail*, “5 Policemen, Boy Hurt in Riot after Soccer Game”; and Bruno Bertolin, interviewed by author.

¹¹⁷ *Toronto Star*, “Youngsters look forward to the day they can play in Stanley Park,” by Judi Timson, May 12, 1971, p. 7. For a letter to the editor chastising the city for permitting soccer activities to continue at Stanley Park and writing off the NSL’s debts, see Ibid., Patrick J. Shields, Letter to the editor, September 16, 1969, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ City Council Minutes April 18, 1985, Background of Lamport Stadium, Report to City of Toronto Executive Committee, by E. Negridge, dated April 11, 1985, p. 4-6, Joe Pantalone Files, Fonds 1135, Series 715, Subseries 10, File 18, CTA.

¹¹⁹ Frank Giorno, “A marked increase in soccer violence,” *Toronto Soccer* 4, no. 8 (Dec., 1974): 13, CSHOF.

stadium attendants were exasperated due to fans urinating and defecating in the stands, over-imbibing, fighting, refusing to pay their tickets, and chasing referees and opposing players into the dressing rooms.¹²⁰ Local spectator soccer was in quick decline, the league and stadium were heavily in arrears, and fan behaviour was a key component of what NSL President Bob Jones labelled “the stupid actions of our Clubs [sic] [who] created the problems and alienated the Stadium.”¹²¹ Large yet dwindling numbers of men, organized by cultural differences, were still gathering in competitive environments with similar outcomes. For more than thirty years, masculinity, grassroots pluralism, and violence were an inseparable mixture, regardless of where the games took place and who was watching.

At certain times, league spokespersons tried to put the continuing problems with player and fan behaviour into context. When a particularly ugly riot broke out between fans of the Polish White Eagles and Ukrainians the same year as the Italia-Hungaria episode, NSL President Bill Entwistle offered *The Globe and Mail* a sophisticated explanation that outlined a temporary, but tempestuous relationship between ethnicity, violence, and soccer:

The National League has special problems because the teams are so strictly national in character. Fans get hot under the collar. When the “Judas goat” leaves his seat most of them follow, not to start trouble, but to get a front seat at what’s going on. That’s why it’s the official opinion that on Saturday a very small percentage was out for blood. To many folk, soccer is not a game anymore, it’s a vendetta with a ball. Yet, when the game is over and the guys leave the park, the venom is gone and everybody gets back to normal.¹²²

¹²⁰ Manger’s Report, Allan A. Lamport Stadium, June 16, 1982, Allan Lamport Stadium, 1982, Fonds 1135, Series 716, Joe Pantalone files, File 1, CTA.

¹²¹ Between 1981 and 1982, the NSL reduced the number of dates it used Lamport Stadium from 135 to 40. Balance sheets cite A.A. Lamport Stadium’s 1980 operating loss as \$33,614.07, increasing to \$58,367.63 in 1981. Another one of the “stupid actions” listed by Jones is the habit of teams booking Lamport Stadium and then cancelling the match, resulting in lost revenue for the league and stadium. A.A. Lamport Stadium Balance Sheet, Dec. 31, 1982, and Minutes Dec. 9, 1981, Interview with Bob Jones, Ibid.

¹²² Following the incident, NSL officials ordered the Ukrainians to post a \$1,000 bond in guarantee of good behaviour for the remainder of the season. It was the organization’s second time on the red carpet that year.

Some degree of tribalism and male aggression is inevitable when foreign-born men congregate in large groups, Thirkettle reasoned. And soccer was an appropriate context for its venting, and thereby, dissipation. The violence took little to goad, but its lifespan was limited. Other soccer commentators in the city agreed with him in the following years. The T & DSL president, Stanley Brow Adamdon, declared a direct link in the mid 1960s between pre-migration Europe and misbehaviour at Toronto's soccer parks. "Soccer, the universal sport," he explained, "tends to build up tensions, mostly caused by the robust nature of the game and national politics which players and executives carry with them to Canada."¹²³ Adamdon and Thirkettle acknowledged the existence of some historical tensions, but rather ironically blamed the game of soccer itself for their exasperation. Compared to soccer, Ice hockey has built-in pressure valves for players to channel their aggression. Hard body checking is part of the regular flow of the game and bare knuckle fighting or the occasional "line brawl" are penalized enough to discourage, rather than purge, these altercations. Most players, coaching staff, officials, and league executives agree that some level of on-ice violence is necessary to release "built-up" tensions. A hockey player can be physically aggressive and not compromise sportsmanship and gentlemanliness. Soccer obviously contains no similar outlet and physical altercations are more likely to occur between fans. So when the "Judas goats" sparked a stampede, mainstream critics concluded that the release of tensions was a premeditated response to historical animosities rooted in Europe. In 1973, York University sociologist Frank Giorno publically accused the NSL of creating the pre-

Toronto Star, "First Division to Use Fred Hamilton Field for all its Games" by Bill Entwistle, July 23, 1957, [n.p.], Fonds 200, Series 487, File 1720, CTA.

¹²³ "The chemistry of discipline" by Ed Waring, *The Globe and Mail* [1966?], p.34, in F-1405, DUT Series 58 MU-9403, File 3, *Archives of Ontario*. A decade later in 1974, local magazine *Toronto Soccer* described a politicalized soccer mosaic of "ethnic teams with ethnic labels preserving their cultural identity in sporting action." *Toronto Soccer* 4 no. 5 (July 1974): 1, CSHOF.

conditions for violence by allowing teams to organize in this fashion.¹²⁴ Prohibit team names like Italia, Portuguese, and Croatia and the problem would disappear, he reasoned. Of course, the game of soccer would likely disappear in Toronto as well. In the arena of competitive pluralism, “ethnic” soccer was not particularly profitable, but soccer could not profit without ethnicity.

General police crime statistics reveal surprisingly little about problems in the neighbourhoods where soccer disturbances were taking place. In the St. Clair Avenue West area that included EarlsCourt Park, the home of the T&DSL, annual police division reports show neither a proportionally high level nor increase of arrests over time. In 1965, for example, there were a total of only 150 reported assaults. Criminal Code offences across the city then more than doubled between 1965 and 1974, but the number in this division remained stable.¹²⁵ Public drunkenness also seemed to evade police radar. Violations of the Liquor Control Act in St. Clair area were well below the city average for the years 1972-4.¹²⁶ These discrepancies suggest that either the claims of unbridled violence were greatly exaggerated by local residents and the press, or the police generally turned a blind eye to the problem. One reason might be that the size of the force was not keeping pace with Toronto’s fast-growing population and rising crime rates. Understaffed, the department may have decided that processing groups of rowdy fans was not worth their time. Soccer historian Colin Jose remembers *Toronto Daily Star* sports reporter Bill Cole telling him that he saw many times during the 1950s how the police rounded up a group of troublemakers at the end of the game, took to the station, and in short

¹²⁴ Frank Giorno, “A marked increase in soccer violence,” *Toronto Soccer* 4, no. 8 (December 1973): 13, *CSHOF*.

¹²⁵ Metropolitan Toronto Police (form. City of Toronto), Annual Reports, 1965-1974, Figures for Police Divisions 13-15, *Toronto Urban Affairs Library*.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

time released them.¹²⁷ The “hands-off” approach by law enforcement at soccer games ran against the constabulary’s practice of patrolling Italian neighbourhoods to break up groups of mingling men. It may have been that ignoring the excesses of male socialization in one corner of the city was an effective strategy at containing their activities in another. However, all teams and their fans were affected by the police’s demand that leagues pay for their own in-house security at games and refusal to commit additional officers when those hired by the leagues were insufficient to manage the situation. The leagues had their own disciplinary bodies to dole out player and team penalties, suspensions, and expulsions and a team’s removal from competitive soccer was a devastating blow for an immigrant community. In one case, the expulsion of their soccer team for a season was so damaging to the Ukrainian community that they pressured officers at the Canadian Citizenship Branch to negotiate with the league on their behalf. Toronto’s Regional Officer John Sharp ultimately convinced the league to reinstate the Ukrainians and offer better training for referees during the off-season.¹²⁸

Not Fit for Mainstream: A Failed League and a Championship Team Few Cared to Watch.

Soccer thrived among the immigrant population, but struggled to move beyond it. By the early 1960s, the National Hockey League and Canadian Football League had become large-scale enterprises for mass consumption, but soccer remained the realm of alternative identities. The first mainstream attempt to appropriate soccer and its immigrant fan base came from the awkwardly named Eastern Canadian Professional Soccer League (1961- 1966), whose

¹²⁷ Colin Jose, interviewed by author, June 20, 2012, Toronto, ON.

¹²⁸ This story is mentioned in Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 93.

founding investors—a coalition of ethnic businessman and mainstream power brokers,¹²⁹ including Toronto Maple Leafs owner Harold Ballard—believed it was possible to strike a profitable balance between the “ethnic obsession” and a general audience. The league produced the highest calibre of play ever seen in the city by signing elite European and Latin American footballers on loan from their regular clubs. The only franchise in the ECPSL without a continental European affiliation in its name was the Toronto City Soccer Club. In an interesting twist, this organization claimed to represent the general population but modelled and marketed itself as a British organization.¹³⁰ In other words, Toronto City was a marked attempt to restore the local game to its pre-war British origins, when it was played primarily by immigrants from the United Kingdom, thereby re-asserting an Anglo Canadian identity in soccer as the mainstream one. Co-owners George Gross and Ed Fitkin secured a corps of elite English Premier leaguers nearing the end of their careers, including Johnny Haynes, Danny Blanchflower, Jackie Moodie, and Roy Gratrix, along with coach Tommy Younger.¹³¹ The highest profile signing was English international Sir Stanley Matthews, who was at 46 years old still performing at the highest level.¹³²

¹²⁹ The multicultural cast of investors also included Peter Bosa, Ed Fitkin, Steve Stavro, Larry Myslevic, and George Gross. Program, Toronto Italia v. Toronto City, July 26, 1961, p. 4, Eastern Canadian League Fonds, *CSHOF*; and George Gross, “The ECPSL Revisited,” *Toronto Soccer* 1, no. 1 (May 1971): 3, *CSHOF*.

¹³⁰ The ECPSL featured a revolving door of primarily ethnic clubs. Toronto City was English and there were five Italian organizations: Toronto Italia, Montreal Cantalia, Montreal Italica, Hamilton Steelers/Primos, and Toronto Roma. Other competitors included Montreal Ukraina, Montreal International, and the Buffalo White Eagles, who were owned and operated by members from Toronto’s Serbian community. Team names, game attendance and players are listed in a binder marked “Eastern Canadian Professional Soccer League,” *Private Archives of Colin Jose*. See also: Program, Toronto City and Toronto Italia Program, May 20, 1961, Varsity Stadium, ECPSL Fonds, File 2011.2.32, *CSHOF*.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p.2, 10-11.

¹³² Program, Toronto City vs. Montreal Cantalia, June 11, 1961, Delorimier Stadium, ECPSL Fonds, File 2011.2.31, *CSHOF*.

Organizers interestingly did not challenge the pattern of soccer being a vehicle for the organization and expression of national or cultural identities; instead, they argued that a British one best defined the city and the game. A soccer team with an unflinching British identity was a viable business move in a city with strong institutional, cultural, political and immigrant roots in the United Kingdom, and an establishment that continued to identify with them. The British designation also distinguished the club from the other major Toronto franchises, which were Italian owned and affiliated (Toronto Italia and Toronto Roma). New to the Toronto scene, Toronto City's players were backed by a support structure that included a marketing director, conditioning coaches, and a fan clubhouse at the prestigious Royal York Hotel. The back office also hired Ray Sonin, chair of Britain's National Federation of Football Supporters' Clubs, to create a similar organization in Toronto. Sonin made his pitch to prospective followers in the *Toronto Telegram* and on Radio CRFB with a montage entitled "Calling all Britons." For the cost of 50 cents, respondents could receive a membership card, a badge to wear on their lapels, and exclusive access to the supporter clubhouse and the team's private booth at Varsity Stadium. In a manner that blended British football norms with immigrant community practices in Canada, Toronto City supporters were able to purchase ties and rosettes in club colours, enjoy the dance fundraisers and—most English of all—attend the tea and sandwich sales.¹³³

In a clear attempt to Anglicize the game for public perception, Toronto City announced that their supporters could be distinguished by their social conduct. Sonin emphasized the organization's "respectability" in gendered terms, noting that husbands and wives were both welcome at their social functions and games, just as in Great Britain. In stark contrast to the

¹³³ Program, Toronto City vs. Toronto Italia, p. 10-11, ECPSL Fonds, File 2011.2.30, *CSHOF*.

local immigrant soccer subculture associated with melees and aggrieved neighbours, the team's public relations department described their supporters as middle or upper-class gentlemen. With its stellar roster and claims of exemplary conduct, Toronto City was asserting British athletic superiority on the field and British cultural supremacy off it. Their efforts also had the ironic effect of tacitly acknowledging the diminished influence of British immigrants and culture in Toronto's postwar soccer scene. In the years before the federal multiculturalism policies of the early 1970s, there was no need for an Anglo institution in English Canada to go to such lengths to recover its lost social status.

The ECPSL faced legal and logistical challenges throughout its short life. Part way through the inaugural season, the best players rejoined their European clubs, leaving an unfillable hole in the roster and prompting a swift decline in ticket sales. Making matters worse, the English Premier League refused to release its players for Canadian assignment the following season.¹³⁴ The ECPSL's investors that hoped to move soccer fandom from the margins of Canadian sport misfired on two accounts: they lost their supporter base of continental Europeans and failed to attract either a British newcomer or general audience. Faced with the enduring foreign stigma and a revolving door of leagues, franchises, and player rosters, fans responded to the "just passing through" nature of professional soccer with predictable reluctance.

In 1976, a professional soccer team from Toronto with a small and loyal corps of supporters stunned the soccer world by winning the North American Soccer League (NASL)

¹³⁴ An announced crowd of 16,590 watched the opening game between at Varsity Stadium on May 20, 1961. After the mid-season point, game attendance never exceeded 4,000. Program, Toronto City vs. Montreal Cantalia, 1961, p. 14, and Program, Toronto City vs. Toronto Italia, 1961, p. 2 and 10-11, ECPSL Fonds, *CSHOF*; and Gross, "The ECPSL Revisited," *Toronto Soccer* 1, no. 1 (May 1971): 3, *CSHOF*.

championship. The Toronto Metros-Croatia relied on a Croatian fan base and a team stacked with Yugoslav imports at a time when pro soccer officials in Toronto and other part of North America and Australia had reached a consensus that soccer's enduring attachment to minority cultures was making the game unattractive to mainstream consumers and limiting its growth.¹³⁵ This attachment was much stronger in the Toronto franchise than with Canada's other NASL team, the Vancouver Whitecaps. More than two thirds of Vancouver's 1975 roster consisted of players born in Canada or naturalized Canadians. Two years before the sale of the team to the Croatian community, the president of the official Toronto Metros' "Booster Club," Ted Wasylenko, prematurely declared that the franchise had similarly overcome the hindrance of "ethnic-oriented teams which hold little or no interest to the native Canadian."¹³⁶ The average game Metros attendance in 1974 fell to 3,000—the league's lowest, and the Ontario Government was unwilling to provide the team with another loan. Soccer fandom in Toronto was simply disappearing in the absence of foreign flags and immigrant identities. Rather than sell the franchise to a buyer in Mexico City, team president Bruce Thomas approached the Croatian community.¹³⁷ The Toronto Croatia Football Club was at the time a powerhouse in the semi-pro NSL, recently capturing the league title and Canadian championship. The Croatians remarkably also had a larger and more loyal fan base than the professional Metros.¹³⁸ In

¹³⁵ Thirteen out of eighteen players on the roster were Croatian Canadians or Croatians imported from Yugoslavia. *Toronto Star*, "Metros defy economic logic, but survive," by Jim Kernaghan, May 14, 1977, D3; and Bruce Thomas, "Toronto Metros attendances dwindle," *Toronto Soccer* 4, no. 5 (July 1974): 1, *CSHOF*.

¹³⁶ "Booster Club Moves Forward in 1973," by Ted Wasylenko, Program, Dallas Tornadoes at Toronto Metros, June 17, 1973, p. 11, *Toronto Metros Programs*, *CSHOF*.

¹³⁷ The Metros had just received an emergency loan of \$250,000 from the Ontario Government, which was insufficient to maintain its operations. *Toronto Star*, "Metros' soccer franchise may be sold to Mexico City," by Jim Kernaghan, August 20, 1974, C1; *Ibid.*, "Soccer: The Metros team may fold," by Jim Kernaghan, August 3, 1974, D1; *Ibid.*, "Ontario backs \$250,000 loan to soccer team," December 6, 1973, B1; and Jose, *On-Side*, chapter 13 [n.p].

¹³⁸ "Croatia wins Canadian Championship," *Toronto Soccer* 1, no. 6 (October 1971): 7, *CSHOF*.

exchange for 50 percent ownership and control of team operations, Thomas and other stakeholders sold the team to 700 part-owners in the Croatian community, who insisted that the team be renamed the Toronto Metros-Croatia.¹³⁹

The *Toronto Star* explained to its readers why this outstanding team received so little support from mainstream Toronto. “You see, most of the Metros’ fans are Croatian,” the *Star* clarified. “That’s why 5,399 people were on hand last night even though Toronto was on a winning streak. It’s pretty hard for the average fan to identify with a team when he can’t pronounce some of the players’ names.”¹⁴⁰ Local sports fans, however, had few qualms with the Croatian names of Toronto Maple Leafs’ hockey superstar Frank Mahovlich or heavyweight boxer George Chuvalo. Hard-to-pronounce surnames sounded more foreign and were less pronounceable in a game entrenched with alternative identities. This affiliation was further impaired by the fact that Toronto’s professional team was owned by one of the most politically active immigrant populations in the city. Toronto’s Croatian community used their elite line-up of footballers as a platform to broadcast their political aspirations. The team toured Australia before the 1976 season, stopping to visit centers with large Croatian communities.

¹³⁹ The community raised \$250,000 to purchase the team and another \$400,000 to absorb half of its debts. *Toronto Star*, “Metros spurn brewery’s \$900,000 bid,” by Jim Kernaghan, November 11, 1976, C1; Kernaghan, “Metros defy economic logic, but survive,”; and *Ibid.*, “Croatsians step in and save Metros from extinction,” February 6, 1975, C2. For a summary of Croatian Canadian sport, read Vinko Grubisic, “Croatian Athletes in Toronto,” *Polyphony* 7, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1985): 56-8.

¹⁴⁰ *Toronto Star*, “Budd is ignored and Metros Lose,” by Bob Mitchell, June 29, 1978, B5.



Figure 5. Children march with national flags before Toronto Croatia FC takes the field. Varsity Stadium [c. 1976]. Source: Vincenzo Pietropaolo.

“In every city the Croatian people would embrace us,” says full-back Robert Iarusci, the only Canadian-born player. “[They] wanted to use our team as a symbol for their pride and in support of the Croatian national movement for independence.”¹⁴¹ Political statements through sport did not come on the cheap, however, and the Metros-Croatia struggled to remain solvent in all four seasons of their existence. “We used to get our cheques and make a dash for the credit union because the first eight got through and the rest bounced,” Iarusci jokes. The team’s modest budget was \$650,000, the same amount the New York Cosmos were paying Pele that year. They needed to sell 8,000 each game to break even, but only averaged about 6,000 supporters.¹⁴² Halfway through the 1976 season, the community called an emergency meeting

¹⁴¹ Robert Iarusci, interviewed by author.

¹⁴² Average attendance for the 1976 season was 6,079, followed by 7,336 and 6,233 for subsequent seasons. Jose, *On-Side*, Ch. 13 [n.p]; and Kernaghan, “Metros defy economic logic, but survive.”

at Our Lady of Croatia Church to discuss how to save the franchise, which was heavily in debt. The priest passed around a hat and raised \$120,000 on the spot, rescuing the season in a single night.¹⁴³ Despite paltry ticket sales from outside the Croatian community and being awash in debt, the team blazed a surprising path to the final and won decisively on the strength of a talented cast led by Portuguese legends Eusebio and Matateu.¹⁴⁴

In 1979, the Croatian community could no longer bankroll their sport-themed investment in Croatian nationalism and sold their majority share to Global Communications, who re-named it the Toronto Blizzard.¹⁴⁵ The new team of mostly British imports and a few more homegrown Canadians never won the title, but it did noticeably better at the gate during its last four seasons—most notably in 1983 with the acquisition of silver-haired Italian international Roberto Bettega.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the Blizzard era was a parentheses in Toronto's four-decade-long affiliation with immigrant causes and identity expression. The Metros-Croatia and their supporters converted Croatian ethnic pride into an NASL championship soccer team. When held up against the backdrop of recent social and political changes in Canada, the Metros-Croatia demonstrated how one community, emboldened in the post-1971 era of

¹⁴³ Already that year, the community had raised an additional \$50,000 in emergency funding. *Ibid.*, "Soccer brass are still hot about Metros-Croatia name," by Jim Kernaghan, August 30, 1976, B1; and Grubisic, "Croatian Athletes in Toronto," 56-8. One problem that would take longer to address was that the team was playing its first two campaigns at Lampion Stadium, which was inaccessible from the subway line and far from residential neighbourhoods. *Toronto Star*, "It's now or never for pro soccer," by Jim Proudfoot, February 10, 1977, C1.

¹⁴⁴ Carling-O'Keefe brewery then offered to purchase the team for \$900,000, but the community spurned the offer. Despite the team's hemorrhaging balance sheet, "a lot of people would lose their investment," explained club treasurer Sam Paric. The 700 part-owners had a soccer-themed investment in Croatian nationalism. "Metros-Croatia—the team everyone in the NASL just loves to hate," by Jim Kernaghan, *Toronto Soccer* 6, no. 1 (May 1977): 1, *CSHOF*; Jose, *On-Side*, chapter 13 [n.p.]; *Toronto Star*, "Metros Spurn Brewery's \$900,000 bid,"; and *Ibid.*, "Budd is ignored," B5.

¹⁴⁵ The team sold for 2.5 million dollars. The Croatian community retained 7.5 percent ownership, and another 7.5 percent went to a group led by long-time soccer investor Bruce Thomas. Jose, *On-Side*, chapter 16, [n.p].

¹⁴⁶ That is, average game attendance exceeded 11,000 for four seasons. In 1984, there were seven or more Canadians in the Blizzard's regular starting line-up. The Blizzard hired Italian immigrant, Fausto di Marco, to promote the team in the city's Italian quarters. Jose, *On Side*, Ch. 16 [n.p.]; and Fausto di Marco, interviewed by author.

Canadian multiculturalism and motivated by a rare opportunity to own a professional soccer team, moved soccer fandom into the mainstream, paradoxically even as the mainstream audience—along with other communities on the immigrant sport periphery—were reluctant to embrace it. Soccer commentator Colin Jose wrote perceptively in a 1977 edition of *Toronto Soccer*:

If the team is predominantly of one nationality, all the other nationalities stay away. While if the team is of many nationalities, then no one can identify with it and so they all stay away. It follows that what we need is a common denominator and only one such person exists—the Canadian.¹⁴⁷

For more than three decades into the postwar period, Toronto soccer was organized according to teams with names that reflected the origins and often aspirations of their players and fans. However, apart from the entrepreneurial ventures in multilingual media, spectator sports had yet to become a space to promote the cultural distinctiveness of *other* communities or a plurality of cultural backgrounds more generally. The dominant form of popular multiculturalism afforded participants the opportunity to organize and express themselves without having to declare a commitment to the concept of popular multiculturalism or a dedication to the game of soccer that extended beyond their own cultural sphere. Jose's prescription for a "Canadian" soccer fan detached from alternative identities was unlikely to emerge in this historical arrangement. As we will see in Chapter Four, soccer fandom finally ultimately entered the Canadian mainstream in Toronto as a popular form of cultural pluralism.

¹⁴⁷ "Toronto is one of NASL problem cities: Colin Jose speaks out," by Colin Jose, *Toronto Soccer* 7, no. 5 (September 1977): 8, *CSHOF*.

The National Game with an Accent: Louis Jannetta and the Italian Canadian Hockey League

Louis (Luigi) Jannetta's Canadian Italian Hockey League (CIHL) presents a different configuration of ethnicity, gender, and integration through sport in postwar Toronto. In comparison to the Italian pioneers in multilingual media, who built their empires largely on the strength of soccer fandom, Jannetta's league and larger-than-life persona are a second dimension of the process through which Italians became forbearers of cultural pluralism through sport. As with the soccer leagues, the CIHL grew and survived in a social and financial sense because it fostered and celebrated an immigrant community and identity. However, it was different in significant ways from soccer because the league's Italian exclusivity did not result in public accusations of foreignness or enduring Old World sentiments. On the contrary, the league won mainstream praise because Italians were playing hockey, Canada's beloved game, instead of an activity with origins abroad. It was also lauded because of Jannetta's unflinching insistence that working-class Italian youth and young men conduct themselves in a manner palatable even to the highest tier of Anglo Canadian society. Paradoxically, the CIHL was a culturally exclusive operation that stayed Italian¹⁴⁸ while conforming to mainstream expectations of the model immigrant.

Jannetta came to Canada from Italy in 1935 at the age of seven. He and the other, mostly Italian, immigrant kids in the College-Dundas corridor were introduced to hockey at the Knights of Columbus Boys' Club on Bellwoods Street. The building was a safe haven from the pressures and perils of the inner-city streets. Volunteers hosted floor hockey matches in the gym, ran a wood lathe, held dances, and showed the occasional film with a rented projector.

¹⁴⁸ Jordan Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

When not at the club, Jannetta and his friends organized their own hockey scrimmages in the back alleys behind the Victorian walk-up apartments. Many of them had never played soccer before coming to Canada, and they were no more drawn to it when they arrived. Jannetta's home town of Roccamandolfi was remote and perched high in the mountains of Abruzzo-Molise. The abundance of steps and lack of park space there were physical barriers to playing the Beautiful Game.¹⁴⁹ It also happened to be one of the isolated corners of Italy largely unaffected by dictator Benito Mussolini's state-sponsorship of the game or the excitement of Italy's two World Cup victories in 1934 and 1938. It is significant to the Italian Canadian story—and as we will see later, to the Toronto Italian community's collective narrative that emerged after the 1982 World Cup—that there were a significant number of Italian immigrants living on Toronto's west side without a historical relationship to soccer and who were not engaged with the burgeoning local leagues around them. Their first orientation in sport after resettlement was to the Canadian game.

Louis Jannetta and his friends enjoyed playing floor hockey in the Knights of Columbus gymnasium and back alleys, but *ice* hockey—the quintessential Canadian winter past-time—was out of their reach. The first big deterrent was the high cost of equipment. A set of elbow pads, gloves, pants, and skates were well beyond the means of his father, a fruit vendor who apportioned most of his earnings to family necessities. Jannetta's big breakthrough came on his thirteenth birthday when his father had collected enough money to buy him a pair of skates and some used equipment. However, by this time he was a latecomer to the game. He registered and dressed to play for a house league team, but his strides were too slow and his

¹⁴⁹ He adds that he lived his first seven years in Abruzzo-Molise, an Italian region with mountainous terrain, abundance of steps and lack of park space. Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author, February 28, 2011, Toronto, ON.

skillset too basic to earn ice-time alongside the mostly homegrown Canadian boys. Jannetta learned early in life that opportunities for an immigrant kid to break the frozen ceiling were rare. Every week that first season, Jannetta woke up at 4:00 am, carried his heavy equipment bag to the streetcar, and rode it to the end of the line. From there, he transferred onto a bus headed for an arena in a far-flung suburb, such as Markham. He suited up with the team in the dressing room and then spent the entire game on the bench, waiting in futility for the coach to tap him on the shoulder for his chance to jump over the board and join the play.¹⁵⁰ The corner of the long wooden bench was a cold and lonely place to watch others enjoy the game, and the 3-foot wall between him and the ice an uncomfortable reminder of the social and economic barriers faced by immigrant kids such as himself.

The following year in 1949, Jannetta work and leisure lives combined in new ways. Jannetta turned fourteen, the age “when Italian boys started going to work.” His parents insisted that he drop out of school and find his employment because they needed him to contribute to the family economy. His father plied his connections in the food industry to secure him a job as a busboy in the “Venetian Room” at the prestigious Royal York Hotel,¹⁵¹ later the headquarters of the Toronto City Soccer Club modelled on British culture. Shortly after starting his new job, the ambitious Jannetta founded the Canadian Italian Amateur Hockey League (CIAHL) to overcome the barriers preventing him and his Italian immigrant peers from playing the game. His first rule was that all players had to be Italian. The second was an egalitarian set of operational guidelines, led by the stipulation that nobody was allowed to

¹⁵⁰ *Toronto Sun*, “Louis’ a class act,” by John Robertson, August 26, 1982, [n.p.], newspaper clipping from *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

¹⁵¹ Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author; and Louis Jannetta, *King of the Maître D’s: My Life among the Stars* (Knightdale, NC: Rain Publishing, Inc., 2007), 15.

remain on the bench. To ensure this, each team were only allowed to dress eleven players—which was barely enough for two forward lines, a defensive pairing, and goaltender. The CIAHL would also not have perennial tryouts. In Jannetta’s league, no one was to languish “on the bubble” in hockey purgatory. If someone qualified, he could remain in the league and on his team as long as he wished.¹⁵²

Finally, to erase the economic barriers to playing hockey that hindered his own family, Jannetta—the league founder, player, and president—took personal responsibility for its fundraising and marshalled his emerging connections with Royal York Hotel clientele. The first season opened with financial assistance from an upstart Johnny Lombardi—the future media magnate who happened to live next door to Louis Jannetta¹⁵³—a gas station owner, and two Little Italy businessmen. The standout gifts, however, came from people outside the Italian community whom he served at the Royal York Hotel, including \$100 from Al Diamond, a Jewish “construction guy,” and \$500 from the father of David Winchell, a young teen whose family were regulars in the Venetian Room.¹⁵⁴ Many donors who supported the CIAHL during its early years were also helping Jannetta in his personal life and still gave to his league two decades later. One of them, Emer’s Victoria Wood development, built Jannetta’s first home.¹⁵⁵ A lifelong Roman Catholic, he was also supported by St. Agnes Parish, where he had once served as an

¹⁵² The first stipulation was initially more easy to enforce than the second one because Jannetta couldn’t find enough Italian players that were competent on a pair of skates to fill two rosters. The only solution was to invite guys with English names to occupy the remaining spaces. The rosters had expanded to 20 players by the time the CIHL was being shown on television in the early 1980s. *Ibid.*, 32; *Toronto Star*, “Hockey league founded feted,” by Frank Orr, August 27, 1982, [n.p], and *Ibid.*, “Bench-warmer started a league so he could play,” by Jim Proudfoot, October 10, 1972 [n.p.], *Toronto Sun*, “Italians add spice to their league,” by Scott Morrison, October 12, 1982, [n.p], newspaper clippings from *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*; and Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author.

¹⁵³ Johnny Lombardi was also Jannetta’s babysitter for a time. Louis Jannetta, *King of the Maître D’s*, 10.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁵⁵ This was in 1951. Prominent donors also included Valentini’s (originally called Franciotti’s) and two car dealerships. *Toronto Star*, “Bench-warmer started a league.”

altar boy. For a while, he played for one of their “St. Francis” teams, so named after the Franciscan fathers who coached and provided spiritual guidance to the youth. Theirs was a symbiotic relationship, because the fathers gave some spiritual legitimacy to the CIHL within the predominantly Roman Catholic Italian community, and Jannetta’s league helped the Church attract youth to its functions.¹⁵⁶ Initially, Jannetta could not acquire enough Italian hockey players to fill the team rosters, and the ones he found had mismatched pants and socks. But he raised enough support to rent the ice surface at Ravina Gardens Arena and hire a referee.¹⁵⁷ All they had to do was drop the puck.

When Louis Jannetta traded in his bow-tie and tails every Sunday for a primitive-looking helmet and stick, he became an intermediary between the Italian community and Anglo privilege. He was the lifeblood of the Canadian Italian Amateur Hockey League—later reduced to “Canadian Italian Hockey League”¹⁵⁸—whose fortunes in sport paralleled his growing rank at the Royal York Hotel. In the ballroom, his strong work ethic, leadership skills, and gracious ease with celebrity guests won him a series of promotions, culminating in the position of maître d’hotel of the Black Knight Room in 1962, and ultimately, maître d’ of the world renown Imperial Ballroom five years later.¹⁵⁹ He presided over the hotel’s “crown jewel” until his retirement in 1989,¹⁶⁰ which coincided with the CIHL’s final season. Over his long career, many

¹⁵⁶ Jannetta, *King of the Maître’ D’s*, 11.

¹⁵⁷ Ravina Park Garden was located in the Junction Area at the intersection of Evelyn Avenue and Annette Street. It was demolished in 1961 and the CIHL moved to George Bell Arena. Steven Sandor, *Illustrated Guide to Hockey Sites & History* (Toronto: Heritage House Publishing Company, 2007), 44.

¹⁵⁸ It is not clear when “Amateur” was dropped from the name because newspapers in the late 1960s use both CIHL and CIAHL interchangeably. By the 1970s, however, only CIHL is used.

¹⁵⁹ *The Globe and Mail*, “Businessmen honor sport league founder,” by Zena Cherry, September 2, 1982, [n.p], newspaper clipping from *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

¹⁶⁰ Retirement consisted of serving as senior director of Sky Boxes at the new SkyDome stadium, and then after half a year, leaving to open his own restaurant, “Louis Jannetta’s Place.” He sold the restaurant in 1999. *National*

of the local elite and international celebrities expressed their gratitude for excellent service with a “tip” to support his Italian hockey venture. Much of this fundraising was formalized in the late 1950s with an annual gala fundraiser provided by the hotel in appreciation for Jannetta’s service. The *Toronto Star* reported in 1969 that donations reached the point that CIHL players only needed to pay a small registration fee. Hockey sweaters, ice time rentals (now at George Bell Arena), insurance, officials—sometimes even their expensive equipment—were covered by gala dinner proceeds.¹⁶¹ The social and economic networks linking the CIHL, Royal York Hotel, Italian community, and mainstream elite were on grand display at the celebration of Louis Jannetta’s twenty-fifth year as maître d’ of the Imperial Ballroom in 1982. The black tie soirée, hosted by the Toronto chapter of the Canadian Italian Business and Professional Association, included city and provincial legislators, corporate heads, and ice hockey greats Wayne Gretzky and Phil Esposito.¹⁶²

Whereas the immigrant soccer leagues failed to build lasting relationships with mainstream sponsors or favours from the political establishment, the CIHL had advocates in high places, including prime ministers and the infamous, but deep-pocketed, owner of a professional hockey franchise. Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, for example, wrote a letter of support for the CIHL’s fundraising campaign for a trip to Italy in 1966. When the money came in, the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA) and International Ice Hockey Federation

Post, “Tone it down, your majesty!” by Dave McGinn, March 10, 2007, TO14; and *Ibid.*, “Canadian bon vivant passes away at 85; Mingled with rich and famous,” by Alexandra Bosanac, August 2, 2013, A10.

¹⁶¹ By 1986, these dinners were charging \$200 per plate. *Corriere Canadese*, “Gino Cavallini ospite d’onore della CIHL,” Caption to photo by R. Lissia, 27-28 giugno 1986, [n.p.], newspaper clipping from *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*; and *Toronto Star*, “Bench-warmer started a league.” Jannetta was also the first Italian member on the board of the St. Alban’s Boys’ and Girls’ Club. He told me that he met “a lot of prestigious guys” at the monthly meeting and all of them made donations to the CIHL. Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author.

¹⁶² Cherry, “Businessmen honor sport league founder.”

(IIHL) refused to authorize the trip, Diefenbaker's successor, Lester B. Pearson, successfully pressured the two organizations to repeal their decision.¹⁶³ Sometimes favours from the mainstream elite turned into a financial windfall. Harold Ballard, the notoriously frugal owner of the Toronto Maple Leafs, was uncharacteristically generous to the CIHL. In one instance, he donated 250 seats in the first 17 rows to a Bob Hope show at Maple Leaf Gardens, which Jannetta flipped at double the price that Ballard paid and banked the proceeds for the league. On another occasion, Ballard rented Jannetta Maple Leaf Gardens free of charge for an exhibition game between the CIHL selects and the Italian National Team. When only 5,000 paying fans showed up—insufficient to cover Jannetta's operating expenses—the hockey mogul purchased an additional 1,000 seats with his own money so Jannetta could break even.¹⁶⁴ As noted earlier, Ballard was one of the original investors in the short-lived Eastern Canadian Professional Soccer League of the 1960s. However, this venture, along with his primary one as owner of the Maple Leafs, was business driven. His philanthropic side came out for his Italian maître d' friend on hockey skates.

So abundant were proceeds from sponsors such as Harold Ballard that the league starting hosting charity games for *other* causes. A popular event beginning in the early 1960s was the celebrity hockey fundraiser for the Toronto Children's Hospital. Crooner Tony Bennett

¹⁶³ During this trip, Louis and two friends received a private audience with the Pope. As a gift, Jannetta gave him a hockey puck with the CIHL insignia on it. Ontario's Labour Minister also gave Jannetta the team's second largest donation towards the trip at \$750. The league made a second trip to Europe in 1972. *Royal York Magazine*, "Mr Head Waiter," April 1969, p. 16, *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*; *The Globe and Mail*, "Italo-Canadians granted \$750," December 30, 1965, p. 15; Louis Jannetta, *King of the Maître D's*, 35-6; and *Toronto Star* "Canadian-Italian team gets CAHA approval to tour Italy, Germany." December 28, 1972, [n.p.], newspaper clipping from *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

¹⁶⁴ Jannetta estimated that fewer fans showed up than expected because word leaked about the Italian National Team's recent 19-0 loss to the Soviet Union. Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author; and *Toronto Star*, "Ballard exposed as kindly," by Milt Dunnell, March 27, 1990, E2.

appeared on more than one occasion to ignite the crowd, along with professional hockey star and Italian Canadian, Phil Esposito.¹⁶⁵ Sadly, despite the long succession of successful CIHL charity events, many people remember the CIHL for the tragedy that took place in 1963. Toronto mayor Donald Summerville was playing goaltender when he suddenly collapsed in his crease. A full house watched in horror as the mayor succumbed to a massive heart attack.¹⁶⁶ The CIHL's connection to this awful event forever altered Jannetta's relationship with hockey. "I could never play again after what happened."¹⁶⁷ Tragedy, not age or finances, prompted him to hang up his skates and lead from the gallery instead.

In a twist of irony, Louis Jannetta, by circumventing the perennial try-out model of amateur hockey in postwar Toronto,¹⁶⁸ created a scenario whereby Italian newcomers had better access to the Canadian game than those born in Canada. Backyard rinks and pond "shinny" were commonplace in rural, small-town, and suburban parts of the country, but Toronto was a growing metropolis with an overstretched recreational infrastructure. Only the privileged and talented few had access to an ice surface. In 1962—fifteen years after the puck first dropped for the original CIAHL—the manager of the amateur Toronto Hockey League wrote a telling letter to Mayor Summerville about the grim prospects for aspiring hockey players in the city. "The only rink available for the boys in the Toronto proper area who want to play hockey, but are not quite good enough to make a team, is at Varsity Arena. And it is

¹⁶⁵ For example, Jannetta noted that popular crooner Tony Bennett dropped the ceremonial first puck on multiple occasions. Jannetta, *King of the Maître D's*, 32 and 37.

¹⁶⁶ The game took place on November 19, 1963 and was dedicated as a fundraiser to aid people affected by the October 9 Vajont Dam disaster in Northern Italy. *Toronto Star*, "Council hockey to end vows—Ald. Piccininni," November 21, 1963, p. 31.

¹⁶⁷ Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author; and *Toronto Star*, "Bench warmer started a league."

¹⁶⁸ The waiting list, was limited to those with Italian names, or whose mother's maiden name was Italian. *Ibid.*

proving a most costly operation.”¹⁶⁹ At this time, the CIHL was renting George Bell Arena every Sunday for a double-header. Jannetta’s Italian players were a small privileged number themselves. The league had just expanded to four teams to welcome more fresh-faced youth to the game and encourage them to mingle with co-nationals.¹⁷⁰ “The hockey league has been a good thing for keeping our boys together,” Jannetta told the *Toronto Daily Star* in 1959.¹⁷¹ Their hockey president provided the means for Italian boys to stay together because he believed that long-term relationships were more important than individual skill and competitive play.¹⁷²

Louis Jannetta’s egalitarian sense of teamwork and cultural solidarity co-existed with an ambitious campaign to win recognition, revenue, and respect for the league. The maître d’hotel-cum-hockey impresario found ways for the CIHL to access new media markets, spearhead sport networks within the Italian diaspora, and form relationships with other immigrant communities. His dream of a multicultural league akin to the National Soccer League never came to fruition, but from 1980 to 1989 Jannetta arranged charity matches with the Canadian Macedonian Hockey League, a parallel organization modelled after the CIHL, later discussed in Chapter Two. The league remained Italian and never expanded beyond six teams—perhaps meaning that its surprisingly high level of public exposure and acclaim both in Canada and Italy well exceeded the number of opportunities it offered to young Italian males. Jannetta’s aspirations for a diasporic and broader audience intersected with those of another

¹⁶⁹ Letter from W.M. Glover to Mayor Donald Summerville, December 7, 1962, Fonds 200, Series 487, File 2313, CTA.

¹⁷⁰ *Toronto Daily Star* “League president also top scorer as a 20-goal Man,” by Neil MacCarl, February 24, 1959, [n.p.], newspaper clipping from *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² It is worth noting that some very talented individuals did come out of the CIHL, including Gus Badali, player agent to Wayne Gretzky, career NHLer Gino Cavellini, and John D’Amico, an NHL official. *Toronto Star*, “Benchmark warmer started a league.”

rising elite in the Italian community, multi-lingual media entrepreneur Dan Ianuzzi.¹⁷³ Jannetta noticed that Ianuzzi's "MTV" station offered copious amounts of soccer programming, but had yet to link its multi-ethnic viewer base with hockey. He called the station and made a pitch for CIHL telecasts. "I sold [CIHL telecasts] on the assumption that on Sunday you had church and Johnny Lombardi trying to speak Italian [on the radio]," he says with a grin. "How about hockey on Sunday mornings?"¹⁷⁴ Jannetta and Ianuzzi could thank the immigrant soccer fans of thirty years earlier who lobbied the city for Sunday sport and Alderman Allan Lamport who carried their cause to success.

Before 1979, sport coverage on MTV was limited to overseas transmissions and required at most a small studio, two commentators, and the signal. Jannetta proposed an English-language telecast with live announcers and a full film and production crew. Ianuzzi estimated the price tag for this operation to be \$5,000, a sum he considered too high to recuperate with advertising revenue alone. He remained cool to the proposal until Jannetta solicited his own network of supporters and came up with the money himself.¹⁷⁵ Even mainstream corporate advertisers were approaching him for a commercial timeslot. The CIHL debuted on MTV's Cable 47 for weekly double-headers during the 1979-80 playoff season. The six-team league¹⁷⁶ had a cable television audience reaching a triangle-shaped range of customers from Buffalo to Kitchener to Peterborough.¹⁷⁷ In contrast to certain mainstream sport events that required

¹⁷³ *Tandem*, by *Corriere Canadese*, "The King of the Maitre D's returns to his old stomping ground," March 18, 2007, p. 8.

¹⁷⁴ Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author.

¹⁷⁵ *Toronto Star*, "Louis Jannetta's league gets television exposure," by Joe Serge, March 7, 1980, B5

¹⁷⁶ Jannetta named each one after a region of Italy with a large population base in Toronto. They were Lazio, Puglia, Calabria, Friuli, Abruzzo and Sicily. Players were supposed to play for their ancestral region, "but then the coaches always did some finagling," he admits. Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author.

¹⁷⁷ MTV Package for Prospective Advertisers, 1980-1, *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

televised blackouts so that fans would purchase game tickets, the CIHL's wider coverage resulted in more bodies at the gate. A standing-room-only crowd of 2,000, for example, came to see the first televised championship game between Puglia and Sicilia.¹⁷⁸ In 1982, Jannetta observed that there were no major televised sports in Toronto on Friday nights and envisioned the sports-starved bar crowd as the next market watching Italians on skates. He abandoned the CIHL's long-time hockey home at George Bell Arena for the larger St. Michael's Arena and shifted their matches from Sunday mornings to Friday nights. With the surplus ad revenue, he was also able to make his product more visually attractive for the television viewer by installing "hot lights" in the arena. He changed conventional hockey rules to enhance his product's entertainment value—namely, the center red line was eliminated to reduce off-side calls and deadlocked matches were solved with a shootout.¹⁷⁹ These rule changes were ground-breaking in the early 1980s; in fact, the National Hockey League only implemented them twenty-three years later in 2005. Through television media, the CIHL made a big transition from a league that gave Italian immigrants a chance to play hockey to the spectator sport of Italian immigrant hockey. But exposure to a mainstream television audience also prompted Jannetta to move away from the egalitarian immigrant ethos around which he had organized his league since 1946. Only players between the ages of 17 and 25 were invited to attend tryouts for the 1980-1 season. He was surprised when more than 500 prospects showed up in the hopes of earning a

¹⁷⁸ The first televised season was only for the playoffs. The next featured 40 regular season games and playoffs over a 26-week period. *Ibid*; and *Toronto Star*, "Puglia fights back for a sweep to title," by Bob Keop, March 20, 1980.

¹⁷⁹ The same rule changes were adopted by the National Hockey League thirty-two years later in 2005. *Toronto Sun*, "Italians add spice to their league," by Scott Morrison, October 12, 1982, [n.p.], newspaper clipping, *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

spot on one of the six rosters.¹⁸⁰ In its fifth decade, the CIHL was becoming more a showcase of Italian talent for a mainstream audience than an association catering to Italian immigrants on the periphery of organized sport. Jannetta reasoned that at this stage in the league, and perhaps in Toronto's Italian community as well, players no longer needed a "leg up" to succeed.

In the alternative world of immigrant sport created by Channel 47, the Canadian Italian Hockey League held a prominent place alongside top-tier European soccer. Multilingual Television estimated that the same demographic for Italian Canadian hockey also watched soccer and Italian cinema. Its promotional package to advertisers in 1980-1 offered a bundle of five 30-second commercial slots per week: two during the Sunday hockey game, and the remainder split between "World Class Soccer," the prime time Italian movie, and the general multilingual schedule. Jannetta had likely been trying to attract non-Italian audiences because the play-by-play was conducted in English. The cost to each purchaser was \$12,000. These companies were probably surprised when their ads later appeared on overseas affiliates. Three television stations in Italy aired taped versions of the CIHL games: two in Rome and the other from the northern region of Friuli-Venezia-Giulia.¹⁸¹ On the strength of Louis Jannetta's reputation, contacts, and effective public relations, MTV and the CIHL linked Italian Toronto and corporate Canada. Together they created a reverse flow in the Italian diaspora by exporting a Canadian product to an overseas market that was foreign to hockey but home to Italian Canadian ancestry. Dan Ianuzzi's television station was an interlocutor of transnational sport media, producing Italian Canadian hockey games for an Italian audience in Europe while

¹⁸⁰ *The Globe and Mail*, "Behind the scenes, Louis continues to deliver," by Trenty Frayne, March 28, 1984, S1.

¹⁸¹ Brad Diamond covered the play-by-play and Pit Martin managed the colour. *Toronto Star*, "Prime Time here, Rome a little later. That's CIHL style," by Milt Dunnell, February 4, 1982, B1; and *Ibid.*, "Hockey league founder feted."

transmitting Serie A soccer games from Italy for Italian immigrants in Canada. The CIHL-MTV partnership illustrated again the leading role played by Italian immigrants in the organization of cultural diversity in Toronto and the mainstreaming of alternative identities through sport fandom.

On or off the ice, Louis Jannetta expected his charges from immigrant working-class backgrounds to follow a particular code of conduct: they were to behave in the same respectable manner with which he advanced his career and won the favour of Toronto's elite. He was the former underprivileged newcomer sitting on the team bench who climbed the tiers of the city's poshest hotel to serve—and in turn be served by—the rich and famous. In Louis Jannetta's regal ballroom-turned-ice rink, the attributes of loyalty, hard work, humility, and refinement were king. As he explained later in life:

The men whose socks and pants I took down to the laundry room—20 years later, I replaced him. I had rules: You say 'please' and 'thank you.' You treat people how you want to be treated. With the League, I related everything to the Royal York Hotel. There were some guys in the league that were too tough—I threw them out of the league...I wanted to keep it classy.¹⁸²

In Jannetta's view, an egregious penalty on the ice was not only the offender's responsibility; it reflected badly on the maître d' and Italian Canadians in general. When an ugly stick-swinging incident occurred between two players during in 1977 season, for example, the referee administered match penalties and one-game suspensions to the culprits. Afterward, Jannetta increased the deferments to four games and threatened the players with banishment from the league if the offense was repeated. "You can't fool around with violence. Nip it in the bud, I say," he explained to the *Toronto Star*. That year, he also made executive decisions to dole out

¹⁸² Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author.

one-game suspensions to four players who broke out into fisticuffs. After the mini-brawl, Jannetta met the pugilists in the dressing room and briefed them about the importance of immigrant community solidarity. “We don’t mind body contact. [But] heck, a lot of our guys are playing against cousins and uncles. We can’t get too serious.”¹⁸³ Jannetta applied a genteel upper-class reformist model of behaviour to working-class immigrant kids of rough-and-tumble origins. He also extended it to their everyday lives. Like the Columbus Boys’ Club of his youth, he aimed to “keep young Italian kids off the streets and give them an incentive to behave. They knew that if they got into trouble off the ice, we wouldn’t let them on the ice.”¹⁸⁴ In contrast to the soccer leagues and the standard ice hockey model, the CIHL rink was not a contained space for the temporary release of intense male emotions and aggression. It was inseparable from other spheres of life. Even coaches had to conform to these high ethical standards. Jannetta fired a prominent one who had once played in the NHL for repeatedly advising his team to play rough.¹⁸⁵ When it came to upholding the rigours of gentlemanly conduct, even sport celebrities had to keep it classy or they might find themselves sitting on the bench, or worse.¹⁸⁶

The subdued level of physicality in the CIHL carried the image Jannetta wished to convey about Italian immigrant male solidarity and refinement. The former applied to Italians; the latter was intended for outsiders. Sunday morning games brought “cousins and uncles” together harmoniously. The same went for the players, staff, and fans who constituted a larger “family” of Italian Canadians. A genteel form of hockey contrasted with the more common

¹⁸³ *Toronto Star*, “Bench-warmer started a league.”

¹⁸⁴ Quote from *Toronto Sun*, “Jannetta a Class Act.” Player conduct is also discussed in Jannetta, *King of the Maître D’s*, 31.

¹⁸⁵ Louis Jannetta, interviewed by author.

¹⁸⁶ Sport historians link amateur sport with notions of gentlemanly codes of conduct and character development that emerged among the upper classes during the Victorian Era. Read, for example, *Howell, Blood, Sweat and Cheers*, 11.

perception of Italian men in Toronto as “rough” because most of them laboured in physically demanding jobs in construction or the factories. Manual workers by day, they represented on the ice a “non-threatening” immigrant population and proved—to themselves and the host society—that Italians could play the Canadian game with skill and perhaps greater distinction than the mainstream professionals of the 1970s. Professional hockey entered a period of unprecedented on-ice toughness and hooliganism, typified by Philadelphia’s “Broadstreet Bullies” and the Boston Bruins. Italian immigrant men, Jannetta presumed, would be evaluated differently from native-born skaters, so they had to present themselves as new Canadians playing the Canadian game at a higher level and at a softer pitch. When CIHL games were beamed to Ontario and New York sports bars and living rooms during the 1979-80 season, Jannetta reacted quickly when an MTV camera caught an assistant coach and two players threatening—but not assaulting—an official.

I went into the dressing rooms before last Sunday’s games and told everybody what they could expect if the officials are not respected. Just wanted them to remember, too, that the people who watch our games—whether they pay their two bucks to get into George Bell Arena or tune in on Channel 47—want to see hockey they [sic] way it was intended to be played.¹⁸⁷

On cable television, the CIHL performed for multiple audiences—Italian hockey fans, viewers from other backgrounds, and the well-heeled donors who frequented the Royal York Hotel. Jannetta appealed to all three by enforcing a gentlemanly comportment that surpassed the current state of the mainstream game.

¹⁸⁷ *Toronto Star*, “Prime Time Here, Rome a Little Later. That’s CIHL Style.”

But there were exceptions to Louis Jannetta's hockey chivalry and egalitarianism. When the league sent its top skaters to Europe for diasporic exchanges in 1966 and 1973,¹⁸⁸ Jannetta searched outside his inventory of CIHL players to bolster his ranks. The team that went to Europe in 1973, for example, included two former NHLers—one of whom, Lou Fontinato, was their coach—three players from Timmins, two from Sudbury, and a sharpshooter from the University of Toronto Blues. They won all their games and provoked the ire of the fans in Bolzano on closing night. “[It] seems our boys played a bit rougher than what they were accustomed to over there,” Jannetta told the *Toronto Star* a few years later. The crowd of 4,000 lobbed garbage onto the ice and at CIHL visitors in protest. “Boy, what a night. Here I was, born in Italy, and everything, and the fans were throwing stuff at me.”¹⁸⁹ Jannetta said that at one point during the game he had to take coach Fontinato aside for a refresher on the goodwill purpose of their trip. But he had created an all-star team first and foremost to win and did not want to soften their play very much. In Italy, unlike Canada, the proverbial gloves were off because the team and its president were looking for a different type of recognition. On a homeland trip, gentility mattered far less than the appearance of being immigrant success stories both on and off the ice. During their two visits to Italy, the CIHL selects toured their land of origin as triumphant migrants, losing just one of the eight games they played. They also looked like winners because they were dressed in custom jackets from the Hudson's Bay Company, and stocked with new sticks from Harold Ballard and the latest equipment compliments of an Italian Canadian construction company. In the evenings, they lodged free at

¹⁸⁸ The 1973 squad also travelled to Switzerland, and on to West Germany to play against the Canadian Forces based there. *The Globe and Mail*, “Canadian-Italian team gets CAHA approval to tour Italy, Germany,” December 28, 1972, p. 32; and Jannetta, *King of the Maître D's*, 34.

¹⁸⁹ *Toronto Star*, “Bench-warmer started a league so he could play.”

Hilton Hotels.¹⁹⁰ Many players and other members of the travelling contingent prolonged their trip to visit extended family. One of those people was a chaperone and friend of Jannetta's named Pete Babando, also known for scoring the game-winning goal in the 1950 Stanley Cup final.¹⁹¹ Jannetta's own pilgrimage acquired a deeper meaning when he was granted the privilege of a private audience with the Pope. Brimming with confidence after the 1973 trip, he explained to the Italian-language press in Toronto that hockey competitiveness had improved little over there since their first visit.¹⁹² As an Italian Canadian, speaking on behalf of Italian Canadians, he could draw a distinction between the sluggish efforts of one group of Italian athletes to improve their situation and the "bootstraps" mentality of Italian immigrants such as himself who quickly adopted a new sport—and life—with great success.

The Canadian Italian Hockey League generated a specific conversation between ethnicity, sport, pluralism, and class. First of all, the mainstream press and elites were more likely to accept immigrants who organized around alternative identities when they were playing the national game. Whereas soccer marked its practitioners as different and critics were prone to evaluate bad behaviour as evidence of poor assimilation, hockey, by contrast, communicated a willingness to integrate through a recognized practice. Jannetta never tried to appeal beyond his initial immigrant base to win a broader audience, as soccer start-ups Toronto City, Toronto Metros, and Toronto Metros-Croatia had done. The CIHL was an openly Italian league that maintained its cultural boundaries while encouraging outsiders to tune in. By insisting on Italian exclusivity and celebrating Italian distinctiveness, the CIHL and its owner inspired other

¹⁹⁰ Jannetta, interviewed by author.

¹⁹¹ *The Toronto Star*, "The Italian connection and the NHL," February 14, 2006, C6.

¹⁹² *Il Corriere Canadese*, "Jannetta: l'hockey in Italia ha bisogno di miglioramento," 20 gennaio 1973, [n.p.], newspaper clipping from *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta* .

immigrant communities to create their own hockey operations. One of these was the Canadian Macedonian Hockey League, whose homeland trip to Europe is discussed in the next chapter. The CMHL was formed in 1982 on the CIHL model after consultations with Louis Jannetta.¹⁹³ The two leagues created all-star teams and met one another for charity matches in 1988 and 1989 to benefit the Toronto Children's Hospital.¹⁹⁴ Perhaps most important, a different group fulfilled the late Jannetta's dream of a multicultural hockey league in 2005.¹⁹⁵

The central paradox of the CIHL is that Louis Jannetta molded a working-class Italian hockey outfit in the livery of Anglo Canadian bourgeois respectability, rather than the more typical Canadian style associated with hardiness, grit, and physicality. A cultural Marxist critique might argue that he modelled a "softer" game because he and his Italian skaters internalized the test of acceptability imposed on them by bourgeois Canadian society. By playing this "style," they were reinforcing cultural and class hierarchies. A select high-profile group of Italian hockey players had overcome barriers to fuller participation in Canadian sport, to be sure, but in the process they also adopted cultural and class values not of their making. In addition to generous donors, mainstream acceptance of Jannetta's "respectable" hockey is evident in press coverage, which shifted from curious to gushing during the first twenty-three years of the league. The *Toronto Daily Star's* first mention of the CIAHL in 1959 wryly noted that the founder was also its president and lead scorer, then waxed surprised that immigrants had organized to play hockey in the first place. "Whenever Italians are mentioned a group in connection with

¹⁹³ The CMHL was spearheaded by five men in the Macedonian community. Thomas Dimoff, interviewed by author, March 2, 2012, Toronto, ON; and Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

¹⁹⁴ *Toronto Star*, "Charity wins at all-star tournament," by Mark Zwolinsky, March 29, 1988, D7; and *Ibid.*, "Exhibition hockey in aid of charity," March 14, 1989, F5.

¹⁹⁵ Jannetta inspired Stan Papulkas to create the league, when meets briefly for an annual tournament. Most of the players came from the Toronto Adult Safe Hockey League. Women's teams were added in 2008. Cesare Teodoro, original promoter of the "Italian Gladiators" team, interviewed by author, February 22, 2011, Toronto, ON.

sports, it is only natural to think in terms of the Italian soccer team, the big drawing card in the National Soccer League.”¹⁹⁶ A decade later, the hotel’s own publication described Louis Jannetta’s poor immigrant childhood and warmly paralleled his achievements at the hotel with those in sport. The *Royal York Magazine* praised him as a “Canadian success story” who rose from a “little-educated busboy [to] a person liked and admired by world-famous celebrities.”¹⁹⁷ In other words, he was the upwardly mobile immigrant who played the Canadian game and won, and aspiring hockey players from the Italian community rode on his coat-tails. In 1982, with accolades pouring in for his twenty-fifth anniversary as maître d’, the *Toronto Sun* honoured Jannetta with a tribute piece. It portrayed him as a humble, successful and grateful newcomer and ended with Jannetta thanking his wife and four children. “I’m so damned lucky,” he is quoted as says. To which the *Toronto Sun* replies “Not you, Louis. We. Canada. Italy. You’re a class act my friend.”¹⁹⁸ Louis Jannetta was the type of immigrant the media liked to honour.

A sharper interpretation is that Jannetta bridged the gap between an English mainstream and his own multicultural vision of Canadian democracy.¹⁹⁹ For him, the two were never in tension. His commandeering of a hockey league with well-behaved Italians made for sensational copy, but such displays of refinement also *worked* because they mirrored his own trajectory of upward mobility. Jannetta was the appropriate hybrid figure of his time. By the

¹⁹⁶ *Toronto Star*, “League president also top scorer as a 20-goal man,” by Neil MacCarl, February 24, 1959 [n.p.], newspaper clipping from *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

¹⁹⁷ “Mr. Head Waiter,” by Bill McCully, *Royal York Magazine* 11 no. 4 (April 1969): 16, *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

¹⁹⁸ *Toronto Sun*, “Louis’ a class act.”

¹⁹⁹ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 59; and Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919-1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 106.

1970s, the once poor immigrant kid had become an Italian immigrant with strong ties to the establishment. For Jannetta, bootstraps individualism merged seamlessly with immigrant ties. He undermined the Anglo society's control over ice hockey not by demanding inclusion or recognition for the Italian community—the approach immortalized by Italian Toronto's 1982 World Cup celebration—but by convincing the elite to support a parallel league for Italian immigrants like himself. Rather than twist the arm of privilege, he tilted the hand of Toronto's high society with a charm offensive and accumulated personal favours. Louis Jannetta and his CIHL were presentably non-threatening, but neither were they passive. Somewhere between the Royal York's ballroom and the ice rink, hard work and grit merged with refinement and courtesy to soften the rough edges of immigrant resettlement and the host society's struggle to accept them. The sport of hockey was an avenue to claim a Canadian identity while preserving an Italian one. The maître d' on skates helped make hockey an Italian Canadian practice and mold the impression of Italian Canadians he wished to convey to Canadian society. To paraphrase Ringo Starr, the CIHL stayed Italian²⁰⁰ and performed a respectable bourgeois Canadian masculinity “with a little help from its friends.”

The continental European immigrants who came to postwar Toronto relied heavily on sport to navigate their new lives in a diversifying Anglophone city that was increasingly insecure about its own identity. Their sequence of encounters and exchanges with one another and the established population were strongly shaped by the type of sporting practice they engaged. Their lived experiences of resettlement, community organization, and public reception were shaped differently according to the sport they played or watched. Soccer's alternative cultural

²⁰⁰ This notion of measuring how ethnicity remains over time is informed by Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian*.

affiliations were both the source of its strength and the single greatest barrier to its mainstream appropriation and appeal. In the late 1940s, immigrant men, in pursuit of Sunday soccer, helped open up the gendered spaces where a new form of popular multiculturalism through sport fandom challenged entrenched notions of Anglo Canadian superiority. They lived in an alternative urban geography of leisure that spawned a new market for multilingual media and provided the historical basis for the new street forms of soccer fandom that surfaced after 1982. The continuing presence of violence at soccer games, however, was a barrier to mainstream Canada's acceptance of European immigrants, and Italians in particular. In comparison to immigrant male violence, which formed a basis for social exclusion, Chapter Four shows how the Italian community's peaceable World Cup celebration in 1982 became a lasting symbol for their inclusion.

Louis Jannetta's CIHL was the most high profile example of immigrants whose sport-channelled integration into English Canada occurred through other means than soccer. As beacons of immigrant male respectability, his players performed as model immigrants and played the Canadian game in a much more genteel fashion than homegrown Canadians. Jannetta in this way operated and oversaw a disciplined regime that not only taught young Italian men how to be good Canadians, but was also instructing mainstream Canadians how to be better citizens. His model immigrants were aspirational Canadians. As we will see in Chapter Three, in the years after 1982 Italians tended to forget about their strong community affiliations with hockey. But both games remained important vehicles for community mobilization and identity as the first generation of postwar immigrants moved into their middle years and sent their children to Europe to connect with their heritage, thus marking another

new stage in Toronto and English Canada's uneven and contested transition to a multicultural society.

II

At Play in the Fields of Diaspora: The Children of Immigrants and Homeland Trips to Europe, 1982-2000

In February 1986, twenty young men from Toronto's eastern suburbs had a special reason to be in communist Yugoslavia. They were the top skaters of the Canadian Macedonian Hockey League, the young adult children of Macedonian immigrants.¹ Almost every Sunday for the past four years, they feathered passes and shots across at a rink in suburban Pickering. "We came [to Yugoslavia] with no expectations," says hard-hitting defenseman Mike Biskaris. Like most of his teammates, he could speak passable Macedonian and was well-connected with others in the local Macedonian community. However, none of them had ever visited their ancestral home. Their knowledge of the Macedonian heartland was limited to stories they heard as children around the kitchen table and at community events. Now they were 4,600 miles away from Toronto, the honoured guests in a two-week transatlantic hockey showcase that organizers intended to create deeper relationships with their immediate and extended families, Balkan hosts, and immigrant communities back in Canada.

This chapter canvasses postwar European diasporas² through "homeland trips." It follows the children of European immigrants, a generation born or raised in Canada, whose

¹ Mike estimates that one or two teammates were grandchildren of Macedonian immigrants. Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

² The term "diaspora" was first used in Antiquity to describe the Jewish refugee populations scattered throughout the Hellenic World. It was later applied to dispersed Greeks, Armenians, and the African descendants of the Atlantic slave trade. Scholars have extended the category to other populations separated from ancestral homes by time and geography. For more, read James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (August 1994): 302-338; Gabriel Sheffer, "Transnational and Ethnonational Diasporism," *Diaspora* 15, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 136; and Donna Gabaccia's, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (London: Routledge, 2000). A key treatment of the new sociology of

introduction to the European homeland was an exercise in sport. Employing Rogers Brubaker's notion that diasporas are largely created and sustained through *practices*,³ we probe the making and structure of three specific exchanges that took place involving Toronto's Italian, Macedonian, and Portuguese communities. These were complex circuitries of vapour trails and tire treads that alternatively re-spanned, revived, or recreated relationships over great distances. The immigrant parents of these athletes who had created the teams, leagues, multilingual media, and leisure subculture in the early decades of postwar Toronto were now entering their middle years. They had settled into careers, purchased homes, financed a mortgage, and were raising families of their own. However, many were concerned about the cultural future of the immigrant community because their Canadian-born children were becoming detached from their ancestral roots, family history, and formal ethnic community life. Adding greater urgency to the situation, European immigration to Canada had steadily decreased during the 1970s (with the notable exception of Portugal) and the generation raised in Canada was going to inherit the impressive array of cultural centres, churches, businesses, and services built by their parents. Homeland trips were the parents' attempt to resist local assimilating forces by exposing the younger generation to a faraway destination. By travelling to the ancestral homeland, they transformed youth sport from what had been an ordinary local practice into an event of transnational significance. "We called it *ritorno ai radici*" (returning to

mobility is Mimi Sheller and John Urri's "The New Mobilities Paradigm," *Environment and Planning A* 38 (2006): 207-226. On comparing diasporas and transnational communities, see Jayani Bonnerjee, Alison Blunt, Cathy McIlwaine, and Clifford Perreira, "Connected Communities: Diaspora and Transnationality," Queen Mary University of London: The School of Geography. January 2012, Accessed March 17, 2014, <http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/docs/research/61819.pdf>.

³ Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (January 2005): 12. An interesting extension of Brubaker's approach is Anne Marie Fortier's important idea that there can be a great deal of intersection and interactions between practical networks and longing, nostalgia, and memory in the construction of a diasporic "consciousness" Fortier, *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

our roots), says Michael di Biase, an Italian immigrant who became president of the Woodbridge Strikers Soccer Club and mayor of Vaughan, a Toronto suburb.⁴ Di Biase's children and their peers were also "returning" to a place they had never seen.

Scholars have only begun to explore the transnational lives of second-generation immigrants. One early discovery in the research was that they inhabit a different transnational world: they are born and raised in a different country, less conversant with the ancestral language and culture, and less likely to maintain connections with the homeland.⁵ In contrast to their parents, they are unfamiliar with that "zone of intense, cutting-edge creativity born out of the existential angst of the immigrant who is neither here nor there."⁶ The second generation navigates a unique transnational field that Stuart Hall calls "the outcome of their own relatively autonomous formation."⁷ A critical weakness in many works is that the homeland is treated monolithically as a neutral actor in diasporic lives. There is a need for more studies, such as Mark I. Choate's *Emigrant Nation*, that treat the homeland more as an actor than a screen—a partner in the multi-nodal transnational production of networks, meanings, and identities.⁸

Another blind spot in the research is the missing significance of occasional and fleeting

⁴ Michael Di Biase, interviewed by author, March 5, 2012, Vaughan, ON.

⁵ Key publications are Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters, eds. *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation* (New York: Russell Sage Foundations, 2002); and Philip Kasinitz et al, eds., *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age* (Cambridge, MA: Russell Sage Foundations and Harvard University Press, 2008); and Nancy Foner, ed. *Across Generations: Immigrant Families in America* (New York: NYU Press, 2009). There is a comparative study of the small, active minority of second-generation immigrants in New York who pursue transnational connections: Philip Kasinitz et al., "Transnationalism and the Children of Immigrants in Contemporary New York," in *The Changing Face of Home*, 96-122.

⁶ Karim H. Karim, "Mapping Diasporic Mediaspaces," in *The Media of Diaspora*, ed. Karim H. Karim (New York: Routledge, 2003), 5.

⁷ Georges E. Fouron and Nina Glick-Schiller, "The Generation of Identity: Redefining the Second Generation Within a Transnational Social Field," in Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters, *The Changing Face of Home*, 169; and Stuart Hall, "Thinking the Diaspora: Home Thoughts from Abroad," *Small Axe* 6 (September 1999): 10.

⁸ Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

movements across borders.⁹ Rubén G. Rumbaut has argued that there is a surprisingly strong correlation between sporadic visits and a person's sense of having another home.¹⁰ The second-generation European ethnics in this study navigated transnational fields on a more intermittent basis than their parents and their sense of and relationship to a second abode was personal and voluntary. Travelling athletes decided whether to compete for an immigrant sport club, journey to the ancestral birthplace, and what attachments, if any, to ascribe to the relationships, cultures, and places encountered along the way. Ultimately, individual choice determined whether their diasporic activities and identities were going to be secondary, co-terminus, or antithetical to those in English Canada. In this study, it should be mentioned from the outset that it was only possible to obtain oral histories of the Portuguese hockey exchange from the ranks of trip managers and spectators. Thus, we do not hear the subjective experiences of the players in the same manner as the Italian and Macedonian cases.

In addition to sport, there were other diasporic channels available to second-generation youth and young adults, such as family vacations, art tours, and language exchanges. These networks likely overlapped with the same individuals, chaperones or sponsors. But certain features made sport an exceptional conduit for transnational dialogue for immigrant men. The first was its historical "readiness." For three decades, Toronto immigrants had turned to sport, and particularly sport fandom, to reconnect with Europe. They gathered around shortwave radios, read imported magazines or special features in the ethnic press, paid a handsome price for admission to a CCTV soccer broadcast in a theatre, and then crowded around their own sets

⁹ Most are longitudinal studies, an approach favoured by Peggy Levitt. "The Ties that Change: Relations to the Ancestral Home over the Life Cycle," *The Changing Face of Home*, 125 and 144.

¹⁰ This was also observed among those sending remittance money. Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Severed or Sustained Attachments? Language, Identity, and Imagined Communities in the Post-Immigrant Generation," *The Changing Face of Home*, 78-84.

when the first European games appeared on Canadian television in the late 1970s. For decades, immigrants had also been playing transnational contests by proxy in lively local soccer leagues organized by teams with national designations. By the early 1980s, sport was a well-established and popular medium to encounter familiar and foreign peoples and places and build community connections. Additionally, sport could generate a wide range of intense human expressions in ways not possible for family vacations, art tours, and language exchanges because it was configured as a contest. Travelling teams were vested with the aspirations of their supporting communities and sponsors. These deeply-held sentiments rose to the surface in the theatre of intense competition and revealed a discourse of unsettled affiliations and understandings between dispersed populations and different generations.

Homeland trips were increasingly possible in the 1980s because of recent advancements in trans-oceanic air travel and communication technology. These accelerated the movement of people, information, capital, and ideas between Toronto and the wider world. Air travel became more accessible and affordable due to improvements in aviation technology and airport infrastructure. An immigrant who wished to visit his birthplace twenty years earlier had to endure an arduous and costly six-week journey on a steamship across the Atlantic Ocean. In the early 1980s, a person of similar means could cross the same expanse in a matter of hours. The enhanced movement of people coincided with the introduction of fibre-optic cable and low-orbiting satellites, which offered migrants home access to overseas television programming and cheaper long-distance telephone rates. Satellite television transmitted real-time homeland sport, news, and entertainment links to diasporic communities who had until recently relied on shortwave radio broadcasts, imported publications, and the ethnic press. The transnational

families who stayed connected through hand-written letters and the occasional, brief phone call were now linked with instantaneous and regular dialogue.¹¹

Lastly, homeland trips were largely the creation and combination of decisions by leaders at the community, national, and foreign national level. Leading each trip, there was an enterprising individual and support cast of leaders, “the organizing elites, [who were] intensely active in diasporic affairs and in a position to appeal for mobilization of the larger diaspora.”¹² The Italian team, for example, was steered by the director of a successful Italian language school; the Macedonians were guided by a businessman and organizer of their own hockey league; and the Portuguese hockey exchange was led by a Toronto city counsellor and the Canadian embassy in Portugal. Secondly, states and state policies shaped the movements of short-term migrants between 1970 and 2000.¹³ The three communities sent their youth abroad in the supportive English Canadian political climate that viewed these networks as complementary to participation in Canadian society.¹⁴ Moreover, liberalized Canadian immigration policies were turning Toronto into a city “interconnected with identities” by the

¹¹ The number of calls from the USA to other countries increased from 200 million in 1980 to 6.6 billion in 2000. On a broader scale, the overall volume of international telephone calls increased from 12.7 billion call minutes in 1982 to 42.7 call minutes in 1992, and further to 154 billion by 2001. Figures from FCC, 2002, cited in Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 55; and David Held et al, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1999), 344. The figure for 2001 is an estimate. At the same time, what scholars have so enthusiastically identified as “transnationalism” is nothing new. Roger Waldinger, “Immigrant ‘Transnationalisms’ and the Presence of the Past,” in *From Arrival to Incorporation: Migrants to the U.S. in a Global Era*, ed. Elliott R. Barkan, Hasia Diner, and Alan M. Kraut (New York: NYU Press, 2008), 268.

¹² Yossi Shain, *Kinship and Diasporas in International Affairs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 130.

¹³ Robert C. Smith, “Diasporic Memberships in Historical Perspective: Comparative Insights from the Mexican, Italian, and Polish Cases,” *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 724-6.

¹⁴ Scholars have indeed noted how transnational mobility has the peculiar effect of increasing one’s ties with his country of residence. Ewa Morawska “Immigrant Transnationalism and Assimilation: A Variety of Combinations and the Analytic Strategy it Suggests,” in *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*, eds. Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 154. For a similar case of homeland trips by ethnics in Americans, see Nazli Kibria, “Of Blood, Belonging, and Homeland Trips,” in *The Changing Face of Home*, 307.

1980s.¹⁵ At the time of the 1971 census, 44 percent of Toronto's population was foreign-born; by 2001, that figure reached 45.7 percent, a total of 2,320,200 immigrants from every corner of the globe.¹⁶ The second catalyst was Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's declaration of multiculturalism as a federal policy in 1971, along with follow-up programs such as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's "Multiculturalism Means Business" agenda in 1987, which encouraged migrants and their kin to foster broad social and economic networks. Complementing the Canadian government's efforts in the 1970s and 1980s to promote cultural pluralism among its citizenry and multicultural rights for ethnic communities, some western European countries started reaching out to their dispersed communities. Italy and Portugal, for example, opened new consulates to facilitate diplomatic and economic networks, and both countries extended citizenship and voting privileges to the children of emigrants.¹⁷ The children of European newcomers in postwar Canada who wished to foster links with their parents' birthplace discovered that Europe had never been closer.

¹⁵ Teampău, Petruța, and Kristof Van Assche, "Migratory Marginalities: Making Sense of Home, Self, and Mobility," In *Migration in, from, and to Southeastern Europe. Part 1: Historical and Cultural Aspects*, eds. Klaus Roth and Robert Hayden (Berlin: InASEA Lit, 2010).

¹⁶ Jenny Burman calls Toronto a "diasporic city in its own right." *Transnational Yearnings: Tourism, Migration, and the Diasporic City*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 78; "The Peopling of Canada, 1946-1976," The Applied History Research Group, University of Calgary, 2001, Accessed January 8, 2014, http://www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/canada1946/5frame.html; and *Statistics Canada*, 2006 Census. Immigration in Canada: A Portrait of the Foreign-born Population, 2006 Census: Portraits of Major Metropolitan Centres, Accessed January 8, 2014, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-557/p24-eng.cfm>.

¹⁷ See Stephen A. Fielding, "'We are Promoting an Up-to-date image of Italy,' The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Italian Ethnicity in Vancouver, Canada, 1973-1998," in *Small Towns, Large Cities: The Urban Experience of Italian Americans*, ed. Stefano Luconi and Dennis Barone, 186-209 (New York: American Italian Historical Association, 2010); and Marina Costa Lobo, "Portugal: Extended Voting Rights and Decreasing Participation," in *Voting From Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook*, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, November 14, 2007, p. 82-7, Accessed April 17, 2013, http://www.idea.int/publications/voting_from_abroad/upload/chap3-port.pdf.

The Centro Sportivo Azzurri (Italian) Soccer Teams, 1983-87

In 1982, Alberto di Giovanni had an idea. Standing on St. Clair Avenue West watching 250,000 Italian Canadians celebrating Italy's World Cup victory, he marveled at the spectacle of second-generation Italians proudly waving red, white, and green flags. Six years earlier, di Giovanni co-founded the Centro Canadese Scuola e Cultura Italiana, or "Centro Scuola," a language and cultural institute based at the Columbus Centre. Nevertheless, he continued to worry that Canadian-born Italians were losing their heritage.¹⁸ As school founder, he embraced Michael Ignatieff's famous dictum that "it is language, more than land and history, that provides the essential form of belonging."¹⁹ The 1982 World Cup street party inspired him to deliver Italian cultural education in an entirely new format. "There were thousands of children singing 'Italia! Italia!'" he explains. "Then I realized the impact sport had in the life of young people."²⁰ Centro Sportivo was born a year later. Its innovative programs combined Italian language instruction with competitive soccer. "Alberto's passion for Italo-Canadians was just incredible," says Carmine Isacco, who learned to speak Italian at Centro Sportivo. "[And] soccer was the carrot."²¹ The concept quickly attracted a large following. By 1987, more than 400 youth from Italian backgrounds were enrolled in the Columbus Centre-based program.²² In the early nineties di Giovanni added volleyball, basketball, swimming, and track and field teams. Centro Sportivo's programs in language and sport program were never intended to be an

¹⁸ Alberto di Giovanni, interviewed by author, March 1, 2011, Toronto, ON. For broader concerns in Italian Toronto during the 1970s about Italian language retention, inter-generational conflict, and the streamlining of Italian children into vocational institutes, see DeMaria Harney, *Eh Paesan!*, 106.

¹⁹ Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1993), 5.

²⁰ Alberto di Giovanni, interviewed by author.

²¹ Carmine Isacco, interviewed by author.

²² *Corriere Sportivo* (Toronto), "Sport e cultura, due modi per restare italiani," 20 novembre 1989, p. 4.

exclusive male domain, but they nevertheless reproduced the familiar strong association between Italian men and soccer. Female basketball and volleyball teams outnumbered male ones by a 2:1 ratio, and it is unknown if there was a female soccer squad among the twelve teams competing at the time.²³ Di Giovanni brought in former players and coaches from Italy to condition his pupils and added a mentorship program for older youths more skilled in soccer and the Italian language to train their juniors. Carmine Isacco's first coaching experience as a teenager at Centro Sportivo was teaching soccer rudiments to nine and ten year olds. He and many other alumni remained with the club into their adult years as paid instructors and technical directors, their loyalty and dedication a testimony to di Giovanni's successful player-turned-coach system.²⁴

The highlight for the athletes and coaches at Centro Sportivo was a trip to Italy. The diasporic experience was privilege allocated as a reward for skill and hard work. Each year, the winning team of the school's Heritage Language Soccer Tournament for children in grades five through eight received an all-expense paid summer trip.²⁵ The opportunity to play soccer on Italian soil was particularly meaningful for the emigrant families. It generated important conversations about their own athleticism, economic success, family migration story, and

²³ Nicholas De Maria Harney's study cites two female volleyball and basketball teams and only one male equivalent for each. Swimming and track and field are presumably co-ed, but he makes no mention of female soccer. DeMaria Harney, *Eh, Paesan!*, 119.

²⁴ News of Centro Sportivo's success quickly spread and attracted non-Italian athletes to its competitive program. By 1995, Carmine was coaching a very different demographic than his pupil, Davide di Iulio, describes it as a "multicultural mix" of Italian, Portuguese, Caribbean, and Latin American kids. These non-Italians were willing to sit through language classes for a chance to play for one of Ontario's strongest soccer clubs. Interestingly, by this time the classes were optional for the older teenagers. Davide di Iulio, interviewed by author, May 24, 2013, Toronto, ON; and Carmine Isacco, interviewed by author.

²⁵ Centro Scuola, with financial assistance from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also organized its own Italian Canadian youth games in Toronto. In 1994, for example, more than 4,000 Italian Canadians travelled from across Canada to participate. The school thus positioned itself in a brokering position in Italian diasporic life, linking the Italian state and Toronto Italians with other communities in Canada. De Maria Harney, *Eh, Paesan!*, 118-120.

cultural compatibility with the ancestral homeland. Italy is known as a world soccer superpower. An immigrant community that returned there and competed against its best was making a strong statement about its enduring connection to this place and its people. Centro Sportivo was not the only Italian soccer club in Toronto sending children to Italy in the 1980s, but it was the only one to combine language training and sport.

Not all homeland trips through sport carried the same level of prestige. For this reason, Alberto di Giovanni travelled twice to Italy in 1983 in pursuit of an invitation to the Italian Youth Games or I Giochi della Gioventù. It was Italy's premiere youth sporting competition: the 1986 program, for example, featured 5,126 athletes competing in 100 different events and full coverage in the national media.²⁶ His first application to executives received a cool response. The games had never featured a team from outside Italy. And more daunting on a personal level, di Giovanni was an known figure from another country and therefore the unlikely catalyst for change.²⁷ He returned to Canada and recalibrated his approach. On his second visit, he told the same panel that Centro Sportivo was an ideal addition to the competition because it was already advancing the Games' objective of teaching Italian values through athleticism. Half-convinced, they invited the Azzurri for a "try-out" of exhibition games the following summer.²⁸ The team performed well and was invited to return as a *bona fide* competitor. As the first foreign team in the Giochi della Gioventù, Centro Sportivo entered the games as "Team

²⁶ *Super Sport* (Toronto), "Centro Scuola anno d'oro," 28 novembre 1986, p. 15.

²⁷ Their example soon followed by Italian ethnics from Belgium, Germany, and San Marino. *Corriere dello Sport* (Italy), "A scuola di sport per non dimenticare l'italiano," 17 aprile 1986 [n.p]. *Columbus Centre Archives* (CCA).

²⁸ Di Giovanni selected his team from the top players in the first annual Heritage Language Soccer Tournament, an event he created for students grades five through eight that determined which team would travel to Italy. DeMaria Harney, *Eh Paesan*, 118.

Canada.”²⁹ “It was a fantastic experience: the Italians knew how to do it. The opening ceremonies were [even] in Rome’s Olympic Stadium,” says Michael di Biase, who accompanied his son, Stephen, and later daughter, Kristina.³⁰ The Italians put on a good show for everyone, but the athletes learned that the cordiality was over when the whistle blew. “It was top class,” Carmine Isacco remembers. “And it was a battle.”³¹

Centro Sportivo was able to send players, coaches, and chaperones to Italy because of its strong network of financial donors. An advertisement in *Lo Specchio* lists the supporting businesses from their 1987 campaign (Table 1). Not surprising, we find significant representation from industries known for strong Italian representation, particularly contractors, home renovations, trades, food and beverage, and smaller businesses. Toronto’s Italian population was well on its way to middle class status by the 1980s, but the prevalence of smaller “mom and pop” type establishments in Centro Scuola’s sponsorship cadre shows that the older working-class businesses remained pivotal players in organizational life. *Lo Specchio* does not state how much each company donated, but we gain other insights by comparing the outcomes of the 1986 and 1987 fundraising drives. In the space of a year, they added six additional sponsors, a 50 percent increase.³² The wider network can be viewed as a local business response to Centro Sportivo’s success. Two Azzurri soccer teams won the Italian championship and another earned a silver medal during the 1986 trip. Their exploits created a

²⁹ They later sent boys’ and girls’ basketball teams and track athletes, but scaled back their participation in the early 1990s. One player estimates that Italian officials did not want them to return because they played so well, but no other sources can verify this. Alberto di Giovanni, interviewed by author; Davide de Donato, telephone interview by author, May 28, 2013; and *Tutto Sport* (Italy), “C’e’ anche il Canada ai Giochi della Gioventu,” 1 ottobre 1984, p.22, CCA.

³⁰ Michael di Biase, interviewed by author.

³¹ Carmine Isacco, interviewed by author.

³² That is, an increase from 12 to 18 sponsors. *Super Sport*, “Centro Scuola anno d’oro,” 28 novembre 1986, p. 13; and *Corriere dello Sport*, “Il tito del calcio ai ragazzi del Canada,” by Enzo Micalizzi, 6 ottobre 1986, p. 13, CCA.

win-win situation whereby the school attracted new supporters and its sporting achievements brought good publicity for advertisers.

Table 4: Italians (Centro Scuola Azzurri), 1987

Sponsorship Channels: Mio Brio (soft drink), Italfina-Star (food), Molto-crodo, Alitalia Airlines, Greenpark Homes, Farmacie Leone, Ventresca Travel, Siltan Imports (clothing store), Oakwood Lumber, Cianfarani Travel, Marel Contractors, Government of Italy, L.I.U.N.A. Local 183, International Brotherhood of Allied Painters Trades District Council #46, The Sleep Factory, Cagliostro Place, Para Paints, Paint Colors Unlimited, Pittsburgh Paints³³

By Industry Type: Construction Industries and Unions (5), Retail (5), Travel (2), Food Production and Services (2), Government (1), Medical services (1) Unknown (1)

By National Origin: Canada (16) Italy (2), Unknown (1)

The Italian press depicted the high-achievers from Canada in glowing terms and framed the migration experience through a male gendered lens. Journalists gushed about the boys' athletic skill, on-field conduct, shared ancestry, and hard-working emigrant parents. At Centro Sportivo's first official appearance in 1984, *Tutto Sport* called the team "an absolute novelty for the Games."³⁴ The next year, *Corriere dello Sport* reported that two Canadian youngsters were staying in Italy to try out for Serie C professional teams, as if to provide notice that Italian Canadians were high-calibre footballers.³⁵ As noted, the growing soccer parity among Italian and Italian Canadian youth was especially evident in Centro Sportivo's remarkable showing in 1986. *Corriere dello Sport* published a list of the players on the championship team, alongside

³³ *Lo Specchio* (Italy), "Grazie al centro scuola il ha brilliato ai giochi della gioventu'," 15 ottobre 1987, p. 11 and 15, CCA.

³⁴ *Tutto Sport* (Italy), "C'e' anche il Canada ai Giochi della Gioventu'."

³⁵ *Corriere dello Sport*, "Due giovani non tornano in Canada: sono stati ingaggiati dalla Lodigiani," 3 ottobre 1985, [n.p], CCA.

the names of their fathers, and surprisingly, their father's occupations.³⁶ It is interesting that the paper did not mention the mothers, who are the central familial figures in Italian households, culture, and religious practice. The naming of fathers might have been intended to honour the predominantly male contingent of parents who travelled to the games. By adding their occupations, however, the newspaper was informing its Italian readerships that soccer excellence in the Italian diaspora was the product of values transferred across generations between males, such as hard work. Manual occupations, such as the ones that predominated beside the fathers' names, have been historically scorned by the middle and upper classes in Italy. That the newspaper stated them for its readership suggests that it wanted to portray the strong young footballers as proof of their emigrant fathers' social mobility, and perhaps also to demonstrate that, in comparison to Italy, men in working-class occupations could do well economically in Canada. Finally, the Italian newspaper coverage of Sportivo emphasized Italy's special diasporic relationship with Italian Canadians. In 1986, *Tutto Sport* acknowledged Azzurri players as "the children of our co-nationals" and praised their technical abilities. It pointed out that the tournament also featured Italian ethnics from Germany, who "came up dry" despite the presence of "708,000 Italians in that country."³⁷ Italy and Germany have a long historical rivalry in soccer, politics, and culture. With more than one team from the Italian diaspora competing in the *Giocchi della Gioventú* that year, it was possible to draw parallels between the outcome of youth soccer games to broader national differences. The newspaper described the

³⁶ Ibid., "Il tito del calcio ai ragazzi del Canada," by Enzo Micalizzi, 6 ottobre 1986, p. 13, CCA.

³⁷ *Tutto Sport*, "Il Canada ha vinto la finale di calcio e trascinato da Doria, oriunda calabrese," and "Gli italiani di Germania sono ancora all'asciutto," 4 ottobre 1986, p. 16, CCA.

Italian Canadian victory as sufficient proof that emigration to Germany did not make Italian emigrants into better soccer players.³⁸

Alberto di Giovanni capitalized on the warm media reception in Italy to declare where he thought Italian Canadians ranked in the Italian diasporic milieu. As Centro Sportivo's co-founder, spokesperson for "Team Canada" and an Italian Canadian, he wanted his "homeland" audience in Italy to consider their affinity with his club and Italian Canadians more generally. At Centro Sportivo's inaugural appearance in 1984, di Giovanni boasted that Italian youth in Canada differ from those in the United States because they care chiefly about soccer. And their greater focus, training, and determination for the game rendered them the diasporic team most likely to succeed in Italy. "We're here to win on account of our strong physical condition," he affirmed. The intimate soccer links between Canada and Italy, he pointed out, were furthermore apparent in his players' interest in Italian Serie A games and Italian star Roberto Bettaga's recent signing with the NASL's Toronto Blizzard.³⁹ His response was carefully crafted. Despite living an ocean away, they were demonstrably Italian. Many knew the language and culture, and the younger ones were fans and players of Italy's beloved game. It is no coincidence that Italian Toronto's momentous World Cup celebration on St. Clair West had taken place two years earlier. As the next chapter shows, the foundation for the collective narrative among Toronto Italians that they had always been fanatical about soccer was already being built by prominent leaders. The recent arrival of Roberto Bettaga in Toronto was an exclamation mark to an emerging Italian soccer hotbed in Canada. Di Giovanni added that his

³⁸ The paper also published a full interview with di Giovanni that discussed how the inspiration for his club was Toronto's response to Italy's 1982 World Cup victory. *Corriere dello Sport*, "A scuola di sport per non dimenticare l'italiano."

³⁹ *Tutto Sport*, "C'è anche il Canada ai Giochi della Gioventù."

Azzurri players were mesmerized to see Italy for the first time. Although intended as a compliment to his hosts, the remark made his players sound like outsiders—enthusiastic to be there but plainly unfamiliar with the Italian peninsula. Paradoxically, “Team Canada,” as their title suggested, wished to be recognized in Italy for both their foreignness and their similarities.

The Italian Canadian press saw in Centro Sportivo’s success an opportunity to articulate for its local readers about how their team and community were being received in Italy by Italian newspapers and the general public and interpret its significance. *Super Sport* gushed that “Toronto’s Azzurri swept everyone off their feet. Their victory came as a surprise not only for the opposing team representing Sicily, but to all Italians participating in the tournament.” The paper listed the Italian dailies congratulating the boys, with special mention that Italy’s prestigious *Tutto Sport* said they “played like professionals.” It concluded that “Canadians on the whole can be proud of [Centro Sportivo].”⁴⁰ *Super Sport*’s coverage articulated a complex transnational identity. The Azzurri represented Canada, but their journey to Italy was also a homecoming. In so doing, it revealed its anxiety about second-generation Italian Canadians’ relationship to their heritage. The newspaper *wanted* the Azzurri to be well received by Italian nationals, but they also wanted to beat them. And Centro Sportivo’s gold medal performances provided them with the platform to proclaim that Italian Canadians were *closer* to Italy than other diasporic communities. Di Giovanni made a similar statement to *Corriere Sportivo* when his under-14 squad went undefeated at the 1986 Games:

The other [ethnic Italian] teams from Germany and Belgium do not speak the language—but the ones from Toronto can. The fact is that our Italo-Canadese show

⁴⁰ *Super Sport*, “Centro Scuola anno d’oro,” p. 13 and 15. That year also saw Centro Sportivo’s under-16 boys win a major tournament in L’Aquila, Italy and their girls’ volleyball team capture the Giochi della Gioventù.

great pride in their Italian roots...In Canada, Italy has grandchildren, even great-grandchildren, with red, white and green blood flowing through their veins.⁴¹

From the winner's podium, the director of a language school and member of Toronto's Italian media vaunted their community's language and culture transmission to the second generation, a feat purportedly unequalled outside Italy's borders.



Figure 6. Centro Scuola's Under-14 Boys' Soccer Team Celebrates Winning I Giochi della Gioventù. Source: Alberto di Giovanni

Along triumphs, diasporic competitions could reopen psychological scars and uncover historical fissures. The press and spectators in Italy were generally enthusiastic and welcoming hosts, but one ugly incident exposed the frayed edges of ties binding the ancestral homeland and one of its diasporic communities. In 1986, the under-14 boys' team was playing a semi-final match in the southern region of Puglia. At some point, the spectators noticed that some Azzurri

⁴¹ *Corriere Sportivo*, "Sport e cultura, due modi per restare italiani." The order of Italian colours given by di Giovanni colour is a curious fusion of Italian and American methods of describing their flags. Italian nationals typically label their banner as "green, white, and red," while Americans salute the "red, white, and blue." I want to thank Elizabeth Venditto for this observation.

players had local names and therefore family connections to the area. They began chiding them with chants of “*Stranieri!*” or “Foreigners!” and cheering if someone got injured. The targeted boys and their chaperones read the message clearly and were disappointed. The next day, Italy’s premier sporting news, *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, translated the fans’ behaviour into a national headline. “These losers, ignoring their blood ties [with the visitors], hurled insults and threats...They insulted those accompanying the players, who were nothing more than the parents of the youngsters who came to Italy to discover their country. Nice welcome!”⁴² It was the local adults, not their children on the playing field, showing contempt for the Canadians. They were the generation that saw millions of their countrymen leave Italy over the past thirty years. Whether their jabs were intended to be playful or cruel, they reduced the relationship between themselves and Canadians of Italian descent to a binary of insider and outsider.

In Italy, there is a century-old stereotype that the poorest and least cultivated Italians left the country and the “desirable” ones remained. Fausto di Marco immigrated to Canada as a teenager and came to understand this Boor Theory quite well. “The Italians in Italy,” he explains, “they still think we’re dummies over here. That we came in cardboard boxes.” While working for the Toronto Blizzard in 1983, he returned to Italy to do promotional work for the team and found himself delayed at Rome’s Fiumicino airport by a customs agent who insisted on a bribe. Convinced he was being targeted for not wearing stylish clothes, di Marco resented what he called “being treated like an immigrant.”⁴³ Paradoxically, another component of the

⁴² *La Gazzetta dello Sport* (Italy), “Ci arriva dai canadesi la scontitta piú amara,” 3 ottobre 1986, p. 18.

⁴³ He was in Italy to sign Italian star Roberto Bettega to a contract with the Toronto Blizzard. Fausto di Marco, interviewed by author.

Boor Theory is that the “low status” emigrants became wealthy abroad. The same group was simultaneously rich and uncouth.⁴⁴ “They think that [the Italians] here in Canada are rich because we don’t need any help [to travel there],” di Giovanni says with some frustration. “But actually we know well the reality is different.”⁴⁵ These twin stereotypes can likely be explained by jealousy on the part of those who stayed in Italy during years of want while some of their countrymen found green economic pastures abroad. Italian Canadians, however, see them as misguided and sometimes hurtful. Centro Sportivo travelled to Italy because Toronto’s Italian community was upwardly mobile, but their wealth came after decades of toil. Emigrants such as di Giovanni and di Marco did not want to be measured by another’s interpretation of cultural sophistication or net worth, but rather for their perseverance, hard work, and strong character that resulted in a better life.

Surprisingly, the fan-chiding story made national headlines in Italy but received little, if any, attention in Toronto’s Italian papers. The tournament took place in Puglia, a region in Italy with strong immigrant representation in Canada. By not mentioning what happened, the editors might have been protecting local Pugliese immigrants and their children from additional offence and shame. In any case, there were uplifting stories to report: Centro Sportivo won two Italian championships. Toronto’s Italian press choose to emphasize their victories rather than their humiliations and claim the privileged reputation and status their youth had earned in Italy and amongst people of Italian descent everywhere.⁴⁶ In an earlier tournament when Centro

⁴⁴ I have witnessed this stereotype expressed on multiple occasions during my visits to Italy. In an inverse example, Robert C. Smith found that Mexican American college students enjoyed returning to their parents’ rural Mexican home towns in part because of their heightened status vis-à-vis the locals. See “Life Course, Generation, and Social Location as Factors Shaping Second-Generation Transnational Life,” in *The Changing Face of Home*, 146.

⁴⁵ Alberto di Giovanni, interviewed by author.

⁴⁶ *Super Sport*, “Centro Scuola anno d’oro.”

Sportivo played admirably but not well enough to win, the headline in *Corriere Canadese* boasted, “Centro Scuola conquers Italy,” leaving no mystery about what even a handful of victories meant to Italian Toronto.⁴⁷ In the realm of soccer, Italian Canadian children had defeated Italians at their own game and the Boor Theory by proxy. Their victory also temporarily mollified their parents’ anxieties about the younger generation losing their roots. Centro Scuola’s achievements in the classroom and on the soccer field were sufficient proof for the local ethnic press to claim to its readers that they were an exceptional community, the product of the first generation’s hard work and upward mobility and deserving recipients of their children’s triumphant “return” to Italy.

Expressed in different terms, Centro Sportivo’s soccer games vindicated Italian Toronto because it fulfilled what Robert C. Smith calls “the immigrant bargain,” whereby the former sacrifices and dislocation of people who left one country were being redeemed through their children in another.⁴⁸ In a 1983 article, sports writer Nicola Sparano noted that “these boys’ parents left Italy on a dark day in the recent past,” but now the youngsters were re-spanning the Atlantic to proudly say “Italy’s where my roots are.”⁴⁹ The children were recipients and ambassadors of their parents’ success. Michael di Biase is candid about the motivation for sending his kids on a homeland trip: “I have to admit that the drive was me. I wanted to go back and see my uncle and my aunt and say, ‘This is my family, there are my kids!’ [And] there was a sense of pride to see my sons playing on Italian [soccer] fields.”⁵⁰ The trip completed the circle of his family migration narrative. Davide de Donato attended the 1988 Games and was selected

⁴⁷ *Corriere Canadese*, “I ragazzi del Centro Scuola conquistato l’Italia,” 26-7 ottobre 1983, p. 8.

⁴⁸ Robert C. Smith, “Life Course,” 151.

⁴⁹ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “I ragazzi del Centro Scuola hanno conquistato l’Italia.”

⁵⁰ Michael Di Biase, interviewed by author. This predominantly Italian club was established in 1977. It has sent teams to Italy on an annual basis since 1987.

to the tournament's all-star team. He remembers his father proudly watching from the stands when he played in an exhibition match against a line-up of A-list Italian celebrities. "He kept telling me who that is, who you're playing against."⁵¹ Davide had only heard of a few Italian personalities; he was more excited to be playing on live television and in front of 1,500 to 2,000 spectators. For him, Italy was a modern and exhilarating place that offered opportunities for personal advancement. Mr. de Donato, by contrast, had left Italy under difficult circumstances two decades earlier. Seeing his son "return" to his homeland and share the field with luminaries was an exclamation mark on his own migration story of struggle, resettlement, and success.

Azzurri players responded in different ways to the question of what enduring identities and relationships would emerge from the homeland trip. Carmine Isacco's first journey to Italy was in 1985. "It was an absolutely incredible experience. I'll never forget that first time. It kind of helped me realize who I really was." He returned to play soccer another five times. By comparison, Davide di Iulio reacted differently during his first tour, in 1995.

It was a culture shock. Especially for an Italian Canadian, it's a double culture shock. You think you're Italian because of your parents and grandparents, and then you go to Italy and realize it's not the same.

He found it challenging to communicate in Italian with kids from the other teams. "You tried to use Italian [but] you're in a group of kids [from Canada] and you're not really mingling."⁵² Di Iulio was part of a multicultural Azzurri team because Centro Sportivo had recently opened up its Italian language school and soccer teams to non-Italians. The student-players from other communities were possibly less motivated to speak the language while travelling because Italy was not a "homeland" trip for them. Di Iulio met more locals on subsequent visits, but he did

⁵¹ Davide de Donato, telephone interview by author.

⁵² Davide di Iulio, telephone interview by author, May 24, 2013.

not feel “Italian” in Italy until he was fluent enough in the language so that when he met native speakers they thought he was from there.

Davide de Donato had an easier time integrating with Italian speakers at the 1988 Giochi della Gioventù. He and his teammate stayed in an athlete’s village outside Rome’s Olympic Stadium. “During the day, we all got to hang out and speak Italian with [ethnic Italian] guys from Germany and Belgium.”⁵³ This positive experience inspired him to make a career as a consultant, packaging homeland trips to Italy. Fluent in Italian, he began scheduling arrangements with contacts made during earlier trips to Italy on behalf of the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board and interested soccer clubs. In many cases, de Donato retraced for his clients the format of his first homeland journey with Centro Sportivo: “Everyone wants to go to Rome, play one game, then visit another town like Florence and play another game there. I’d put a package together, be the liaison, and go with them.”⁵⁴ His introduction to diasporic sport in the 1980s became a template for the next generation of Italian Canadian youth.

A significant portion of the Azzurri’s time in Italy was dedicated to touring and visiting their parents’ home towns. Regular stops included the Roman Coliseum, Vatican City, Florence, and the Abbey of St. Francis of Assisi.⁵⁵ Historical and religious landmarks inspired awe and appreciation, while home town visits stirred familial bonds. Davide de Donato and his father visited cousins in his mother’s home town of Chieti, followed by a longer stop at his father’s village of Boiano, near Campobasso. When asked what that first experience was like, he

⁵³ Davide de Donato, telephone interview by author.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., and Alberto di Giovanni, interviewed by author.

becomes animated. “A good reception? Big time! [My extended family] had never seen me. When we got off the train, you see 10 or 12 people waiting for you, and after that just non-stop walking and eating. ‘Eat this, eat this!’”⁵⁶ His father, who came on the trip as a chaperone, walked de Donato through the narrow streets and alleys of his childhood, pointing out where he lived, met his mother, and apprenticed as a young barber in his early teens. “It was just amazing to see what they gave up when they came to Canada. My dad was happy to show me all that.” The home town excursion facilitated a new level of understanding and appreciation between father and son. Their story resembles other ones in families and towns across Italy facilitated by Centro Sportivo’s many homeland trips, Mr. de Donato was pleased to introduce his son to family and friends and retrace the pivotal moments of his early life, and the time in Italy helped de Donato see his father, family, and himself in a different light.

The Canadian Macedonian All-Stars Hockey Team, 1986

Mike Biskaris can hardly remember life before hockey. Born in the mid-sixties to Macedonian immigrants from northern Greece, he and his friends spent much of their youth on the rinks, lane-ways, and city streets of Toronto’s East End. Mike was introduced to the game by his father, who had grown up in northern Greece playing soccer. After immigrating to Canada in 1958, the senior Biskaris quickly developed a fondness for Canada’s national past-time because he landed a part-time job at the Hot Stove Club, the iconic restaurant inside Maple Leaf Gardens. Each game night, Mr. Biskaris peered over the railing and saw the world’s best players below. His newfound passion translated into higher expectations when his son

⁵⁶ Davide de Donato, telephone interview by author.

laced up a pair of skates. “I knew my father was upset with me when I had a bad game,” says Biskaris. “He wouldn’t talk to me for a couple days. Nothing. [Because] I think he wanted me to make to the National Hockey League.” Biskaris attended a public high school but competed for renowned private school St. Michael’s College, where most of his teammates were Italian. The special arrangement still puzzles him: “I was Orthodox and it was a Catholic school. Technically, I probably shouldn’t have been playing for them.”⁵⁷ Yet he continued attending one school and moonlighting for another.

In 1982, Biskaris joined the upstart Canadian Macedonian Hockey League (CMHL) recently formed by a group of second-generation Macedonians.⁵⁸ These stickhandlers were the most recent expression of a community with a long hockey history that stretched back at least two generations. The fiftieth anniversary almanac for Saints Cyril and Methody Macedono-Bulgarian Church, for example, has a photo of the parish’s hockey team dated 1945.⁵⁹ It was taken on an outdoor rink, which suggests that the team had limited access to indoor facilities and therefore a relatively short playing season because of the whims of Southern Ontario winters. The almanac also contains a vague remark about “sports” activities for youth and young adults during the interwar period, which suggests that organized hockey might have existed at an earlier time. The Canadian Macedonian league consisted of a division with between six and eight teams that played one another every Sunday afternoon. For twenty-one years (1983-2004), these games were a prominent social event in the Macedonian community.

More than one person interviewed for this study recalled 500 to 600 spectators filling the

⁵⁷ Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

⁵⁸ The league was started by six friends, including trip co-ordinator. Thomas Dimoff, interviewed by author.

⁵⁹ There is no other information given about hockey, but some discussion of a women’s basketball team and a bowling league that met in the alley constructed underneath the church. Saints Cyril and Methody Macedono-Bulgarian Orthodox Church Almanac, p. 90, *Saints Cyril and Methody Archives*.

stands during the mid-1980s. In fact, the CMHL matches were of enough social significance to change the weekend routines of many Macedonian families. “Typically, [before the CMHL] all the Macedonian immigrants on Sunday mornings would migrate to the coffee shop. Now they went to the hockey arena instead,” explains Chris Stamkos, a former player.⁶⁰ Each line-up was supported with a \$2,000 donation from a local Macedonian business. In this well-integrated community, the CMHL’s players, coaches, sponsors, and fans conducted business with one another, fraternized at the Canadian Macedonian Youth Association, and worshipped at the Orthodox churches.⁶¹ “I had one incident with one guy,” Biskaris admits, “[but] for the most part it was a pretty clean league. Most of the guys knew each other.”⁶² The camaraderie among players, strong social networks, and a sizeable crowd ensured that news of a CMHL player’s conduct, good or bad, became common knowledge among many of the people he confronted on a regular basis.

The CMHL’s founders were inspired by the model and success of Louis Jannetta’s Italian Canadian Hockey League. The two leagues even collaborated for charity matches on different occasions during the 1980s.⁶³ Earlier in the decade, Macedonian players were finding it difficult to secure ice time in the local Scarborough Men’s League.⁶⁴ Like Jannetta, they realized it was easier to start their own league of ethnic affiliations than join a mainstream one. “Our explicit goal was to keep the community together,” explains Thomas Dimoff, the CMHL’s first president.

Macedonian immigration had been in steep decline since the 1960s and a growing proportion

⁶⁰ Chris Stamkos, telephone interview by author, October 25, 2012.

⁶¹ Thomas Dimoff, interviewed by author. For a discussion of ethnic identification, parish attendance, and division of the community by church affiliation, see Harry V. Herman, *Men in White Aprons: A Study of Ethnicity and Occupation* (Toronto: P. Martin Associates, 1978), 46-53.

⁶² Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

⁶³ Personal interviews: Chris Stamkos, Thomas Dimoff, Mike Biskaris, and Louis Janetta, respectively.

⁶⁴ Thomas Dimoff, interviewed by author.



Figure 7. The Canadian Macedonian Hockey League All-Stars, 1986. Source: Thomas Dimoff

of their numbers were second and third generation Canadians. League organizers worried about the effect of assimilating forces discovered that hockey games were a popular way to score points in defense of a future Macedonian community.⁶⁵

In 1985, the league received an invitation from the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to play two weeks of hockey in the Balkans. This rare glimpse inside the communist country was an unique opportunity for the CMHL's players to discover their "roots." Dimoff and the CMHL executive took the competitive aspect of the journey seriously and quickly began searching for high-calibre coaches to select and train an elite squad. They enlisted the expertise of American

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Hockey League alumni, Bill Purcell, and NHL referee Vern Buffy. Next, the league canvassed the local Macedonian community for financial support with a fundraising banquet, a 50/50 draw, and appeals to individual businesses. The response was overwhelming: there was enough money to cover every player’s travel and lodging expenses.

Table 5: Macedonians (Canadian Macedonian All-Stars), 1986
Sponsorship Channels: Steve Stavro (Knob Hill Farms and later co-owner of Leafs), John Bitove (food service magnate), Chris Vasilev (Canadian Feed Screws), Kosta Stanwyk (Macedonian Cheese Co.), Danny Angelidis (Crystal Ice), Angelo Argiro (restaurant magnate and founder of Canadian Macedonian Restaurant Co-op), United Macedonians (an irredentist group), Labatt Breweries, George Brown (Tim Horton’s donuts franchisee), Peter Evans (Primrose Donuts), Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia ⁶⁶
Industry by Type: Food Processing and Restaurant Services (9), Political organization (1)
Sponsors by National Origin: Canada (10), Yugoslavia-Macedonia (1)

Financial support for the homeland trip came primarily from one sector. This finding is consistent with what community scholars have written about the prominence of Macedonian Canadians in the food services industry since the 1930s. The first wave of arrivals between 1910 and the 1930s were predominantly “Aegean” Macedonians,⁶⁷ or Slavic speakers from northern Greece. Fluent in both a Macedono-Bulgarian dialect⁶⁸ and Greek, they gravitated to established Greek-owned restaurants to work as dishwashers, soda machine operators, and short-order cooks. Restaurant work was thereafter a widening path to social mobility. Many

⁶⁶ List of sponsors written in 1986, by Ibid.

⁶⁷ I use this designation in a sensitive manner, recognizing that it is common among Slavic-oriented Macedonians but rejected by both Greek-oriented Macedonians and southern Greeks. Anastasios M. Tamis, Efi Gavakis, and Afrosini Gavakis, *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Migration in Australia and Canada* (Melbourne: National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, 2002), 356. After the Second Balkan War of 1912, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria divided the traditional Macedonian Slavic-speaking territory amongst themselves, with the Aegean section going to Greece.

⁶⁸ Macedonian became an official language in Yugoslavia in 1945. Hristo Kostov, “Contested Ethnic Identity: The Case of Macedonian Canadians in Toronto, 1940-1996,” Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2009, 273.

became managers and then purchased businesses from the Greeks, while others opened their own eateries.⁶⁹ The growing Macedonian food service network provided employment to the flood of arrivals precipitated by the Greek Civil War (1946-49) and a smaller influx from Yugoslavia in the 1960s.⁷⁰ It is hard to gauge the size of the Macedonian community because the Canada Census only offered the categories “Greek” and “Bulgarian” until 1991.⁷¹ One estimate in 1969, however, suggested that Aegean Macedonians comprised 55 percent of Toronto’s “Greek” population, a total of 45,000 people.⁷² This number seems rather high because a much smaller figure of 25,880 respondents from Toronto selected “Macedonian” as their ethnic origin in the 2006 Canada Census.⁷³ Unless many Aegeans “opted out” of the category or left Toronto after 1969, we would expect the Macedonian population to grow because of immigration and natural increase. Whatever their numbers, the Macedonian community quickly saturated Toronto’s catering sector. A 1961 survey showed that there were

⁶⁹ Harry V. Herman states that many Greeks left the industry during the First World War. Though of Greek origin, they came to Canada from Turkey and this connection put in a difficult situation during the War because Canada and Turkey fought on opposing sides. Rather than expose themselves to discrimination in a service industry, many opted for another profession. Herman, *Men in White Aprons*, 48-9.

⁷⁰ Immigrants came from Yugoslavia when dictator Josip Broz Tito eased emigration restrictions in the 1960s. There has been a smaller influx since 1991. Chris Kostov, *Contested Ethnic Identity: The Case of Macedonian Immigrants in Toronto, 1900-1996* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 157. The same immigration trend took place in Australia. Tamis et al., *From Migrants to Citizens*, 304.

⁷¹ The “Macedonian” option came only after a decade of lobbying by the United Macedonians Association. Loring Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 87. Chris Kostov cites the 1986 census as the first to include “Macedonians”; however, Vasiliadis points out that it only permitted applicants to write the title in the blank space. It was not one of the “official” options. “Macedonian” ethnicity or mother tongue did not appear on the list until 1991. Kostov, *Contested Ethnic Identity*, 189; and Peter Vasiliadis, *Whose are you? Identity and Ethnicity among the Toronto Macedonians* (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1989), 306.

⁷² This information comes from Peter Vasiliadis, *Whose are you?*, 265-7. The predominance of Slavic speakers at this time is not surprising, given Charles Price’s discovery in 1958 that Slavic associations from the northern village of Kastoria outnumbered Greek-speaking ones 10:1. Charles Price, “Report on the Greek Community in Toronto,” unpublished manuscript, Toronto: York University, 1958, cited in *Ibid.*, 270.

⁷³ This number includes single and multiple responses. Statistics Canada, Canada Census (2006), Profile for Census Metropolitan Areas, Census Agglomerations and Census Subdivisions, Total Population by Ethnic Origin, 20% Sample Data, Accessed December 8, 2017, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-562/pages/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=CMA&Code=535&Data=Count&Table=2&StartRec=1&Sort=3&Display=All&CSDFilter=5000>

919 Macedonian-owned restaurants in the city, and in 1979 approximately two hundred businesses solidified their position by forming the Canadian Macedonian Restaurant Co-op, an organization that dealt collectively with product suppliers to gain leverage with pricing, benefits, and services.⁷⁴ Its founder, Angelo Argiro, was later one of the patrons who supported the CMHL homeland trip in 1986. Mike Biskaris, whose story introduced this section, opened his first restaurant a few years after the hockey tournament. The catering industry continued to serve as a rite of passage for generations of Macedonian Canadians in Toronto and its patronage made the homeland trip a possibility.

Hockey is a game that Macedonian immigrants learned after arriving in Canada; therefore as a practice it represents a reverse flow in a diaspora. Having become accomplished at Canada's national sport, the CMHL team was identifying itself on some level as Canadians in front of the "homeland" crowd. Hockey was a key component of a thirty-year immigration story connected to Macedonian identity politics and the catering business sector. Macedonian restaurateurs first encountered the game when their Anglo Canadian patrons asked to see telecasts of *Hockey Night in Canada* while they ate. "[Macedonians] worked in the food scene," explains Thomas Dimoff. "And what's playing [on television] in the restaurant? Hockey! They wanted to be Canadian, and what's more Canadian than hockey?" Macedonian millionaires John Bitove and Steve Stavro, respectively, were also magnates in the food industry and strong supporters of the CMHL. The non-Macedonians asked to coach the CMHL All-Stars, Bill Purcell

⁷⁴ According to the Canadian Macedonian Historical Society (CMHS), the co-op was established by Angelo Argiro. "Macedonian Immigration to Canada," (CMHS), Accessed August 13, 2013, <http://www.macedonianhistory.ca/news/immigration.html>. The 919 Macedonian-owned restaurants were listed in the The Canadian Macedonian Calendar and Commercial Directory of 1961. Community events were ideal environments for Macedonians to exchange information about the food industry, but also to solicit charitable support for an ethnic cause before a highly-integrated clientele. Herman, *Men in White Aprons*, 10 and 60.

and Vern Buffy, were well acquainted with the community because they had Macedonian co-workers at Labatt Breweries.⁷⁵

Many of the community organizers and Macedonian businesses who sponsored the CMHL hoped to bring political change to southeastern Europe. Their actions and intents, though not identical, should be understood in the ethno-historical context often called the Macedonian Question. To quickly summarize a complex issue, a geographical region called Macedonia has existed since antiquity, but a modern Macedonian national identity formed after 1918 against the backdrop of shifting political tensions between Bulgaria, Yugoslavia,⁷⁶ and Greece. The area of the present-day Macedonian state was known as South Serbia from 1913 to 1944, which Josip Tito renamed the Macedonian republic in his Yugoslav federation. Possibly as a counterbalance to the other republics, Tito cultivated a stronger sense of Macedonian nationhood, codifying an official Macedonian language, history, and culture at home and abroad through Yugoslavia's foreign consulates, including the one in Toronto. By contrast, Bulgaria argued that Macedonians were part of a wider Bulgarian cultural and linguistic sphere, and Greece consistently rejected a Macedonian state or ethnicity, claiming that the only legitimate "Macedonia" is the region of the same name in northern Greece with a Greek language and identity. Since 1913, the Greek government has designated its residents either Greek or Slav, the latter unwelcome and pejoratively called "Bulgarians."⁷⁷ The Greek Civil War (1946-9) pitted communists—supported by Slavic-speaking Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania—

⁷⁵ Labatt Breweries is thanked in the credits of a home-made 25th anniversary commemorative video for the 1986 CMHL trip to Yugoslavia, *Private Archives of Thomas Dimoff*.

⁷⁶ Yugoslavia was called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes between 1918 and 1929.

⁷⁷ Vasiliadis, *Whose are you?*, 268.

against American-backed government forces. Rather than engage the conflict directly, entire “Macedonian” villages fled to faraway peaceful destinations such as Canada and Australia.

To borrow Lord Action’s aphorism, postwar exile Toronto was the nursery for Macedonian nationalism.⁷⁸ Yet even as the relative freedoms of Canadian life liberated Macedonians from earlier constraints on political expression, the future composition of the community was uncertain. On a superficial level, it was sometimes possible to identify a person’s regional ancestry by surname—the suffix -v for Bulgarian, -ki for Yugoslav, and –s for northern Greek. More contentious were the ethno-national *orientations* in the community that clashed at churches and set cultural associations and consulates against one another. Pre-war arrivals were primarily oriented to Bulgaria, as evidenced by the three Macedono-Bulgarian parishes constructed during this period.⁷⁹ However, the much larger postwar community endured a power struggle between organizations with different positions on the Macedonian Question. In this confusing and sometimes tense arrangement, people were alternatively “orientated” to Greece, Yugoslav Macedonia, Bulgaria, or a yet-to-be-realized Macedonian state. One historian found that many people exercised fluid forms of Macedonian identity, commonly attending church services at three different national parishes while maintaining membership in one.⁸⁰ Complicating the matter further, Aegean Macedonians were typically

⁷⁸ Benedict Anderson, “Exodus,” *Critical Inquiry* 2 no. 2 (Winter 1994): 315. Toronto’s community can be paralleled with that in Melbourne, Australia. See Tamis et al., *From Migrants to Citizens*.

⁷⁹ Then pro-Bulgarian ranks fell sharply after 1945 due to declining immigration from Bulgaria and Canada’s Cold War suspicions of Bulgarian consular activities, which were firmly in the Soviet camp. Kostov, *Contested Ethnic Identity*, 177. For in depth analysis of these three “orientations,” see Peter Vasiliadis, *Whose are you?* p. 263-311. See also Herman, *Men in White Aprons*, 106.

⁸⁰ We know by the 1960s that the Consulate was actively promoting Macedonian culture and diasporic communications through its Matica na Iselenicite na Makedonija (Queen Bee of the Macedonian Immigrants) programs. In the orthodox parishes, liturgical language and political allegiances varied depending on local leadership. The options increased in 1966 with the opening of St. Clement’s, an autocephalous Macedonian place of worship. The Yugoslav and Greek consulates operated in the background. Scholars continue to debate the

fluent in both Greek and Macedonian and could present as either in the food service industry and at cultural centres.⁸¹ Lastly, Canadian-born Macedonians were generally less interested in diasporic politics and questions of ethnic belonging than their parents. Harry V. Herman, an anthropologist, observed in 1978 that the former were struggling to understand the “political rationalizations” of the older generations and could not relate to the problems they faced.⁸² A Macedonian Canadian sport team, CMHL executives hoped, could help unite a population divided by geography, language, and parish. At the same time, their fleeting but intense visit to Europe had the potential to confirm, reveal, or reject their own inclinations—whether they be Greek, pro-Yugoslav Macedonian, independent Macedonian, Macedonian and Greek, Bulgarian, or none at all.

The homeland trip intersected with a changing political landscape in the Macedonian diaspora. One of the team’s sponsors was an activist organization called the United Macedonians, an irredentist—meaning, trying to reclaim territory believed lost or taken from them—group established in 1959 that claimed to speak on behalf of Toronto’s Macedonians.⁸³ In 1966, they successfully lobbied for the city’s first autocephalous (a bishopric not reporting to a higher ecclesiastical authority) Macedonian parish, St. Clement’s, and for many years they

extent of their ambitions in Toronto. Krystyna Cap, “The Macedonians in Toronto,” Heritage Toronto, May 14, 2009, Accessed March 18, 2014, <http://heritagetoronto.org/the-macedonians-in-toronto/>; and Tamis et al., *From Migrants to Citizens*, 282. “Dual ethnicity” discussed in Herman, *Men in White Aprons*, 56-7. Church attendance discussed in Vasiliardis, *Whose are you?*, 279-89.

⁸¹ Some individuals with origins in northern Greece rejected an ethnic Macedonian identity for a Greek one. A Toronto chapter of the Pan-Macedonian Association connected to the Greek consulate opened in 1960 to accommodate this group. Eleven years later, the Macedonian National Liberation Movement mobilized its members to reject Yugoslav communism and Greek Hellenization for an independent Macedonian state, yet some declared a Greek identity because of pressures from Greek consular informants. Kostov, *Contested Ethnic Identity*, 185-6.

⁸² Herman, *Men in White Aprons*, 53.

⁸³ At a speech by Mayor Mel Lastman in 1992, United Macedonians engaged in a full-scale brawl with pro-Greece protestors. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict*, 88-98.

hosted community picnics with Yugoslav officials as honoured guests.⁸⁴ League president Thomas Dimoff was a member; so too was business magnate John Bitove, whose political connections later influenced Ottawa's decision to recognize the new Macedonian state in 1991.⁸⁵ It is difficult to gauge when the United Macedonians switched from a pro-Yugoslav to independence platform, and if this transition predated the 1986 homeland trip. Scholars of Toronto's Macedonian community describe a nascent independence movement in operation by the 1970s. This was followed in the mid-1980s by tensions between pro-Yugoslav and pro-independence parishioners at St. George's Orthodox Church.⁸⁶ Dictator Josip Tito's death in 1980 and the uncertainty surrounding Yugoslavia's future might have provided the United Macedonians with the impetus to consider independence. Lastly, the hockey trip overlapped with a Toronto-based international campaign pressuring the Greek government to grant temporary visitor visas to Slavic child refugees of the Greek Civil War, who had never been allowed to visit their birthplace.⁸⁷ CMHL organizers tried to strengthen transatlantic ties and possibly stimulate Macedonian nationalism among the second-generation athletes from Canada against a very lively backdrop of diaspora politics.⁸⁸ This early introduction or "flagging"

⁸⁴ Vasiliardis claims that the United Macedonians picnic attracted more than 15,000 people by the 1980s. Although this number cannot be confirmed, it seems rather high. Kostov, *Contested Ethnic Identity*, 194-5; and Vasiliardis, *Whose are you?*, 292.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 295.

⁸⁶ Peter Vasiliardis says that a pro-independence faction was operating at St. George's Parish. *Ibid.*, 295. Parallel events were occurring in Australia, according to Tamis et al. *From Migrants to Citizens*, 280.

⁸⁷ In existence since 1979, the Association of Child Refugees from Aegean Macedonia lobbied the European Community, Canada, and Australia. In 1988, the exiles agreed on an established rendezvous in Yugoslav Macedonia, but most of them ended up being turned back at the Greek border. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict*, 105-6.

⁸⁸ A notion expressed by Kevin B. Wamsley, "Nineteenth Century Sport Tours, State Formation, and Canadian Foreign Policy," *Sporting Traditions* 13, no. 2 (May 1997): 73.

of a banal form of Macedonian nationalism to young adults with a homeland hockey trip was for at least some of its sponsors and chaperones part of a wider political cause.⁸⁹

Thirty years after the hockey exchange, the former players from Canada describe the homeland trip in the language of three interconnected themes—namely, differences, barriers, and connections. The first difference described was the eye-catching economic disparity. One game scheduled on an outdoor rink was cancelled because of rain, an unlikely outcome in Canada where teams are accustomed to playing in a climate-controlled indoor arena. On another evening, they skated on a slushy outdoor surface in the mountains because the area had no indoor facilities. “It felt like pond hockey in [Toronto’s] Riverdale Park,” laughs Chris Stamkos. He and his teammates were similarly surprised by the paltry athletic facilities and hockey equipment worn by their competitors. Mike Biskaris remembers there not being showers in the dressing rooms and his opponents “begging” for the Canadians’ higher quality sticks after the game.⁹⁰ His greatest surprise came when an enemy slap shot rang off his chin, tearing a large gash and sending him to the nearest hospital.

It was dark and scary looking. I saw doctors smoking in the operating room when they stitched me up. And they didn’t give me a needle [anesthetic]. The doctor said, ‘Ah, you don’t need it!’....I was gripping the chair because it was so excruciating. [But] I was back on the ice for the next game.⁹¹

Twenty-five years later, this uncomfortable event is retold as a feat of personal strength and cultural conquest. By returning to the ice, he overcame not only Yugoslav Macedonia’s rudimentary sport facilities, but also a nasty sport injury and painful encounter with medical

⁸⁹ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 8.

⁹⁰ Chris Stamkos, telephone interview by author; and Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

staff who did not want to waste their presumably minimal medical supplies on what they considered to be a minor injury.

Highly memorable and attractive to the players were the differences in architecture, culture, and language. Youngsters accustomed to seeing newer structures in Canada marveled at the historic beauty of Belgrade, the Orthodox cathedrals, and the ancient holy city of Ohrid. Less inspiring was the tour of a model factory, which some viewed as communist propaganda. The visitors faced language differences with varied levels of ease. Mike Tanev noticed that no one spoke English in the Macedonian capital of Skopje, but he was able to “get by” with the northern Greek Slavic dialect he learned from his parents.⁹² Chris Stamkos, whose parents came from the same region, was unfamiliar with official Yugoslav Macedonian and found his dialect “pretty broken” in comparison. In one exchange with locals, he tried to think of the official Macedonian word for “car” but eventually capitulated. “I just called it ‘car-o,’” he laughs.⁹³

Another difference and barrier was the constant presence and involvement of the Yugoslav state in everyday activities. The Canadian youngsters noticed Yugoslav soldiers standing guard in the Belgrade airport, on city streets, and even inside the hockey arenas. State power was also visible in the newly erected monuments around the city to honour the late Josip Tito. Mike Biskaris recalls his surprise when an official sharply cautioned a teammate to not take pictures of a politically important site.⁹⁴ Filming at specific locations must have been pre-approved, however, because a VHS tour video survives in Thomas Dimoff’s private collection. Balkan politics also played out in less explicit ways. The CMHL selects arrived in

⁹² Mike Tanev, telephone interview by author, June 22, 2012.

⁹³ Chris Stamkos, telephone interview by author.

⁹⁴ Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

Yugoslavia with a six-game schedule, but only played four.⁹⁵ According to Dimoff, their opponents cancelled two upcoming matches because they did not want to risk losing to a team of Macedonians, even if they were from Canada. Player Mike Tanev recalls the cancellations, but not their reason. The impingement of Balkan politics on their hockey trip could be apparent to some and missed by others.⁹⁶

The hockey matches themselves became a playground for a larger debate about the limits of Macedonian nationalism and the Canadian visitors' status in this diasporic arrangement. The first match took place against the Serbian Red Stars in Skopje's Kali Arena. An estimated crowd of 1,200 spectators filled the stands, a significant turnout for a hockey hinterland.⁹⁷ The crowd's behaviour made it difficult to determine the home team. When the CMHL selects entered the ice, they heard the local Macedonians cheering for them and not the Serbians, their Yugoslav co-nationals. Dimoff fondly remembers how the home crowd broke into a chorus of "Naši! Naši!" or "Our people! Our people!"⁹⁸ The term conveys a sense of shared history and common cause; it can also point to ethnic bonds and contrast with "foreigner."⁹⁹ The reception was so warm that he felt the need to clarify their diasporic relationship. "They saw us as [only] Macedonian, but I told them that we're Canadian first."¹⁰⁰ The motivation behind the warm reception was less apparent to others. "I guess they hadn't seen Macedonians play hockey before," Mike Biskaris figures. "I think they came out just for the

⁹⁵ They defeated the Serbian Red Stars twice, and then a Macedonian squad, before playing the ethnically-mixed Partisans. Thomas Dimoff, interviewed by author.

⁹⁶ Ibid; and Mike Tanev, telephone interview by author.

⁹⁷ This number is quoted by the television reporter during the live broadcast of the game between the CMHL All-Stars and Red Stars. Skopje, Yugoslav State Television [1986], from 25th anniversary commemorative video, translated by Dragan Rokic, *Private Archives of Thomas Dimoff*.

⁹⁸ Thomas Dimoff, interviewed by author.

⁹⁹ Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict*, 215.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Dimoff, interviewed by author.

game.”¹⁰¹ Their manager believed Macedonian Canadians were surrogates for ethno-nationalism while one of the players calculated the crowd’s passion to be mere curiosity.

Communist newspaper coverage from Skopje offers few insights into nationalist tenors at the hockey game. The newspaper does identify the visitors as “the Canadian Macedonian Team” and posts their winning score of 4-3. Beyond this, the front-page story is written systematically, listing team rosters, goal scorers, and the total number of penalty minutes. The organization and limited scope of data reveals the reporter’s cursory knowledge of hockey. He cites 28 penalty minutes in the game, for example, but not whether a man-advantage resulted in a power-play or short-handed goal. Commentary is limited to “plenty of good moves” and a “very pleased” audience. We read no overt evidence of partisanship beyond the paper’s choice to list the names of visiting Macedonian Canadians before the Red Stars, which might be an act of hospitality rather than an expression of diasporic solidarity. The article ends on a benign note, affirming that “due to a very exciting performance, the audience responded by rewarding both sides with applause.”¹⁰²

In the absence of official endorsement of diasporic connections, a prominent Macedonian Canadian took advantage of an unexpected event to declare what he considered to be the diasporic identity of his community. Late in the tour, the team returned to Skopje to face a local Macedonian side, but the game had to be postponed to re-surface the ice. A local reporter from Yugoslav state television passed a few minutes of time by interviewing Bogo Satirovski-Maticia, president of the Canadian Macedonian Immigration Society. The air in the

¹⁰¹ Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

¹⁰² Skopje newspaper without legible title, “An International Exhibition Hockey Game: Exciting and High Quality Match,” [1986], translated by Dragan Rokic, *Private Archives of Thomas Dimoff*.

arena is noticeably cold because their breath forms white clouds as they speak. The reporter introduces the CMHL All-Stars as “the children of Macedonian immigrants to Canada” and asks Bogo to clarify the purpose of their visit. Bogo first explains that the Canadian youngsters notice differences between their country and Yugoslavia, and he goes on to say that it is “very important [for them] to be of Macedonian descent” and “see the country that their [immigrant] parents have been talking about.” He ends with a statement about the complicated intersections between Macedonian ancestry, ethnicity, and identity: “Regardless of [the players’ different] surnames,” he states, “They are all considered Macedonian.”¹⁰³ Spectators in Yugoslav Macedonia would have noticed that different regions represented in the last names of CMHL players. Bogo’s remarks came at a critical juncture. Tito was a strong proponent of a Macedonian identity until his death, but he was also well known for suppressing ethno-nationalist movements. There were already rumblings of growing factionalism in Yugoslavia and agitation abroad.¹⁰⁴ At a time of political uncertainty in the Balkans, Mr. Satirovski told viewers that the CMHL players represented a self-determined community of Macedonians that exceeded ancestral and political differences.

In the following game, a tense rubber match with the Serbian Red Stars in the Yugoslav capital of Belgrade, the two sides were guided by different motivations. The Serbian team and media emphasized the visitors’ Canadian identity in lieu of their Macedonian heritage after the previous game’s uncomfortable loss to an ethnic rival. The visitors, by comparison, were concerned that their style of play might reinforce negative stereotypes about Canadian hockey

¹⁰³ CMHL All-Stars vs. Red Stars, Skopje, Yugoslav State Television [1986], 12:18, 25th anniv. commemorative video, *Private Archives of Thomas Dimoff*.

¹⁰⁴ Vasilardis, *Whose are you?*, 308.

players.¹⁰⁵ For the latter, the tenor of play repositioned the national posture of the Macedonian Canadians. Upon arrival, the Canadians noticed that state officials made extraordinary preparations for the event. They watched with disbelief as soldiers wielding machine guns cleared people out of the arena before the match, leaving only the Canadian ambassador James Bissett and his embassy staff, surrounded by 5,000 empty seats. After learning about the Red Stars' earlier defeat in Skopje, the state was apparently protecting the public from seeing a similar outcome. The game was a gritty affair full of penalties and fisticuffs. "They played a lot differently," says Chris Stamkos. "They liked to hook, spear, and stuff."¹⁰⁶ Ironically, Thomas Dimoff cautioned his players after the pre-game warm-up that Canadian players have a reputation for doing the same things. "In the dressing room I told the team, 'Canadians have a reputation for being dirty.' I told them to just play the game." It is interesting to note that he was calling on his hockey players to envision themselves performing as Canadians, seeking to dispel negative reputations of Canadian hockey players. However, he explains that as the game progressed, his players faced constant harriving from the opposing side. Making matters worse, the referee was unwilling to call a penalty against them. "Our guys were holding back," Dimoff affirms. His players had taken his pre-game address to heart. At some point, he lost patience with the situation and set the game on a new course. "I gave the coach the wink to, y'know, 'let the horses loose.'" The play erupted into a melee, followed by a string of ejected players and game misconducts.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Foreign officials wrote their Canadian counterparts during the 1960s and 1970s to complain about the rough play of Canadian hockey players. Marcel Jesensky, "Win Friends or Make Enemies: Team Canada's 1978 Diplomatic Mission to Czechoslovakia," *Canadian Journal of History* 49, no. 2 (Autumn 2016): 231.

¹⁰⁶ Chris Stamkos, telephone interview by author.

¹⁰⁷ Personal interviews with Thomas Dimoff, Chris Stamkos, and Mike Tanev, respectively.

The Macedonian Canadians won the rubber match 8-3, but Yugoslav state television portrayed a different outcome for its viewers. The highlight newsreel featured the three Serbian goals and none of the visitors' eight. It also recognized them as "The Canadians," making no mention of their Macedonian ethnicity.¹⁰⁸ This was an international exchange, not a diasporic event, and only Yugoslav tallies were worth highlighting. The state apparently viewed sporting outcomes as a threat or boon to the regime. Officials were no doubt aware of the nascent Macedonian independence movement in Toronto and that some CMHL sponsors might view the homeland exchange with a geo-political agenda. A victory over Belgrade's team before the home crowd had political ramifications, so authorities kept it a private affair with carefully-chosen highlights for a public audience.

The removal of the travellers' "Macedonian" network from the leaderboard and media highlights during the tournament, in fact, was a small representation of a larger historical process of a diasporic network becoming geographically orphaned. For many Macedonian Canadians and some on this trip, the diasporic "hub" now known as the country of Macedonia (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) is a different place than their ancestral homeland in northern Greece. This case might be compared in some respects to Royden Loewen's recent study of the deterritorialized and reterritorialized Mennonite diaspora, in which the many Low German-speaking enclaves in Latin America have become completely disconnected from the Europe of their heritage, but developed stronger ties with central Canada, where many have

¹⁰⁸ Highlight reel and "Canada" label for the team is seen on the 25th anniversary commemorative video, *Private Archives of Thomas Dimoff*.

extended family or lived for a period of time.¹⁰⁹ In the face of changing political, economic and social pressures or incentives, the new “homeland” emerges to replace the fading one and overseas diasporic networks linking people abroad to the original homeland become less likely and more difficult to maintain.

Following the competition, many of the group of forty guests from Toronto visited their family home towns. They had to leave Yugoslav Macedonia and travel by car across the border into Greece. After delays with customs officials, they regrouped in the city of Florina and fanned out to their respective neighbourhoods and provincial towns.¹¹⁰ Athletes describe how these visits strengthened relationships with their parents and particularly their fathers. Mike Biskaris was surprised by the experience: “Y’know, you listen to your father and grandparents but you only have a picture in your head [of their homeland]. You have to go back to see it for yourself.”¹¹¹ He had few expectations when he met his relatives for the first time, so he was especially surprised when, upon arriving at a cousin’s home in Bitola, he heard a loud voice proclaim, “Biskaris is here! Biskaris is here!” Beyond the newly kindled relationship, Mike and his hosts made practical use of their exchange: his kin helped him improve his spoken Macedonian and he taught them English phrases. Meanwhile, his teammate Chris Stamkos and a friend stayed in Florina. As Chris processed this new-yet-familiar place, his mind kept returning to his father, who had never returned to his birthplace. He remembered listening to his dad’s stories about owning a small café in Florina before immigrating to Canada. As a

¹⁰⁹ Royden Loewen, *Village among Nations: “Canadian” Mennonites in a Transnational World, 1916-2006* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

¹¹⁰ Mike Biskaris says that the Greek border guards became hostile when his CMHL chaperones identified themselves as Macedonians. The guards threw their identification cards on the ground and proceeded to check all their luggage before finally letting them pass through the border. Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

tribute, he located the building and, finding it no longer in use, took a picture to show his father when he returned.¹¹² Unlike the Italian contingent from Centro Sportivo that included many parents on its trip, Chris had to retrace his father's steps on his own. But as a family ambassador travelling to his father's home town, he made a meaningful contribution to his family's own migration narrative.¹¹³

Now in their middle years, the former CMHL all-stars reflect differently on their first visit to southeastern Europe. Mike Biskaris, for one, went back to northern Greece in 2001 but found it culturally unrecognizable. "Some people spoke Macedonian in the house, but not outside," he explains. "The young people now just identified as Greek."¹¹⁴ Between his first and second visits, northern Greece became the epicentre of popular resistance to the new Macedonian state. Slavic-speaking Greeks in 2001 were under greater pressure than those in 1986 to shed their ethnic past and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the upstart country's official name. Many abandoned their ancestral language to avoid unwanted attention in Greek society. Biskaris was not alone. Author Loring Danforth wrote six years earlier in 1995 that the older generation of emigrants was returning to northern Greece to discover "they are strangers to the villages where they were born."¹¹⁵ The Macedonian Canadian homeland trip captures a diasporic network becoming geographically orphaned, losing access to its roots.

Chris Stamkos never returned to Florina after first visiting in 1986, but has since become closer with the aunt and uncle he met there. Mike Tanev, who spoke Macedonian but not Greek, made only one more visit to southeastern Europe. For him, it was a matter of knowing

¹¹² Chris Stamkos, telephone interview by author.

¹¹³ Lok Siu, "Serial Migration: Stories of Home and Belonging in Diaspora," in *New Routes for Diasporic Studies*, eds. Sukanya Banerjee, Aims McGuinness, and Steven C. McKay (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012), 143.

¹¹⁴ Mike Biskaris, interviewed by author.

¹¹⁵ Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict*, 103.

that his identity and sense of belonging were grounded in Canada: “I wouldn’t do it again (go to northern Greece). It was nice to see where your family’s from. It’s a different way of life. You know, I’m Canadian. I wouldn’t go over there again.”¹¹⁶ The CMHL homeland trip resolved the issue of diasporic identity for athletes in different ways. One returned to Europe and found a Macedonian homeland fading from view; another never returned but built on family relationships first stimulated in 1986; and the last realized that his sense of rootedness in Canada was stronger than the ancestral ones overseas. Notably, none of them became active in identity politics.

The First Portuguese Canadian Club All-Stars Hockey Team, 2000

Mario Corte-Real had never seen ice hockey before immigrating to Canada. He spent many of his childhood days in Lisbon kicking a soccer ball along cobblestone streets or on fields of hard-packed dirt. In his early twenties, Corte-Real gathered a group of friends in the neighbourhood to form an amateur team that called itself Sport Clube Mont Pradense. The young men were looking for amusement and escape. But perhaps more important, soccer was a popular distraction from everyday life under the totalitarian regime of António Oliveira de Salazar. “The Portuguese government gave soccer to the people to forget about their lives,” he explains.¹¹⁷ Corte-Real kept a love for soccer when he immigrated to Canada with his wife and young daughter, Ana, on his birthday in 1972. Every weekend, he and young Ana walked from their home in the College-Crawford area to the Portuguese Bookstore to buy the latest edition of imported soccer magazines *A Bola* or *O Record*. He was also a supporter of the First

¹¹⁶ However, he notes that his sister regularly returns. Mike Tanev, telephone interview by author.

¹¹⁷ Mario Corte-Real, interviewed by author, trans. Ana Corte-Real, February 22, 2011, Toronto, ON.

Portuguese Canadian Club's soccer team, attending all their matches at Lamport Stadium. At first blush, ice hockey seemed foreign and unsavory. "When I came to Canada everyone said, 'It's all fights. It's no good.' But then one time I watched Toronto play Boston and I saw [superstars] Bobby Orr and Daryl Sittler. It was amazing. Beautiful."¹¹⁸ This eye-opening moment inspired Corte-Real to adopt the sport and get involved. When Ana showed little interest in playing, he purchased hockey equipment for a young nephew and starting attended his games. He rarely laced up a pair of skates and joined the scrimmage; he preferred to sit and study the game, imagining new tactical plays and drills.

Soccer had been a strong social adhesive, a symbol of Portugueseness and conduit for diasporic attachments since the earliest days of Portuguese settlement in the city. But during the 1990s, hockey was emerging as an alternative sporting practice for the construction of Portuguese ethnicity. By the end of the decade it was a transnational phenomenon. Corte-Real was instrumental to this transition. When his nephew and Portuguese friends became adults, they created their own team and asked him to be their coach. Between 1990 and 2000, they played for the First Portuguese Canadian Club (FPCC) in Toronto's Adult Safe Hockey League and the Portuguese community rallied behind them. Corte-Real was able to raise \$8,000 in sponsorship money each year, enough to cover the expense of player registration and facility rentals. His supporters also voted with their feet. Each week, buses shuttled fans from the First Portuguese Canadian Centre on College Street to Centre Ice Arena in suburban North York. The fans who stayed home could listen to sportscaster Alexandre Franco call the game in Portuguese on local CIRV-FM radio.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

In late 1999, Corte-Real received a surprise telephone call from Canada's Ambassador to Portugal, Robert Vanderloo. The envoy told him that Portugal had just built its first indoor ice surface and a small group of hockey enthusiasts were already playing on it. He wanted him to assemble a team of Portuguese Canadians to visit Portugal for a transnational scrimmage in the month of June 2000. Corte-Real was interested. "I said, 'Okay, I need eighteen tickets.' [But] he said, 'Oh no, it's a small ice. You can only play four guys at a time.'"¹¹⁹ This was not going to be a conventional hockey exchange. Corte-Real canvassed the city for a trimmed-down lineup of Portuguese Canadians while the ambassador continued drumming up support among influential figures in the Portuguese community. In a letter to Toronto city councilor Mario Silva, he shared his vision of Portuguese Canadian hockey players in a pedagogical role as hockey veterans "[offering] an ice hockey clinic with the younger Portuguese who are now learning to play ice hockey."¹²⁰ Silva committed to supporting Vanderloo's project. Over the next few months, Silva busily recruited volunteers from the First Portuguese Canadian Cultural Centre and the local Portuguese-language radio stations.¹²¹ For one of them, CIRV FM disc jockey José Mario Coelho, the trip to Viseu was less about hockey than an opportunity to visit with friends. "I went to watch the game [because] I know everyone. We said, 'Why not go to Portugal and play hockey?'"¹²² When asked about the origins of the homeland trip, Coelho was surprisingly unaware that it came from outside Portuguese Toronto. The otherwise well-

¹¹⁹ The smaller ice surface of 36m x 18m also necessitated significant rule changes. For example, there were no penalties for "icing" (clearing the puck the length of the ice), and the centre red line doubled as the blue line, which removed the traditional marker used for off-side calls. "Notice/Proposal: from Associação Nacional de Desportos No Gelo E Inline Hockey. Canada-Portugal: Cultural Exchange Throught [sic] Ice Hokey [sic]," February 1999, Mario Silva Fonds 255, Series 1162, Subseries 1, File 15, Canadian-Portuguese Hockey Tournament, 1999-2000, CTA, (hereafter Mario Silva Fonds, unless otherwise specified).

¹²⁰ Fax from Robert Vanderloo to Mario Silva, November 10, 1999, Ibid., CTA.

¹²¹ Mario Corte-Real, interviewed by author.

¹²² José Mario Coelho, interviewed by author.

informed radio DJ assumed its beginnings were local. The network was less understood than the initiative.

The hockey tournament in Viseu was in fact the brainchild of a Canadian diplomat with a Dutch-sounding name. Its inspiration, coordination, and connections belonged to Canadian officials at home and abroad. Like Alberto di Giovanni and Centro Sportivo, this trip was largely driven by one individual. In this case the person came from outside the community. The impulse to create a future generation of community leaders by showing them their “roots” was less prominent than in the Italian and Macedonian cases. The tournament materialized because Vanderloo was convinced that diasporic hockey was an effective way to connect diasporic communities, cities, and states—namely, Portuguese Canadians and Portuguese nationals, the cities of Toronto and Lisbon, and the governments of Canada and Portugal. In 1996, Toronto and Lisbon formalized their relationship as “friendship cities” and Toronto city councilor Mario Silva was hoping to upgrade that status to a civic partnership.¹²³ Probably with this in mind, Ambassador Vanderloo set out to “build new bridges through hockey,” and discussed the possibility of coordinating a “high-level Canadian visit” to the Canadian Embassy in Lisbon at the same time.¹²⁴ Ultimately, the visit did not materialize and Toronto City Council rejected the proposed Toronto-Lisbon partnership in 2006.¹²⁵ Months before cold-calling Mario Corte-Real, the ambassador read a story in *Visão* magazine about a unique hockey club in Viseu playing on the only indoor ice surface in Portugal, a new shopping mall aptly named *Palácio do Gelo* or the “Ice Palace.” He arranged a meeting with the team trainer and force behind the diminutive

¹²³ Toronto-Lisbon Friendship Agreement, 1996, Mario Silva Fonds 255, Series 1152, File 179, CTA.

¹²⁴ Fax from Robert Vanderloo to Mario Silva, November 10, 1999, Mario Silva Fonds, CTA.

¹²⁵ City of Toronto City Clerk, Economic and Parks Committee Report 3, Section 5A, “Consideration of Requests for Additional City-to-City Relationships Under the International Alliance Program,” June 14, 2006, Accessed August 17, 2013, <http://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/2006/agendas/council/cc060614/edpcl005a.pdf>.

Portuguese National Association of Ice and Inline Hockey, Rony Calhault. During the meeting, both men recommended staging a transnational exchange to improve ice hockey's profile in Portugal.¹²⁶ Calhau drafted the proposal for a meeting between the Viseu Ice Palace Wolves—also known as “Team Portugal”—and the First Portuguese Canadian Club of Toronto. He and Vanderloo hoped it would evolve into an annual exchange program bringing teenagers from Toronto's Portuguese community to Portugal. They would billet with a local family, attend a Portuguese high school, develop their proficiency in the Portuguese language, and of course, play hockey.¹²⁷ Portugal's lone hockey institution entrusted their plan to the Canadian Ambassador because he had the political influence, corporate connections, and negotiating expertise to make it a reality.

The hockey exchange took place June 21-23, 2000 and it was a smashing success in terms of business sponsorships and local fan interest. As a diasporic practice, it involved too few Toronto businesses and participants to ensure a longer lifespan. In other words, diasporic Portuguese hockey succeeded as an event and failed as a network. Capacity crowds watched the Canadians cruise to victory 18-6 and 25-5, before reorganizing into mixed squads to reaffirm the spirit of sportsmanship and goodwill. In Canada, the Hockey Hall of Fame learned about the matches and added the brightly coloured jerseys of the First Portuguese Canadian Club and “Team Portugal” to their permanent exhibit, ensuring that future generations of hockey fans have material evidence of this unlikely contest on hockey's frontier. In class terms, the FPCC homeland trip evolved in a top-down fashion. The funding for the Portuguese hockey

¹²⁶ Fax from Robert Vanderloo to Mario Silva, February 16, 1999, Mario Silva Fonds, CTA.

¹²⁷ Canadian-Portuguese Hockey Tournament, 1999-2000, Associação Nacional de Desportos no Gelo e Inline Hockey, “Canada-Portugal Cultural Exchange Throught [sic] Ice Hokey [sic], February 1999,” Mario Silva Fonds, CTA.

exchange came from corporate and government agencies and therefore contrasts sharply with the blue-collar reality of Portuguese Toronto. Almost 29 percent of adult males were employed



Figure 8. The First Portuguese Canadian Club Team, 2000. Source: Mario Corte-Real

in manual labour or construction in 2001.¹²⁸ The tournament program provided the following list of the First Portuguese Canadian players' occupations: hydro pole-man, self-employed (3), party services, jail guard, salespersons (2), building inspector, CP Rail, rink operator (2), electrician, and architect technologist.¹²⁹ With the exception of councilor Mario Silva, coach

¹²⁸ "Toronto" refers specifically to 23 census tracts around Dundas and College streets in "west central Toronto." The number is compiled by Emanuel da Silva, PhD dissertation, "Sociolinguistic (re)constructions of diaspora portuguesness: Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto," Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2011. It is drawn from Carlos Teixeira and Robert A. Murdie, "On the Move: The Portuguese in Toronto," in *The Portuguese in Canada: Diasporic Challenges and Adjustment*, 2nd ed, eds. Carlos Teixeira and Victoria M.P. da Rosa (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2009), 202.

¹²⁹ It should be noted that occupations were only listed for 14 of the 15 players. Fax from Lucy Cardoso, President of First Portuguese Canadian Club, to Mario Silva entitled "Equipa do Hocquei do First Portugues," 8 February 2000, Mario Silva Fonds, CTA.

Mario Corte-Real and a few volunteers, this diasporic trip was largely staffed, planned and bankrolled *for* Toronto's Portuguese by individuals and agencies outside the local community. The players and their deep-pocketed financial partners came from different class backgrounds. While in Portugal, the FPCC visitors were honoured at impressive receptions hosted by the Canadian Embassy in Lisbon, big Portuguese corporations Banco Comercial Portugues and SATA Air Açores, the Government of Portugal, and City of Viseu. These events brought Portuguese from Canada and Europe together on a transnational stage that merged hockey, big business, and politics. Like the Italian and Macedonian homeland trips, the FPCC's support infrastructure provided complimentary transportation, food, and lodging. Their two largest expenditures—flights and accommodations, for example—were supplied by Portuguese companies SATA Air Açores and Visabeira Hotels, and Banco Comercial Portugues, a financial institution, made a general donation of 2,000,000 PTE, then about \$15,260 Canadian dollars.¹³⁰

Table 6 shows the transnational sponsorship network that created the Portuguese hockey tournament. Alongside businesses in Portugal, mainstream Canadian companies with Portuguese connections were similarly generous. CMFT/Rogers Media funded an estimated \$5,000 to \$7,000 and Knob Hills Farms offered \$2,000. These amounts are cited in a July 1999 letter to Ambassador Robert Vanderloo from Mr. Leslie Sole, executive vice-president of Channel CFMT, the multicultural arm of Rogers Media.¹³¹ In 2000 and 2001, Mr. Sole oversaw the creation, regulatory board (CRTC) approval, and launch of Festival Portuguese Television

¹³⁰ Fax from Vanderloo to Mario Silva entitled "Canadian-Portuguese Hockey Tournament, 1999-2000," November 10, 1999, *Ibid.*, CTA. The Portuguese *escudo* to Canadian dollar currency conversion is for the same day. Accessed March 20, 2013, <http://fxtop.com/en/currency-converter-past.php>.

¹³¹ Letter from Mr. Leslie Sole, Executive Vice-President of Rogers Broadcasting CFMT, to Robert Vanderloo (Amb) entitled "CANADIAN-PORTUGUESE HOCKEY TOURNAMENT, 1999-2000," Toronto, July 18, 1999, *Ibid.*, CTA.

(FPTV).¹³² Although not coming from a Portuguese background, he was an influential figure in Portuguese Canadian affairs. According to the letter, he was also an early supporter of the FPCC’s homeland trip and helped broker additional support from Knob Hill Farms. Northern Telecom (“Nortel Networks”) contributed \$10,000, but the numbers coming from the other donors—particularly government agencies—are unknown. In comparison to the Italian and Macedonian campaigns, there was no need to canvas the local neighbourhood businesses for support; all they needed was Portuguese hockey players willing to go to Portugal.

Table 6: Portuguese (First Portuguese Canadian Club), 2000:
Sponsorship Channels: Canadian Embassy in Portugal, City of Viseu, Portugal, Government of Portugal, SATA Air Acores, CFMT/Rogers Media, Knob Hill Farms, Northern Telecom (“Nortel Networks”), Banco Comercial Portugues, Visabeira Hotels, Labatt Breweries ¹³³
Industry by Type: Government (3), Food production (2), Media (2), Financial (1), Travel (1)
Sponsors by National Origin: Portugal (6), Canada (4), Canadian Diplomatic (1)

Surprisingly, the prospect of a free trip to Portugal generated little interest among hockey-playing men in Portuguese Toronto. Coach Mario Corte-Real struggled to find individuals available or willing to commit two weeks of their vacation time. Faced with the embarrassing prospect of not being able to field a team, he asked the few confirmed players on the roster to invite their co-workers and friends, regardless of their family background. The desperate measure resulted in a hybrid line-up that was Portuguese Canadians only in part. In total, six or seven players on the fifteen-member roster were of Portuguese descent, and more

¹³² FPTV was owned and operated by Frank Alvarez of local CIRV Portuguese radio fame.

¹³³ Information drawn from the following documents: Fax from Vanderloo to Silva, July 5, 1999, Mario Silva Fonds; Letter from Ambassador Vanderloo to Leslie Sole, Executive VP of Rogers Broadcasting, July 18, 1999; Fax from Vanderloo to Silva, November 10, 1999; and Fax from Vanderloo to Silva, January 3, 2000, CTA.

telling, five of them hailed from the inaugural 1990-1 season.¹³⁴ These veteran stick-handlers had played together for a decade and still formed the core of Portuguese hockey in Toronto. Now in 2000, their competitive hockey days were numbered and a new generation of recruits was not stepping forward to replace them. A detailed facsimile from Lucy Cardoso, president of the First Portuguese Canadian Club, to Councilor Mario Silva lists the name, age, and occupation of the FPCC players. Their ages range from 22 to 35, but the average age of the players was 30.4 years old.¹³⁵ The demographic of the team that went to Portugal foretold the future of hockey as a symbol and vehicle for Portuguese ethnicity and diasporic life. A year after the tournament, the last stalwarts hung up their skates and retired.¹³⁶ Across the ocean, their “Team Portugal” competitors never played another match. In 2006, the ice surface in the Ice Palace shopping mall was drained in exchange for a roller-skating rink.

Diasporic Portuguese hockey had a limited lifespan, but the nature of its transnational character is complicated by the origins of players on the Viseu Ice Palace Wolves roster. José Mario Coelho recounts being surprised to discover that Team Portugal had been created by a Portuguese Canadian expat and consisted mainly of players born in Canada. The tournament program corroborates his memory. It shows twenty players on the Ice Palace Wolves roster, twelve of whom were born in Canada.¹³⁷ A report from Ambassador Vanderloo to Councilor Silva with information gathered from team officials says that seven of the Canadian-born players had more than eight years of hockey-playing experience in Canada. Nine of the Wolves

¹³⁴ Mario Corte-Real, interviewed by author.

¹³⁵ Fax from Lucy Cardoso to Mario Silva, February 8, 2000, Mario Silva Fonds, CTA.

¹³⁶ Mario Corte-Real, interviewed by author.

¹³⁷ Program for Canadian-Portuguese Hockey Tournament, 1999-2000, Portugal-Canada Ice Hockey Cup, Embaixada do Canada and Associação Nacional de Desportos [2000], Mario Silva Fonds, CTA; and José Mario Coelho, interviewed by author.

had only played the game in Portugal and none of these for longer than three years. The other four originated in France, Switzerland, or the United States, and three of them were experienced players. Clearly some in the line-up had moved “back” to Portugal before learning the game, but most of them were not the hockey greenhorns that Ambassador Vanderloo described. As a team, they did not have the skill level of the First Portuguese Canadian All-Stars, but they were mostly composed of Canadians who had learned the game in Canada and brought it with them to Portugal.¹³⁸ The visiting First Portuguese Canadians were therefore not the first Canucks to shoot pucks on a sheet of ice in Lusitania. It might even be said that the diasporic exchange was a transnational *reunion* of Portuguese Canadians. The movement to improve the skill level of local players and generate interest in the game began with and still featured Canadians playing a Canadian game.

Despite the efforts of politicians, media personalities, and community volunteers, Portuguese Canadians responded feebly to a function from “above.” One reason is economics. Scholars of migration generally agree that middle-class individuals are better waged, and therefore more likely, to participate in transnational practices than people from the working class.¹³⁹ Portuguese Canadians, as we have seen, are traditionally over-represented in blue-collar industries such as construction. But this does not explain the lack of interest in a free trip to Portugal. Community expert Wenona Giles offers another possibility. She identifies a long

¹³⁸ José Mario Coelho discovered learned this information while in Portugal. Ibid.

¹³⁹ See, for example, “Marianne van Bochove, “Truly Transnational: The Political Practices of Middle-Class Migrants,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38, no. 10 (August 2010): 1551-1568; and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, Alejandro Portes and William Haller, “Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants,” *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 6 (May 2003): 1216.

and active history of class antagonisms between Portuguese Canadians.¹⁴⁰ During the long dictatorship of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar (1932-68), average citizens tried to avoid contact with the regime and its middle-class corps of professionals, bureaucrats, and clerics. A generation after migrating to Canada, Portuguese hockey players were therefore predisposed to snub a diasporic event created by government officials and big businesses. They might have responded more favourably to a grassroots fundraising campaign involving small businesses or unions with strong Portuguese representation.

Another factor is regional origins and antagonisms. 68 percent of Portuguese immigrants in postwar Toronto trace their roots to the Azores islands, an Atlantic archipelago roughly 1,500 kilometers west of mainland Portugal where the hockey tournament took place. Our analysis is limited in this respect because available sources do not indicate whether the six or seven players with Portuguese origins on the trip had ancestral home towns in the Azores or mainland Portugal. Coach Mario Corte-Real said that a “couple” of them visited extended family after the games; the rest were presumably non-Portuguese or Portuguese with island links. A stopover in the middle of the Atlantic was too great a distance, inconvenience, and expense for a trip anchored in continental Europe. The Portuguese mainland was a homeland, but much less an ancestral region whose families came to Canada from the Azores. These players were staying in a *different* Portugal than that of their parents.

We can compare the Viseu hockey tournament with two Portuguese Canadian soccer trips to the Azores three years earlier. Former NASL professional soccer legend and Portuguese-born Francisco Balota was one of the construction workers and “old-timers” playing for team

¹⁴⁰ Wenona Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto: Gender, Immigration, and Nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 113.

“Oprario,” which travelled to the Azorean island of São Miguel in 1996 and 1997. The players were joined by their families and they billeted with relatives. When asked about the group’s motivation for going overseas, Balota offers an explanation that is similar to the organizers of the Macedonian and Italian trips discussed earlier: “They like to go there because of the roots, families, and old friends. Some of the players had maybe never seen the island. The parents wanted to take their kids to show them where they or grandpa [once] lived.”¹⁴¹ Like their Italian neighbours, Portuguese Torontonians were more likely to return to Europe to play the game they associate with the homeland, their retention of Portuguese culture and identity, and athletic performances that demonstrate their enduring place in the diaspora.

Scholars have shown that Azoreans are also generally indifferent to their own islands and rarely return there, thus making Team Oprario’s two soccer trips to Sõa Miguel exceptional.¹⁴² The reason for this disconnect, claims Toronto city councilor Ana Bailão, is that the second generation of islanders in Canada have inherited from their parents an image of Portugal as a place of sorrow and struggle. It is a land of poverty and few opportunities that contrasts sharply with their improved lives in Canada.¹⁴³

The one thing that really shocked me [when I moved to Canada] was how little Portuguese Canadian youth knew about Portugal. They thought it was all farms. I tried to correct this. The truth is that Portugal evolved and [some people] can’t relate to that evolved Portugal and new society.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Francisco Balota, interviewed by author.

¹⁴² Manuel Armando Oliveira, “Azorean Diaspora and Cultural Retention in Montreal and Toronto,” in *The Portuguese in Canada: Diasporic Challenges and Adjustment*, ed. Carlos Teixeira and Victor M.P. Da Rosa, 98; and Sally Cole, “Reconstituting Households, Retelling Culture: Emigration and Portuguese Fisheries Workers,” in *Transgressing Borders: Critical Perspectives on Gender, Household and Culture*, ed. Suzan Ilcan and Lynne Phillips (London: Bergin and Garvey, 1998), 82. Emanuel da Silva also suggests that many Azoreans do not visit their land of birth because most of their family members have already emigrated to Canada or the United States. Da Silva, “Sociolinguistic (re)constructions,” 108.

¹⁴³ Return is least likely among Trasmontanos and Nazarnes. Sally Cole, “Reconstituting Households,” 86.

¹⁴⁴ Ana Bailão, interviewed by author, March 1, 2012, Toronto, ON.

Ana hoped to counter this misconception while serving as cultural attaché at the Canadian Embassy in Lisbon. Her opportunity came in 1999 when Ambassador Vanderloo placed her in charge of the “Viseu file.” Her responsibility was to create for the First Portuguese Canadian players a series of elegant dinner receptions and an itinerary of visits to the new Portugal of ornate museums and modern cities. The Canadian-born could see for themselves and report back about the scope of Portugal’s economic transformation since their parents’ departure twenty or thirty years earlier. The modern region on display was mainland Portugal, meaning that Azoreans on the trip would be contrasting two places separated by both time and geography. In any case, the low turnout of both continental and islander Portuguese on the trip ensured that few were there to see the modern offshoots growing in the land of their roots.

Conclusion

The story of Wayne Butler and the York Jets Soccer Club captures many of the key findings and unanswered questions from the Italian, Macedonian, and Portuguese homeland trips. In comparison to our case studies, the Jets were a thoroughly multicultural team and an example of a city and grassroots sport culture in the 1980s that was increasingly global oriented, conscious of its own cultural heterogeneity, and collaborative in celebrating its differences. All teams, however, reified these distinctions by insisting on a personal connection to a “heritage project” as the basis for diasporic membership. In 1985, Wayne Butler became president of the York Jets Soccer Association that served the same Eglinton Flats

neighbourhood where he grew up.¹⁴⁵ During his childhood, most of the homes on his block were populated with Italian immigrant families. Despite Anglo Canadian origins, he became proficient in Italian because he was eating dinner at his best friend's home four times a week and the kid's mother refused to feed him unless he spoke in her language.¹⁴⁶ This early cultural education helped create the diasporic connections later in his life. In 1987, he arranged a friendly match with visitors from the home town of one of his Italian coaches, who were currently on a Canadian tour. The club's families billeted the travelers for a night, but the transnational bond truly began with a roiling post-game party fueled by wine and Italian conversation. Two years later, a team of Jets selects touched ground in Rome, Italy, then drove south to La Sila, a town high in the mountains of Calabria that he calls "one of the most beautiful places in the world."¹⁴⁷ For three-quarters of the team who were of Italian descent, the journey doubled as a homeland trip. Six of them, including the captain, visited extended family after the tournament.

The York Jets' coaching staff, youth, and sponsoring partners from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s reflected the growing diversity of the Eglinton Flats neighbourhood and city of Toronto, in addition to the growing local climate for intercultural engagement beyond national borders. The complex web of diasporic networks moving through—and being moved by—the

¹⁴⁵ The Jets formed in 1983 when the former City of York (now part of Toronto) Parks and Recreation Department amalgamated four clubs: York Minor Soccer, York Gold Dust, St. Thomas Aquinas Church, and Western Fairbank. For years, many of the players had their registration costs subsidized by Canadian Tire's Jumpstart Program, Toronto Parks and Recreation Department, and the York Jets themselves. Wayne Butler, interviewed by author, December 14, 2010, Toronto, ON.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Butler's enthusiasm was tempered by an apparent show of unsportsmanlike conduct by a host team. The Jets beat a team 3-0 and met them again in the finals. However, the re-match featured the same club with a different cast of players. In his view, some looked to be in their twenties and thirties, and their skill level was exceptional. "We got a little bit of an Italian welcome. They screwed us over and they knew it." The Jets lost 5-1, but as a consolation received the same trophy as the "new-look" victors. It is possible that the latter opted to "save-face" rather than lose before the home crowd. Winning was more highly valued than being a gracious host. Ibid.

same sporting organization made them a symbol of a new direction of diasporic engagement through sport. By the late 1980s, Italians were supplanted by players from Portuguese, Latin American, Caribbean, and Somali backgrounds,¹⁴⁸ but trips to Italy continued alongside new ones to Portugal, Brazil, England, and the Caribbean. In return, the Jets hosted the same clubs when they came to Canada. Butler's most promising youth were trained by semi-professional coaches from Salerno, Italy, who flew into Toronto each summer to run a two-week clinic. The boys learned Italian-style techniques while Butler stood on the sidelines translating the coaches' instructions into English. Despite the club's culturally diverse composition and extensive overseas connections, it found itself in need of a primary sponsor. In 1990, the only offer came with a national designation. The new partnership was arranged by the mother of a ten-year-old player, who worked as an official at the local Aruba Tourism Office. For the next seven years, the York Jets were the Aruba Stars, a distinction strengthened with two trips to the small Caribbean nation.¹⁴⁹ The York Jets are a rich illustration of Toronto's postwar super-diversity¹⁵⁰ and diasporic reach—a club dominated by Portuguese players, coached by Italian and Portuguese men, trained by Italian nationals, sponsored by the Government of Aruba, and managed by an Anglo-Saxon who learned how to speak Italian in exchange for home-cooked meals.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ A demographic confirmed by Nick C., who played for the Jets as young teenager in the mid-90s. Nick C., interviewed by author, October 15, 2010, Toronto, ON.

¹⁴⁹ The first trip was in July 1991. What began as a soccer exchange evolved into a tourism and culture excursion. "We only played twice," says Butler. "It was extremely hot [and] their fields were mainly sand." They met different mayors and sat down at formal dinners, spending more time indoors or on the beach than the soccer pitch. Wayne Butler, interviewed by author.

¹⁵⁰ A term popularized by Steven Vertovec's "Super-diversity and its Implications," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007): 1024-1054.

¹⁵¹ Unfortunately, no written records survive of the donors who supported the Jets' international excursions. We must rely on oral testimonies. He credits an Italian Canadian principal of a local Catholic school for securing them

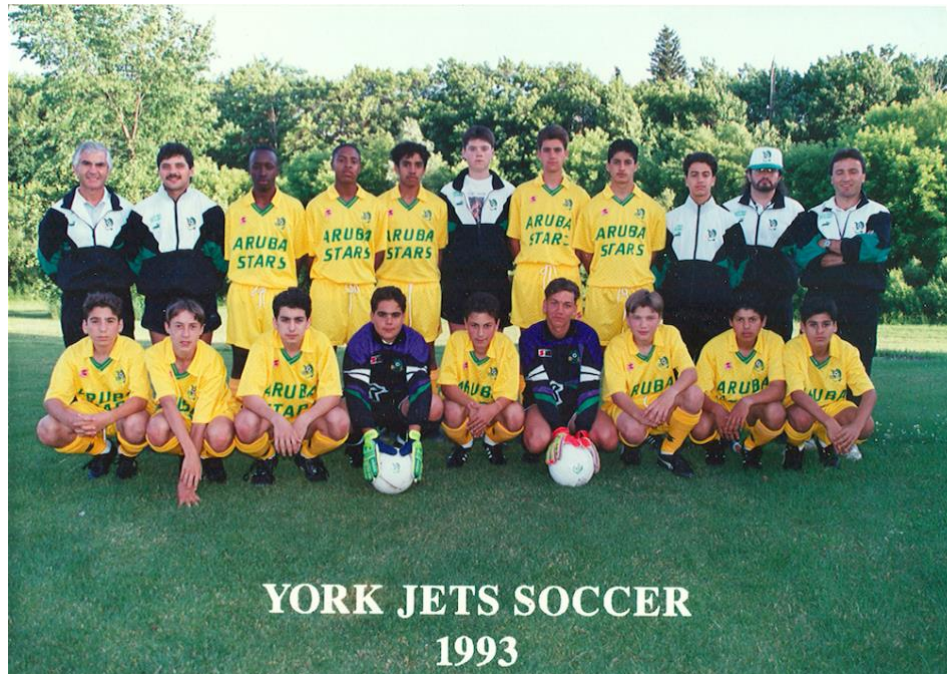


Figure 9. One of the York Jets’ “Rep” level teams, renamed the “Aruba Stars.” Source: York Jets Archives

The three case studies, together with the concluding story of the York Jets, show that the underlying idea of core “group” differences defined by people of common origin remained powerful during the period of Toronto’s multicultural awakening. In World Cup soccer fandom and homeland trips, Torontonians emphasized their distinctiveness by descent. There is a general parallel with the “roots and routes” approach that continues to define much of the literature on diasporas.¹⁵² A person can be a co-producer in a diasporic network but never belong to the heritage project that, in the words of Matthew Frye Jacobson, leads “not only back in time to ancestral antiquity, but also in persisting kinship across the ocean to

affordable airline fares to Italy, the Aruba government for covering the flights to the Caribbean, and the generosity of local teams and supporters in Italy and Portugal. Wayne Butler, interviewed by author.

¹⁵² See, for example, Anastasia Christou and Elizabeth Mavroudi’s “Introduction” to their edited volume, *Dismantling Diasporas: Rethinking the Geographies of Diasporic Identity, Connection and Development* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 5. Stefano Luconi recently created a “litmus test” that defines a diaspora as a dispersed population meeting four criteria: high rates of endogamy, self-segregation, resisting assimilation into host societies, and remaining abroad and not returning. Luconi’s framework brings some clarity to clutter, but it emphasizes criteria at the expense of process. Luconi, “Italians’ Global Migration: A Diaspora?” *Studi Emigrazione/Migration Studies* 18, no. 162 (2006): 479-81.

contemporary events and concerns.”¹⁵³ Outsiders such as Wayne Butler, Robert Vanderloo, and some of the CMHL coaching staff could participate in other people’s diasporas but never enter the category of kin. Centro Sportivo and the First Portuguese Canadian Club eventually allowed diasporic outsiders to compete on homeland trips, but there is no indication that they were ever considered part of the community. In a more complicate case, the Canadian Macedonian Hockey League incorporated youth they considered to be part of a wider “Macedonian” heartland in the Balkans. As the president of the Canadian Macedonian Immigration Society explained on Yugoslav television, they could all trace their roots there. And lastly, the York Jets’ diverse line-up of coaches and players took turns visiting one another’s diasporas.¹⁵⁴ The historiographical contradiction here is that while diasporic boundary making is generally considered to be a longer-term process, the networks creating imagined transnational communities can be short lived and involve the work of outsiders. If practices are the circuitry of diasporic belonging, then further research is needed to examine the contributions of, and degree of connection felt by, individuals who do not *belong* but play an integral part in maintaining the bonds of real and fictive kinship that constitute a diaspora.

In concert with the postwar sports leagues and international soccer fandom on Toronto streets after 1982, the homeland trips established young male athleticism as social currency in the making of community connections, the negotiation of cultural difference, and the pursuit of recognition. Notwithstanding the Portuguese hockey example, the immigrant parents who once occupied Toronto’s immigrant sport periphery became central players in transnational diasporic

¹⁵³ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 164.

¹⁵⁴ Yet at the same time, the ethnically-diverse York Jets resembled the avowedly, but not exclusively, single-origin teams because they reinforced the notion of networks consisting of diasporic members.

networks tethered to sport. The immigrant sport clubs existed and extended their connection overseas in large part because of the vision and efforts of core organizers from the first generation and their efforts to replenish youth in their rosters. With new faces, teams disappeared or charted a new course. In 2002 Centro Sportivo melded into the Toronto Azzurri S.C.. Alberto di Giovanni was clearly feeling the pain of retiring as Centro Sportivo's chief, even though the new incarnation was a healthy one. It was like "raising a baby and then letting him go to a brighter and better challenge," he said reflectively. For nineteen years, more than 800 youth passed through Centro Sportivo's language and soccer training schools. Some of these players later became leaders at the Toronto Azzurri S.C., another high-profile and transnationally-oriented organization.¹⁵⁵ However, the new organization was less concerned with language education and culture than soccer development. The big trips to Italy continued, but "discovering their roots" was more an offshoot than companion of athleticism and winning.

Another reason for the struggle to maintain these networks is a transnational imbalance in the level of local interest and overseas attachments. When the European clubs asked Canadian teams to reciprocate with a tournament in Canada, their hosts were sometimes disappointed with the outcome. The CMHL, for example, welcomed a team of Yugoslav selects in 1990. The competition was solid, but to this day local organizer Thomas Dimoff believes that their visitors' hidden motivation for crossing the ocean was to "poach" Canadian players for their own leagues.¹⁵⁶ Mario Corte-Real recounts how the Portuguese national team wanted to

¹⁵⁵ The illustrious club formed by the Westwood Young Generation Italian outreach program in 1968. "Letting Go of the Azzurri," *The Azzurri Journal* (October-January 2002/3): 1 and 4, Accessed September 27, 2013, <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/40641485/The-Azzurri-Journal---DOC>.

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Dimoff, interviewed by author.

come to Toronto for a rematch three years after the Canada-Portugal tournament in Viseu.¹⁵⁷ Concerned about the logistical and financial challenges involved, he told them, “You find some sponsors from Portugal to come here. Then I’ll help.” The response never came. When asked why, Corte-Real explains, “It’s different to have Canadian hockey players come to Portugal than Portuguese hockey players come here.”¹⁵⁸ Indeed, the team that visited Portugal was supported by large Portuguese and Canadian companies and the Canadian Embassy in Lisbon. It had also disbanded two years earlier. To be fair, Portuguese-owned companies generously supported the FPCC team in 2000, but Corte-Real was correct that the blue-collar Portuguese community in Toronto was unlikely to accommodate a team from Portugal in a similar fashion. The matter of reciprocity helps distinguish between going and returning in a diaspora. European Canadians were eager to “return” to their ancestral homeland because of its symbolic, historical, cultural and genealogical importance. By comparison, European co-ethnics were going to “visit” Canada to play a game and maybe see a few members of extended family. To paraphrase Roger Waldinger, only for the second-generation Canadian was the homeland trip a catalyst to “expand the range of ‘home’ to encompass both ‘here’ and ‘there.’”¹⁵⁹ One wistfully returned to his roots; the other, at best, explored the branches.

The meanings of the homeland trips outlived the practices that produced them. For the older generation of organizers and hosts, concerned about cultural retention or retrenchment among the youth, sports were a means to an end. The *type* of sporting practice shaped its

¹⁵⁷ In another story, former Vaughan mayor Michael Di Biase was president of the Woodbridge Strikers when the club hosted various Italian teams during the 1990s. He recounts how the visiting players were accompanied only by the coaching staff and not their families. Relatives in North America were more eager or able to visit extended family in Europe. Michael Di Biase, interviewed by author.

¹⁵⁸ Mario Corte-Real, interviewed by author.

¹⁵⁹ Roger Waldinger, “Immigrant ‘Transnationalism,’” 267.

capacity to generate a transnational community of interest. The Portuguese and Macedonian teams played hockey, a leisure practice that European immigrants to Canada later adopted. Following the earlier example of Louis Jannetta's Canadian Italian Hockey League, their proficiency in the game signified a level of integration with traditional English Canadian ways. Individuals and teams whose communities had been in Canada for only one or two generations but played hockey could graft themselves into a sporting tradition that extended back to Canada's early years. Hockey was a Canadian game unthreatened by the immigrant variants. Soccer, by contrast, had always been organized in Toronto according to alternative identities. As the vehicle of popular multiculturalism with roots overseas, it was more effective at forging and sustaining diasporic networks linking the ancestral homeland with migrant communities. Ultimately, each athlete determined the extent to which the connections and attachments made during their brief time overseas would impact their involvement and identification with the local community and diaspora. After a brief encounter with their "roots," they re-entered Canada and decided whether or not to keep playing in the complex fields of diaspora.

III

Spontaneity and Civility: Italian Toronto's 1982 World Cup Victory Party, Collective Memory, and Joining the Canadian Mainstream through Soccer Fandom

On July 11, 1982 Italy defeated West Germany, capturing its first World Cup soccer title since the Great Depression. When the *Azzurri* stormed the field at Madrid's Santiago Bernabéu Stadium, a much larger celebration was taking place four thousand miles away in Toronto, Canada. Within minutes, major thoroughfares were inundated with red, white and green flags, carried by an estimated 250,000¹ pedestrians and slow-moving vehicles. On St. Clair Avenue West, the city's largest Italian neighbourhood and the center of exhilaration, opportunities for street theatre were endless. An impromptu throng of street musicians played accordions, guitars, drums, or whatever they could get their hands on, while southern Italian men danced the tarantella and others sang popular folksongs. The party featured multiple generations of Italian Canadians. Children and elderly men danced together while young parents pushed strollers through the maze of people. Two flows of people moved in opposite directions, channeling a fifteen-block circuit from Caledonia Street to Oakwood Avenue.² Revelers carried glasses of wine and champagne, serenaded along their way by self-appointed disc jockeys with speaker systems blaring Queen's "We are the Champions" from storefronts and rooftops into the night.

¹ *Toronto Star*, "250,000 toast Italy's soccer victory," July 12, 1982, A1.

² Vincenzo Pietropaolo, interviewed by author, January 19, 2011, Toronto, ON.



Figure 10. Multiple generations of males dance and watch the tarantella in 1982.
Source: Vincenzo Pietropaolo

As a stand-out moment in an immigrant community's integration into a host society and self-awareness, something unique was taking place in Toronto. Most obvious was that the sheer number of people—nearly the same number as the total Italian population in the city of 297,165, according to the 1981 census³—surpassed the celebrations taking place anywhere else. In America's largest city, which a far bigger Italian population, the *New York Times* described a modest and localized line of caravans from New Jersey, Brooklyn, and Queens converging in the East Side on Mulberry Street.⁴ Mauro Bellugi, star defenseman on the championship team, expressed shock when shown a picture of the Toronto demonstration: "Even in Italy, I don't think that happened." Bellugi was right—an estimated 30,000 fans lined

³ Cited in Jansen and La Cavera, *Fact-book on Italians in Canada*, 2; and *Citystats*, Accessed March 15, 2013.

⁴ *New York Times*, "Little Italy Rejoices over Cup Victory," by Edward A. Gargan, July 12, 1982, C8.

the streets of Rome to welcome the team back from Spain.⁵ The crowds were so large and concentrated that Toronto Mayor Art Eggleton needed a security escort to access the centre of bedlam in Earlscourt Park, the former heart of local ethnic soccer. Once there, he witnessed a spectacle of pallbearers lowering a coffin labeled “West Germany” into the ground, while a makeshift band played Italian funerary ballads.⁶ Italian Toronto could not keep the party to itself. News of the party spread quickly, attracting other city residents and Italians from other locales who wanted a first-hand glimpse of the city’s largest outdoor celebration since the Second World War. By evening, buses from Northern Ontario and New York State were pulling into the St. Clair West neighbourhood, full of Italians ready to join the chorus of car horns and voices chanting “Viva l’Italia.”⁷

“Memories are never formless. They come to us as narratives,” Robin Wagner-Pacifici tells us.⁸ Similarly, Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Crage explain that “groups are more likely to find an event worthy of memory if they view it as dramatic, politically relevant, or newsworthy.”⁹ The St. Clair parade was their “coming out” party¹⁰ and turning point in key social relationships—a historical benchmark from which they visualized themselves as an ethnic community, altered their position vis-à-vis English Canadian society, and engaged other cultures as leaders in Canada’s emerging postwar marketplace of cultural difference. The image and

⁵ *Toronto Star*, “Metro Italian community recalls days of soccer glory,” by Walter Stefaniuk, October 15, 1989, A6.

⁶ *Toronto Star*, “250,000 toast Italy’s soccer victory.”

⁷ Rocco Lofranco, interviewed by author.

⁸ Robin Wagner-Pacifici, “Memories in the Making,” 302.

⁹ Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Crage, “Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth,” *American Sociological Review* 71, no. 65 (October 2006): 726.

¹⁰ A comparable phenomenon is the popular memory of New York’s 1969 Stonewall Riots. The resistance at Stonewall Inn, although not the first of its kind, is generally considered the quintessential movement-generating demonstration of gay resistance to the New York Police Department and spark to the larger movement itself. Armstrong and Crage, “Movements and Memory,” 724.

implications of this “epiphanic”¹¹ moment are etched in the minds of those who took to the streets that summer day. The 1982 World Cup Street Party gave Italian Toronto an “identity-giving past,”¹² around which it built a collective memory to explain their story of settlement, struggle, and success. I interviewed twenty-seven Italians and asked them what they remembered about 1982. To my astonishment, all recalled that hot summer day in nearly identical terms. Italians believed that 1982 marked a turning point in their relationship with the Anglo-Canadian establishment and one another, and they cemented their status as frontrunners in the advancement of popular multiculturalism. The *Azzurri* won in Spain and then Italians in Toronto *suddenly* expressed themselves as an ethnic community united by soccer fandom. At the same time, they overturned long-dominant Anglo notions of respectability by establishing in definite terms that Italians were paradigms of civility even when having fun. These two key tenets of the shared memory script first appeared in the local Italian language newspapers in 1982 and endure to the present. Their resonance for three and a half decades demands a different type of inquiry. This chapter unpacks *what* is remembered into the social, cultural and political contexts that gave it shape, helping us unpack *why* Italian Toronto remembers as it does and *how* one narrative came to dominate and continues to lead at the expense of others. Setting the stage for Chapter Four’s discussion of the post-1982 mainstreaming of popular multiculturalism through soccer fandom, it conceptualizes how an activity strongly associated with male socialization and violent outbursts before and after the World Cup Party became central to Italian Toronto’s re-imagination of itself as a community of model citizens that were family oriented, unified, and successful both on and off the field.

¹¹ DeMaria Harney, *Eh, Paesan!*, 160.

¹² Alister McGrath, *Christianity’s Dangerous Idea*, 314.

Spontaneous Ethnicity: Italian Toronto encounters itself

The 1982 soccer street party was a critical moment in Italian Toronto's relationship with itself. It gave a degree of cohesion to a community long fractured along regional, class, and generational lines, and linked their experiences to a common historical reference point. In future years, hundreds of thousands could say, *I was there...then*, and see in this event the ingredients of a longer shared saga of immigration and resettlement. The ethnic identity and collective memory constructed around the events of 1982 was a localized Italian response to a historical confluence of tensions related to the position as a diasporic, Canadian, multi-generational, and multi-cohort immigrant community. Those interviewed for this study almost uniformly used the word "spontaneous" to make sense of this scenario. It is an apt, encompassing word that captures how suddenly, unexpectedly, and overwhelmingly a diasporic community rallied on behalf of their country of origin; how this moment marked a clear historical departure from the period that preceded it; and how individuals inserted themselves into the larger narrative with personal accounts of identity expression. As participants recalled it, July 11, 1982 seemed to come out of nowhere. Gae Campese, then owner of Café Romeo at the corner of St. Clair West and Elmwood Avenue (now Via Italia), describes "That 1982 demonstration was spontaneous. No organization. Ecstatic. Hundreds of thousands of people. No fights. No vandalism. Just an outpouring of happiness."¹³

One might argue that any post-game celebration is spontaneous because the outcome of the match is never certain. But there was something special about Italian Toronto's

¹³ *Toronto Star*, "Metro Italian community recalls days of soccer glory."

merrymaking. On the one hand, for at least a week before the final match, many predicted a monumental outpouring of Italian pride if the *Azzurri* won. The party was spontaneous, but not unexpected. Or to put it awkwardly, something was happening but still might happen. It was this in-between stage of surprise, anticipation, and insecurity where the collective memory of Italian Toronto initially formed. Revisiting this stage helps us to identify the people, institutions, and turns of events that made the summer of 1982 unprecedented and unforgettable. It also offers a clearer picture of the historically contingent and entangled beginnings of their memory narrative.

Memory is an act of forgetting; collective memory, by extension, is a form of corporate amnesia. First and foremost, the dominant narrative of 1982 assumes an uninterrupted historical relationship between local Italian identity and soccer when, in fact, the World Cup victory rekindled a connection that had been largely dormant for about a decade. The *Azzurri's* success more accurately unified the community into a group of soccer fans in sudden and surprising fashion. Few, if any, considered it important to discuss this historic reconnection taking place in the community when Italy advanced to the semi-finals. Italian Toronto's rediscovery of soccer was spontaneous, but not *commemorable*: many found it easier to imagine that the connection between soccer and Italian ethnicity had always been there. The week before the championship game, the *Toronto Star* sent reporters to St. Clair Avenue West to gather people's sentiments. The main article signposted a comment by St. Clair Village Café owner Silvio Infusini:

Soccer is in the blood of the Italian people. A kid starts to play with a ball when he's a year old. And you know something? The new generation born here, the kids are just as excited as the people who came from Italy.¹⁴

Infusini combined ideas of nature and nurture: soccer was innate for the Italian born who brought the game with them to Canada and bequeathed it to their children, who share the same enthusiasm. Infusini was not alone in his assessment. In the same article, Johnny Lombardi, founder and CEO of CHIN radio and former president of the National Soccer League, proclaimed, "Italians are weaned on soccer." The argument that Italians are born and raised on soccer has a long shelf-life extending to the present day, reappearing numerous times in the mainstream Canadian and ethnic Italian press.¹⁵ Given the current higher number of participants and fans, however, the statement is more accurate today than in 1982.

Caught up in the outpouring of ethnic pride following Italy's victory, revelers concluded that soccer fanaticism had always been central to the Italian experience in English Canada's largest city. Many forgot, or saw no point in remembering, that the game was a less significant nexus of Italian socialization, mobilization, and identity just a few months earlier. Some Italian-born still men gathered around radios in sports bars and living rooms and read sports sections in the local ethnic newspapers. But immigration from Italy fell dramatically in the 1970s and most of the earlier arrivals had reached middle age or older and the athletes among them had already hung up their boots and retired to coaching or less strenuous activities. Soccer had for

¹⁴ *Toronto Star*, "World Cup: Hot blood, cool pride: 'A true Italian' is a soccer fanatic, say Metro fans," by Jim Foster, July 8, 1982, A3.

¹⁵ See the following pieces in the *Toronto Star* that feature interviews of St. Clair residents: "Joy in Little Italy, July 10, 1994, A1; "Some World Cup with their latte: Work plays second string as Little Italy fans cheer their team," by Natalie Alcoba, June 4, 2002, A22; and "World Cup: Why Toronto is a city of winners," by Elaine Carey, June 27, 1998, A1. A good article offering a local Italian perspective is *Corriere Canadese*, "Azzurri, siete tutti noi: L'orgoglio tricolore fa salire la febbre per la Coppa del Mondo," by Nicola Sparano, July 8, 2006, p. 1.

years offered the first generation of Italian Canadians a vital connection to the “old country,” but their children had different pursuits.

Soccer had limited popularity among second generation Italians because class distinctions in the community manifested in sporting practices. The upwardly mobile Canadian born and 1.5 generation youngers on a life trajectory toward white collar professions typically preferred hockey, the national Canadian obsession. Cesare Teodoro came to Toronto at age six and lived his childhood and teenage years in various apartments above Italian businesses on St. Clair Avenue West. He played hockey for St. Clare Parish in the Catholic Youth Hockey League and later for Team Abruzzo in Louis Jannetta’s Canadian Italian Hockey League. At the parish level, his teammates and coach—the priest—were all Italian. Every day after school, he returned home long enough to retrieve a stick and ball and join a game of street hockey already in progress. In his youth, he listened to the occasional Italian Serie A soccer game over a shortwave radio and informally kicked a ball around with friends during the summer day camps at the Earls Court Park. His impression of the differences between hockey and soccer at the time was that soccer was the obsession of the older generation hoping to rekindle memories of an earlier life in Italy and a symbol working-class Italian kids who were struggling to integrate into Canadian society:

I knew a couple of guys who were WOPS—that’s what they called you when you dressed Italian and worked construction—these guys still had the accent going on and the bell-bottoms. They were the soccer fans, part of the whole older group. They were our age, already working at age 16 but didn’t have the education and worked with the older guys, who loved soccer. They made good money and muscle cars were their calling card.¹⁶

¹⁶ Cesare Teodoro, interviewed by author.

Two men who grew up in the St. Clair West area during the late sixties and seventies offer similar stories. Marco Antonelli was born in Canada to Italian parents. He played organized soccer and attended a few Toronto Italia FC games as a youth, but he admits to being “more of a hockey guy.” His love for the Canadian game was even the motivation for his first major purchase. After earning decent money at his family’s Italian music, film, and sporting goods store, he bought season tickets to watch the Toronto Maple Leafs professional franchise.¹⁷ Dominic Stalteri, who came from Italy to the same Italian quarter at age 10, says that hockey was an obvious and inevitable choice for Italian boys trying to fit into Canadian society: “All the neighbourhood kids were playing hockey. There were lots of Italian kids playing the game. When you immigrate, you play the sport of the country.”¹⁸ If soccer was the virus running through the veins of the Italian immigrant, it had gone into remission. The children still being weaned on the beautiful game, it seems, were part of a working-class subculture, headed for careers in the construction industry. The upwardly mobile youngsters, by comparison, followed more “Canadian” sporting pursuits. Italy’s victory in 1982 made soccer respectable across the community class strata that had previously marked the limits of its appeal.

The stories of Teodoro, Antonelli, and Stalteri are illuminating, but it is impossible to quantify the extent to which they represent the experience of the Italian population as a whole. We do not know how many kids from Italian neighbourhoods were playing organized hockey or soccer because the Toronto Soccer Association and the Toronto Hockey Association, the largest governing bodies of their sports, never kept registration records on file for longer than five years. But we do acquire a parallel description of hockey’s popularity and soccer’s waning

¹⁷ Marco Antonelli (pseud), interviewed by author, February 23, 2011, Toronto, ON.

¹⁸ Dominic Stalteri, interviewed by author, February 5, 2011, Toronto, ON.

appeal in the local Italian media. In 1974, Johnny Lombardi, the media magnate who later asserted that “Italians are weaned on soccer,” conceded that local Italian passions for soccer had faded with the first generation. Their offspring, he explained, had a new set of heroes:

Not so long ago, soccer and boxing were the favourite sports of Italian immigrants. Weeknights were often spent at emotion-charged soccer games, and great number of Italians started off their Sundays listening to live short-wave broadcasts of soccer games in Italy. Maybe the old guys still follow old country soccer, but their sons have become hockey players and fans, all because of [hockey star] Phil Esposito. They look up to him. They’re as proud of him as we used to be of [opera singer] Enrico Caruso.¹⁹

Umberto Manca, who worked alongside Johnny Lombardi at CHIN radio, later agreed with his friend’s assessment:

I think everything changed in 1982. Before, the young people weren’t interested in soccer; it was the game of their parents. Then it all changed.²⁰

Soccer participation seemed to lose its intimate connection with Italian identity, but there was still a large market for soccer fandom in the multi-generational immigrant community.

By the early 1980s, Italian-oriented fandom was divided into hockey at the local level and soccer on the international stage. Dan Ianuzzi’s Multilingual Television Network (“MTV”) aired 40 games of Louis Jannetta’s Canadian Italian Hockey League during the 1980-1 regular season, but not a single local soccer game.²¹ The matches occupied a two-hour prime time slot every Sunday afternoon between October and April.²² When it came to soccer, the younger, Canadian born Italians had an ambivalent relationship with the local leagues and were technologically detached from the European elite ones. Before the late 1970s, if they wanted to follow

¹⁹ “Caravan: It’s a concentrate of all that makes Metro Toronto hum,” by Terry Frayne, *Toronto Star*, June 22, 1974, B1.

²⁰ Umberto Manca, interview with author.

²¹ “The Canadian Italian Hockey League,” Fact File No. 4, 1980-1 Schedule, Multilingual Television, Toronto, *Private Archives of Louis Jannetta*.

²² “Prime time here. Rome a bit later. That’s CIHL style,” by Milt Dunnell, *Toronto Star*, February 4, 1982, B1.

Europe's top leagues in real time, they had to sit with their fathers and listen to the radio. By comparison, *Hockey Night in Canada* was on television every Saturday. Moreover, they did not experience the pull of nostalgia that drove their fathers to gather in sports bars or stand outside a shop in the dead of winter to listen to European soccer over a shortwave radio. On top of this, the radio announcers were speaking in their parent's language about teams representing cities many of them had never seen. Local professional soccer in Toronto had been a source of disappointment for years. Players frequently changed squads; international stars left or retired after only a couple years; teams and leagues folded and reemerged; and during the mid-1970s, the strong affiliation of the Toronto Metros-Croatia NASL franchise with the Croatian community generated little outside of it. At the local level, young Italians would rather see Team Friuli direct a puck at a net than a ball.

The pre-conditions for Italian community building through *international* soccer fandom were already being put into place in the late 1970s with the introduction and increased affordability of satellite television. Soccer enthusiasts could now engage with international elite football in ways never before possible. In 1982, Multilingual Television was able to air fifty-two "World Class" soccer broadcasts from England, Germany, and Italy every Saturday and Sunday. Fans not only tuned in to watch international games, they participated in the discussions that followed. MTV's enormously popular yet spartan "World Soccer Report," a two-hour English-language program featuring highlights and commentary, received more than one thousand fan letters a week. Host Dale Barnes estimated that the responses were rather even split among

the Toronto's English, Italian, and Portuguese communities.²³ Many of these actively participated in the show by listening to other games over a shortwave radio and calling in the scores or sharing commentary gathered from overseas sources.²⁴ At the time of Italy's 1982 World Cup championship, Toronto Italians had gravitated toward hockey, but soccer's historical importance in the community, enduring presence among a working-class fan base, and availability at the highest level through the advent of satellite technology ensured its survival and enhanced the possibility of a revival given the right circumstances. It took the success of the Italian national soccer team in 1982 to re-create soccer fandom as a central component of Italian immigrant identity in Toronto and the myth that it had always been that way.

The *Azzurri's* appeal in Italian Toronto points to the importance of sporting success in the links among ethnicity, memory, and inter-generational relationships. Sports—in this case, soccer—became an important marker of ethnicity and social adhesive for a loosely affiliated immigrant population. It also introduced a set of desirable qualities that local Italians could claim as their own. Scholars have effectively documented and analyzed the ways that ethnicity is constructed when communities associate themselves with heroes of the past—be they trans-

²³ That is, 30 percent English, 25 percent Italian, and 20 percent Portuguese. Barnes worked the entire show from behind a desk without the help of a teleprompter or floor director. Behind him hung a couple dozen European team pennants. The live signal for "World Class" soccer broadcasts was transmitted by the ANIK B satellite from Europe to Montreal, and then wired via land line to MTV studios in Toronto. *Toronto Star*, "MTV's soccer report on the ball," April 22, 1983, [n.p.], in Fonds F-2187-7-5, *Archives of Ontario*.

²⁴ *TV Guide*, "MTV's World Soccer Report is trying to give the sport that extra kick," by Paul Welsby, February 19, 1983, [n.p.], magazine clipping from *Ibid*. In its 1977 application to the CRTC, MTV proposed running 13 weeks of local Ontario soccer league games and a 30-minute soccer of pre-taped highlights and discussions called "The Soccer Scene." The archival records do not indicate if these programs ever transpired. The 1978-9 and 1980-1 season schedules make no mention of offerings specifically dedicated to local soccer. The following files are located in Fonds F-1204-8-2-154: Multilingual Television 1977-81 4 files about establishing the channel, Attachment 1 of Presentation to CRTC of ML Television, Sept. 20, 1977, p. 2, MTV Channel 47 1980-1 Season (schedule), and Multicultural Television-RM, MTV Winter/Spring 78/79 Schedule. *Toronto Star*, "MTV's Soccer Report on the Ball," Fonds F-2187-7-5, *Archives of Ontario*.

Atlantic explorers, painters, poets, composers or hearty pioneers, to name a few.²⁵ Most studies contend that immigrants look to the past and align themselves with historic “winners” in an effort to self-identify, establish group boundaries, and shape outsider perceptions. Contemporary success stories such as sports teams have a similar and perhaps more pertinent impact because their feats are *news*. They are evidence of current ethnic prowess and the impetus for individuals to organize and stake out a privileged position in cosmopolitan locales on the basis of ethnic identity. Soccer became a highly pragmatic vehicle for Italian ethnicity in Toronto. “When the team is good, you go for it,” explains Tony Pavia.²⁶ “We won,” says Rocco Lofranco. “That was the bottom line.”²⁷

A great deal of ethnicity construction Nancy Foner tells us, is played out at the level of the family.²⁸ The image of a traditional tight-knit family is often associated with Italian cultures and Toronto’s community leaders placed great emphasis on this symbol in the years immediately preceding the World Cup party. In 1978, the Italian Canadian Benevolent Corporation made the family the centrepiece of its pitch to the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation for financial assistance to build what soon became Toronto’s largest Italian cultural facility, the Columbus Centre. The family unit, it argued, was the core fabric of Italian social and civic life; therefore a building was needed to provide services for each of its members to realize

²⁵ Some good works exploring this tendency are Frances Swripa’s book, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010); April Schulz, *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing Norwegian-American Identity through Celebration* (Amherst, MA: U. of Massachusetts Press, 1995); and Kathleen Neils Conzen et al, “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 3-41.

²⁶ Tony Pavia, interviewed by author, February 27, 2011, Toronto, ON.

²⁷ Rocco Lofranco, interviewed by author.

²⁸ Nancy Foner, “The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes,” *International Migration Review* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 961.

their potential on multiple levels as individuals, kin, Italians, and Canadians.²⁹ In 1982, family dynamics were suddenly a central feature of soccer fandom because the demographic of fans on the ground *suddenly* resembled the image that leaders had recently presented to their financiers and wider community. Unlike the male-dominated soccer parks of the postwar period, there were multiple generations and both men and women in significant numbers among the quarter-million people crowded onto St. Clair West. Soccer fandom had become a public showcase for the Italian family. The association between the traditional Italian family and soccer fandom was also apparent to outside authorities. After the championship win, a constable told a *Star*



Figure 11. Children celebrate Italy's 1982 World Cup victory. Source: Vincenzo Pietropaolo

²⁹ DeMaria Harney, *Eh Paesan*, 64-5.

reporter, “There’s never any trouble with the Italians. They are all with a family group. It’s just a few non-Italians who like to stir things up.”³⁰ As we will see in Chapter Four, the collective memory of 1982 as a family event took on more importance in the following years when young men resumed their historical role as guardians of community boundaries through soccer fandom.

Italy’s win helped break down generational differences and showcase them at the same time. In a similar fashion to the homeland trips to Europe, the older immigrant men believed that a big soccer win validated them, and specifically their cultural, language, and post-migration trials, in the presence of Canadian-born Italian youth. On St. Clair West, one could *hear* the generational divide. *Il Corriere* noted with a dose of humour that “it was marvelous to see so many youth yelling “We’re Italian,” even though it was in English.”³¹ Photographer Vincenzo Pietropaolo appreciated how some youngsters tried to cheer in their parents’ language: “The kids born in Canada were shouting “Viva Italia,” which was grammatically incorrect. But this was okay.”³² Italian language comprehension, a key component of cultural vitality, had apparently filtered down to the younger crowd only in part, but soccer fandom created bridges of understanding between generations that never before existed.

Among the first generation, Italy’s victory presented an opportunity to look back and reflect upon their experiences of relocation and settlement. More than anything, it offered some measure of historical vindication for their struggles. “We kind of re-evaluated ourselves,”

³⁰ *The Globe and Mail*, “Toronto’s Italians take to streets in celebration of soccer victory,” by Christie McLaren and Michael Tenszen,” July 12, 1982, p. 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Vincenzo Pietropaolo, interviewed by author.

explains Fausto di Marco. “We were treated like animals [at first]—like in the Hogg’s Hollow disaster [when five Italian immigrant workers perished in a subway tunnel fire and collapse].”³³ Formerly treated like losers, a World Cup victory gave them a platform to insist that the opposite was true. After Italy’s win, *Il Corriere* quoted an elderly migrant who “didn’t want to die before seeing Italy again in first place.”³⁴ As one who left Italy years ago—likely in difficult straits—and built a new life in Canada, Italy’s soccer victory was a success story intertwined with his own. It was a climactic in his life, a reward for years of separation from his original home and the toil following resettlement in Canada. The elderly man represents Toronto Italians more generally, for whom public recognition of their achievements on Canadian soil had been deferred, and then finally conferred by another source. Other first generation Italians looked towards the future. For this group, Italy’s championship and the local response linked their progeny’s experiences with their own. The young Italian Canadians celebrating their Italianness on St. Clair Avenue West were honouring the immigrant generation responsible for their connection to Italy. Charlie Alaimo, who immigrated to Canada in 1959, brought his children to see the celebrations on St. Clair Avenue. “I remember my youngest son Claudio, only 4 years old then, yelling ‘I-tal-ia!’ he shares. “I was proud. It was important for the young generation born here. They didn’t know what ‘Italia’ meant. *Then* they knew.”³⁵ His children learned quickly that Italians, and their father, were winners.

Many of the 1.5 and second generations, who were raised in Canada, comparatively privileged, and formerly uninterested in soccer, only knew what Italia meant within a Canadian

³³ Fausto di Marco, interviewed by author.

³⁴ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “Non volevo morire prima di vedere l’Italia di nuovo al primo posto,” 12-13 luglio, p. 4

³⁵ Charlie Alaimo, interviewed by author.

context. The international soccer matches helped them recast their cultural in-betweenness in a positive light. The younger crowd suddenly found in Italy's success a foundation for ethnic pride and place in an increasingly multicultural society. They were Italian and Italians *won*.

Angelo Delfino, who worked for the Toronto School Board at the time, observed that

It was really important for the young people. For many years kids in the schools weren't sure about their Italian-Canadian identity. All at once they found a burst of pride. 'It's okay to be Italian.' And that mattered so much for their self-image and participation in things connected to their Italian heritage and background.³⁶

For this group, winning was more about the present-day search for identity and place than a sense of historical vindication. And the World Cup's immediacy and media exposure provided them with a symbol bearing more social capital among their peers than filiopietistic claims of shared heritage with Giovanni Caboto, Christopher Columbus, or Leonardo da Vinci. Their struggles were less material and more psycho-sociological. According to Cesare Teodoro, they celebrated on the coat tails of their parents' labour:

[The second generation] had the schooling and recreational time. This was the first generation of *mangiacake* Italians. All they had to do was go to school because their parents busted their asses beforehand...It was their team and their parents' country, but it wasn't a symbol of their struggle in Canada. It was a time to celebrate your difference. 'Buddy, Italy won.'³⁷

Umberto Manca explains that for the immigrant "[it's] like, why music was important. At the heart was a search for youth, to try to be young again. In order to integrate you need a sort of emotional balance, to connect with what you brought—your food, music, and your sport." But winning linked the younger crowd to something in danger of being lost. Titles are difficult to repeat and loyal fandom requires patience and dedication. Nonetheless, the more the Italian

³⁶ Angelo Delfino, interviewed by author.

³⁷ Cesare Teodoro, interviewed by author.

youth win, “the more they become attached to Italian culture,” he adds.”³⁸ People celebrated being Italian for different reasons. Some Italians reflected on earlier years and others lived theirs out with a new sense of rootedness. For the older migrant, the Italian team’s victory marked a rekindling; for those born in Canada, it was a realization. One reconnected to memories of an earlier time and place; the other discovered himself in the only place he had ever lived.

The 1982 street party superseded Italian regional or village divisions and in the process revealed the different experiences of migrants who came to Canada before and after the Second World War, respectively. The bridging of Italian geographical and cultural differences was unprecedented for one group and a renaissance for another. Regionalism was still alive in the hundreds of social clubs and centres oriented to a particular geographical section of Italy. Nicholas De Maria Harney shows that this phenomenon actually grew in strength by the early 1990s.³⁹ *Il Corriere Canadese* was therefore understandably surprised to see Italians celebrating under one banner:

Then someone, taking advantage of the moment, yelled to them ‘We’re number one.’ He seemed to want to indicate ‘You and I (together).’ It was cause to reflect, since never before had we been in this circumstance that we Italians were...we felt “we.”⁴⁰

Il Corriere was perhaps unaware that Toronto Italians had previously imagined themselves and assembled on a national basis. John Zucchi’s book *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity* demonstrates that this process occurred within the early community by the

³⁸ Umberto Manca, interviewed by author.

³⁹ The focus of chapter five in De Maria Harney, *Eh Peasan!*.

⁴⁰ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “Non volevo morire prima di...,” translated by author.

time of the Second World War.⁴¹ Canadian-born multimedia barons Johnny Lombardi and Dan Ianuzzi were the children of this generation. In terms of superseding regional and village affiliations, “1982” represented a renaissance for those with deeper roots and an awakening for the postwar cohort.

After 1982, some community leaders pondered whether international soccer fandom was not a symbol of Italian unity, but rather the rare exception when people of Italian origin put their regional differences aside. *Eyetalian* magazine sponsored a panel discussion at the Columbus Centre after the 1994 World Cup tournament titled “Beyond Baggio: Do Italians have a reason to get excited about anything but World Cup Soccer?”⁴² The inquiry was actually if Italians—as a community—have many unifying collaborations to their name. The World Cup street party was by no means the only example of pan-Italian cooperation. At the organizational level, the National Congress of Italian Canadians (NCIC) had been active in political and cultural affairs since 1972, and the newly built Columbus Centre already had a membership of more than 4,000 as early as 1981.⁴³ The better answer is that in the realm of sport and leisure, Italian soccer fans might have already been pre-conditioned to “show up” for a pan-Italian event in an *ad hoc* manner. As explained earlier in Chapter One, Italians were heavily involved in occasional activities or ones that required no commitments to membership, such as listening to CHIN Radio. A 1978 survey by the NCIC showed the existence of many Italian organizations, but overall low participation in formal community events and

⁴¹ John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto*.“ The post-1960s construction and interplay of Italian regional and national identities is also discussed in chapter five of De Maria Harney, *Eh Paesan!* and Jordan Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian*, 95-6.

⁴² Cited in DeMaria Harney, *Eh Paesan!*, 172.

⁴³ Virginia William Ariemma, *The Story of Villa Charities, 1971-1996* (Toronto: Villa Charities Inc., 1997), 89.

associations.⁴⁴ Thousands participated on an unofficial basis in the popular St. Anthony religious procession on College Street, the “Immigrant Day” festivals at Earlscourt Park, the CHIN Radio picnics at the Toronto Islands, and Johnny Lombardi’s “Italian Day.”⁴⁵ The 1982 World Cup street party followed a longstanding pattern in which it was common in certain spaces and circumstances to identify as a one community with the same national origins. The World Cup street party—a thoroughly informal and “spontaneous” affair—thus resembled other pan-Italian gatherings in the leisure domain. “1982” differed from them because it was larger, unscripted, unforeseen, transgressive, and socially transformative. It was a bolder articulation of Toronto Italia’s presence and pride than anything that preceded it.

A Winning Narrative: Local History, Spontaneity and the Merging of Personal and Collective Memories

Forgotten in the narrative of spontaneity and “soccer in the veins” is the force of historical contingency. The *Azzurri* players were an unlikely catalyst for Italian pride. The fact that Italy was so close to *not* winning the 1982 World Cup demonstrates the highly contingent nature of memory construction, ethnicity, and signification of urban space. Fans in Toronto did not expect much from the team until after the mid-point of the tournament. Their issue was not a lack of confidence in Italy’s ability to produce a winning squad or elite calibre players. Rather, Italy fans were unwilling to settle for merely qualifying and playing alongside the

⁴⁴ *Italian Canadians: A Cross Section, A National Survey of Italian Canadian Communities* (Ottawa: Congress of Italian Canadians, 1978), 96.

⁴⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, “Italian day revives euphoria of victory,” author not listed, July 19, 1982, p. 5; and *Toronto Star*, “15,000 Italians honor Immigrant Day,” August 10, 1970, A23. Religious processions are analyzed in chapter 3 of Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian*. There were also some memorable labour protests—most notably, following the Hogg’s Hollow subway tunnel disaster of 1960 that caused the death of five Italian workers. See Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 52-4.

world's finest, as the partying Jamaican Canadians did on the sidewalks of Eglinton Avenue West fourteen years later.⁴⁶ Their outlook concerned whether the national team would either seize or squander their great potential. Even before the tournament, there were signs that this was going to be a wasted opportunity. One setback out of anyone's control was the sidelining of star forward Roberto Bettega with a leg injury. More distressing was the Italian Soccer Federation's recent embarrassing and high profile *Totonero* scandal. Five *Serie A* teams, two *Serie B* sides, and thirty-three players were implicated for match-fixing. The most glaring offender was Juventus star Paolo Rossi, who was suspended from professional soccer until the 1982 World Cup. When he stepped onto the field in Spain, it was for the first time in two years.⁴⁷ Disorganized and discredited, Italian soccer offered little hope and even less cause for Italian Canadian ethnic pride. The embarrassment endured into the first round of action, when the *Azzurri* performed dreadfully by posting three ties and only advancing because third-place Cameroon scored one less goal overall. Marco Antonelli remembers his father's disappointment:

In 1982 my late father was so discouraged at the way Italy played. You know, at first, all the ties. He was so pissed off with Italy's first three games that he left Toronto and went to Florida for a couple weeks. Then they won.⁴⁸

Florida symbolized the place where this Italian Torontonion went after abandoning hope. // *Corriere Sportivo* was no less scathing in its assessment. After the tie against Peru, the paper said the team was in a "state of apnea," lacking athleticism and suffering from a tired defense. Paolo Rossi was singled out for exceptionally poor play. The paper suggested that Italy had a

⁴⁶ *Toronto Star*, "Jamaicans proud of soccer team despite loss," by Josh Brown and Michelle Osborne, June 15, 1998, A15.

⁴⁷ *New York Times*, "From Disgrace to Hero: Paolo Rossi," by Thomas Roger, July 12, 1982, C9.

⁴⁸ Marco Antonelli (pseud), interviewed by author.

better chance of winning with its players sitting on the bench. After the third tie, *Il Corriere* lamented that Italy was advancing to the next round “in the worst manner.” Moreover, Rossi was the “ghost” who was “only there by virtue of his performance in Argentina four years earlier.”⁴⁹ The Italian national team was giving a poor showing and Paolo Rossi was the poster boy for its stupor. Italian Toronto’s level of attachment to the Azzurri depended on the outcome of the soccer matches and Team Italy’s capacity to play to its potential. In sport fandom, ethnic heroes are winners, or at least characters who score symbolic victories. The Italian soccer team was achieving neither of these. Few fans in Toronto were willing to attach their pride or ethnic identity to Italy’s lackluster play. They were more likely to abandon their televisions for a vacation or unhappily endure the fiasco for another week.

Italy then defeated Brazil 3-2 in a second round shocker, with former black sheep Paolo Rossi scoring all three Italian goals. Ecstatic fans in Toronto poured out of St. Clair West cafes, billiards, and restaurants and impeded traffic well into the night. The front page of *Il Corriere Canadese* featured an image of some three thousand fans blocking the number 512 Keele streetcar. Surprised, the police initially stood back and allowed the revelry to ensue. A few officers decided to join in and yelled “Viva l’Italia” into their megaphones as they cleared the street to allow vehicle traffic through.⁵⁰ The rowdiest individuals received warnings from beat officers, and the rest were allowed to enjoy themselves. The police thus set a precedent for possible future demonstrations: they were going to withdraw, intervene only to dissuade the most disruptive individuals, and perhaps contribute to the atmosphere for a minute or two

⁴⁹ *Il Corriere Sportivo*, “Gli azzurri appesi ad un filo,” 21-22 giugno 1982, p.7; Ibid., “Allineati e coperti gli azzurri esclusi,” by Gianfranco De Laurentiis, 22-23 giugno 1982, p. 5; and Ibid., “Avanti senza illusioni,” 24-25 giugno 1982, p. 7. Translations by author.

⁵⁰ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “Metro’s Italians celebrate soccer victory over Brazil,” 6-7 luglio 1982, p. 1, and Ibid., “Anche Toronto ha vinto,” 6-7 luglio 1982, p. 2.

themselves with a celebratory gesture. Following this successful trial run, it was possible for Italian Toronto to imagine a larger and more disruptive celebration if Italy won a semi-final or championship match.

Instead of “ghosts and apnea,” *Il Corriere Canadese* began to speak of “miracles.”⁵¹ Few had anticipated Italy’s surprise win over Brazil or the redemption of its most-maligned footballer, who went on to become the hero of the championship game and tournament MVP. The team and its fans had now entered a magical period beyond anyone’s expectations. Unbeknownst to them, the turquoise-clad footballers making plays in Spain had become Toronto conduits for Italian ethnicity, the centerpiece of their collective memory, and later, the catalyst for the city’s own re-visioning of cultural diversity and the Italian community’s place within this arrangement. In what became a harbinger of things to come, one local Italian-language paper began to frame the *Azzurri*’s success as a Toronto story. *Il Corriere Canadese* reported on the celebrations on St. Clair Avenue West, including in the heading, “And Toronto wins as well!” The frenzy and anticipation in the Italian quarters soon extended into other spheres of life, both Italian and mainstream. Angelo Delfino, then working for the Toronto School Board, noticed high school students of Italian origin talking incessantly about the *Azzurri*.⁵² Reverend Evasio Pollo of St. Fedelis Parish found attendance at Sunday mass to be “unusually high” before the big game. A former soccer player during his seminary days in Italy, he, along with his parishioners, knew who to petition and thank for their team’s destiny.⁵³ The

⁵¹ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “Forza Italia: fai un altro miracolo,” 5-6 luglio 1982, p. 1; *Ibid.*, “L’Italia Trionfo Mondiale: Rossi tre vole, Brasile a picco,” 6-7 luglio 1982, p.1; and *Ibid.*, “Bearzot: artefice del miracolo,” by Nicola Sparano, 9-10 agosto 1982, p.1.

⁵² *Il Corriere Canadese*, “Anche Toronto ha vinto”; and Angelo Delfino, interviewed by author.

⁵³ *Toronto Star*, “Bleary-eyed Italians march tricolor to North York,” by Adam Singer and John Keating, July 13, 1982, A6.

intensifying atmosphere on St. Clair Avenue West was also attracting curious non-Italians, who wanted to see the commotion for themselves. Store owner Dominic Stalteri observed that:

As soon as [Italy] moved on to the round of 16, fans started celebrating on Via Italia and they stood in front of the streetcar. Then cars started honking—they created a party. The media picked this up and all of a sudden people from all over Southern Ontario started coming to St. Clair to walk up and down and see the party. The fans and the media picked it up. It became a spiral. It would've remained a local thing, but then it became news.⁵⁴

In this interesting twist, the most-watched sporting event in the world was first and foremost a “local thing,” which then went regional. Italian Toronto could not contain the spectacle. To further complicate their memory narrative, the grand and *spontaneous* display of ethnic pride after the championship game had become a mainstream Canadian story before the final match had taken place.

A key reason for the endurance of the collective memory of 1982 is the compatibility of individual contributions to the larger, community cause. There was more to the memory of the “spur-of-the-moment” atmosphere than Rossi’s rebirth, Team Italy’s reinvigoration, the size of the crowd in Toronto’s northwest end, or the spread of excitement into other neighbourhoods. Every blaring car stereo, waving flag, spur-of-the moment tarantella or embrace was the product of a last-minute decision by Italian individuals who *made* the moment. Everyone who was there in 1982 can insert themselves and their spontaneous actions into the dominant narrative, merging their personal memory with the collective one.⁵⁵ Vivid and emotive, their

⁵⁴ Dominic Stalteri, interviewed by author.

⁵⁵ Paul Ricoeur calls this “throwing a line between personal and collective memory.” See *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 95.

stories are what psychologists call “flashbulb memories.”⁵⁶ The men interviewed for this study happily recall their contributions to the atmosphere of spontaneity during the final match on July 11. Nicola Sparano kicked his living room chair and broke his toe when midfielder Antonio Cabrini missed a first-half penalty shot. The move would have been embarrassing and not worth retelling had Italy lost, but in victory it showed a sense of duty, sacrifice, and solidarity with the team.⁵⁷ Bruno Bertolin stood on his cottage roof holding the TV antenna so those inside could watch. When Italy scored he dropped the metal rod and jumped in the lake. After the game, he and his family drove back into the city to join the parade.⁵⁸ At the centre of the action on St. Clair Avenue West, near the intersection with Caledonia Road, Marco Antonelli decided to close the family store to savor the moment. “I was 22 years old in 1982. I was thinking about partying, not work!”⁵⁹ Photographer Vince Pietropaolo also saw an opportunity to contribute to the cause in a uniquely personal way. “During the game the city was quiet. I went out on the street (St. Clair Ave. West) because I knew something important was happening.” When the final whistle blew and crowds spilled onto the street, Pietropaolo had already identified the best vantage points on rooftops, trucks, a rail bridge, and the street from where he later captured the event on film.⁶⁰ Taken together, these accounts form a patchwork of responses to the all-important question, “Where were you when Italy won the World Cup in 1982?” One was hopping around with a broken toe; one leapt off the cottage roof and drove

⁵⁶ For a debate on flashbulb memory literature, see Helen Williams, Martin Conway, and Gillian Cohen, “Autobiographical memory,” in *Memory in the Real World*, 3rd edition, eds. Gillian Cohen and Martin A. Conway, (New York: Psychology Press, 2008), 63-70.

⁵⁷ Rocco Lofranco, interviewed by author.

⁵⁸ Bruno Bertolin, interviewed by author.

⁵⁹ Marco Antonelli, interviewed by author.

⁶⁰ Vincenzo Pietropaolo, interviewed by author.

back to Toronto with wet hair; another closed shop and partied like never before; and the last found the ideal vantage point to record a crucial moment in Italian Canadian history.



Figure 12. The 1982 World Cup Celebration provided individuals with opportunities to insert themselves into a critical moment in the history of Italian Toronto, strengthening their own ethnic identity as part of the community and the collective narrative it shares.
Source: Vincenzo Pietropaolo

Alongside *spontaneous*, the word “improvisation” aptly describes how ordinary Italians in small-scale commerce contributed to the community cause in 1982. This was the first televised World Cup in Toronto: there was no structure to follow, and not enough time for big commercial interests to exploit the situation or immigrant community leaders to fit the event into their long-term plans for Italian Toronto.⁶¹ Local entrepreneurs contributed to the atmosphere of ethnic pride with whatever skills, creativity, and contacts they could muster in

⁶¹ There is extensive literature about the role of ethnic leaders trying to speak on behalf of their communities by organizing events and articulating group values and symbols. Most studies emphasize class struggle, in which the leaders try to mold ethnic leisure activities, language use, and understanding of the past to fit certain bourgeois ideals. An excellent recent study is Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity*.

short course. “There wasn’t [even] a bandstand. It wasn’t organized as such,” marvels Angelo Delfino.⁶² Another recalls that “there weren’t t-shirts around either, so people made their own.”⁶³ Nuccio Cece, who watched the game from the basement of San Nicola Parish before rushing into the street, describes the scene vividly:

Suddenly there were people selling ice cream, chestnuts, balloons. There used to be a gas station in front of San Nicola church. A DJ set up on top of the roof with loudspeakers playing Italian music. Back in Italy they have feasts of saints and they sell ice cream and chestnuts. They were doing the same thing here in ’82. It was like a feast back in Italy. Now feasts are more business. They clearly get ready with hot dogs before the game. Back in ’82, it happened. No one was doing anything.⁶⁴

Chestnuts, ice cream, balloons and upstart disc jockeys—as far as anybody could tell, the only production and consumption on display was local and Italian.

Retailers reacted quickly to meet the sudden demand for patriotic merchandise. The efforts of Dominic Stalteri, who lived above the family’s textile store on St. Clair West, highlight the personal risk, labour, and networking behind the tricolour banners that dominate photos of the 1982 street party. After Italy’s second round win over Brazil, Stalteri was suddenly inundated with requests for Italian flags:

Back then there wasn’t all this stuff made in China. There weren’t many flags around to buy...I went house to house to find seamstresses. I found about twenty-five, each making a hundred flags a day. One lady stayed up all night to make five hundred. I ran out of red and green fabric. I called my competitors all over the city and bought their red and green fabric—anything, even satin, to make Italian flags. One guy named Jack on Queen Street—I bought him out of red and green. Then the guy started jacking up the price on me. And then my distributor in Montreal ran out. It was a gamble for me. If they lost, maybe people would have celebrated the same. But they wouldn’t have bought the flags.⁶⁵

⁶² Angelo Delfino, interviewed by author.

⁶³ Dominic Stalteri, interviewed by author.

⁶⁴ Nuccio Cece, interviewed by author, December 9, 2011, Toronto, ON.

⁶⁵ Dominic Stalteri, interviewed by author.

Stalteri and his suppliers were not alone in this venture. Down the street, Pino Coniglio and Nino Cioppa of Tuxedo Fashion Rentals and Sales stopped selling and tailoring tuxedos to capitalize on the booming flag industry. With the help of small-time contractors in the city, they tried to produce twenty thousand units before the final match. Mimi Jeans was doing well vending three dollar pendants and home-pressed Italy t-shirts, while other impromptu merchants operated on foot, ordering and stitching merchandise and walking down St. Clair West in search of new customers.⁶⁶

The local production of patriotic merchandise by improvising individuals, and its subsequent valorization in collective memory, fit the longstanding self-perception among Toronto Italians that they were an enterprising people with an uncanny ability to “make do,” a view confirmed by recent history.⁶⁷ In a short period of time and with great sacrifices, postwar Italian immigrants purchased and renovated their homes and climbed the socio-economic ladder on the shoulders of success in the construction and food service industries.⁶⁸ The central narrative of 1982 fits the actions of World Cup merchandise providers into this migration and settlement story, connecting the St. Clair entrepreneurs to those before them who had the entrepreneurial spirit and business acumen to read a market, work hard with limited resources, and succeed. Local merchants, like the Azzurri players, rose to meet the demands of the moment and in popular memory came to symbolize what made the Italian immigrant in Toronto victorious.

⁶⁶ *Toronto Star*, “World Cup: Hot blood, cool pride”; and *Ibid.*, “Little Italy promises a giant party on Sunday,” July 9, 1982, p. 1.

⁶⁷ For a volume of essays about Italian Canadians “making do,” see Roberto Perin and Franc Sturino, eds., *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigrant Experience in Canada* (Montreal: Guernica, 1992).

⁶⁸ On Italian upward mobility, as illustrated through real estate purchases, read chapter two of Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian*.

At the same time, the phenomenon of retailer spontaneity draws our attention to an interesting tension in the collective memory. Participants in this study articulated a certain relationship between production and consumption that distinguished between the local and international, the hand-made and the mass-produced. Those who saw the spectacle unfold tacitly concluded that it operated outside the norms of late-capitalism. Italian Toronto's outpouring of ethnic pride, they implied, was not the result of corporate planning or global trade networks. Production and consumption originated within the community itself. Small-scale vendors and "mom and pop" shops dominated, while big businesses, event promoters, and foreign-made souvenirs were noticeably absent. The suddenness of the event prevented the maturation of such channels. Few corporate players recognized the Canadian market for World Cup soccer fandom, and by the time Team Italy's fortunes had changed and local Italians took to the streets, fewer still were in a position to exploit the sudden demand for soccer paraphernalia and food services. Time—or better, the lack thereof—thus rescued the World Cup celebration from the carnivalesque atmosphere and shallow commercialization of holiday marketing campaigns and pre-planned civic events.⁶⁹ On St. Clair West, everything on display could be traced to the person responsible for its creation. In this circular arrangement, patriotic merchandise was consumed communally and produced primarily by individuals from the immigrant community. In other respects it was still classic capitalism. Suppliers were "jacking" up the prices for red and green fabric and the seamstresses were presumably overworked. But

⁶⁹ Craig J. Thompson, "A Carnavalesque Approach to the Politics of Consumption (or) Grotesque Realism and the Analytics of the Excretory Economy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 611, no. 1 (May 2007): 116.

the products on display were rooted in Toronto Italia, and for that reason the street celebration seemed to come out of nowhere.

Memory, we might recall, tends to identify certain moments as dramatic and transformative. Participants' description of a localized fan economy in 1982 can be understood as an effort to distinguish this moment from those that followed. After 1982, soccer paraphernalia and flags could be purchased throughout the city and Italian Toronto was now integrated into the "grooved channels" of an international event.⁷⁰ No eleventh hour enterprise was required to supply future symbols of expressive ethnicity during international soccer tournaments. After 1982, vendors ordered merchandise well in advance of the tournaments. In comparison to the 1982 experience of Dominic Stalteri, who sewed flags at a feverish pace, these products—hats, key chains, t-shirts, posters and flags—came from someplace else and were made by someone else. Beer companies placed soccer-themed ads in the newspapers and footwear companies purchased billboard space. Much as they did in 1982, local patrons were consuming an international spectacle, but their purchases were less tied to "mom and pop" offerings than the larger networks of late capitalism. As it is turned out, Italian soccer fans would devour "Made in China" jerseys, pendants, and flags in the same way that they purchased local products. But they could point with satisfaction to an earlier "simpler" time when the channels of production and consumption were visibly Italian and local. And they could still recall and lay claim to the qualities of hard work and ingenuity demonstrated that week as representative of the Italian Canadian immigrant himself.

⁷⁰ A term first used by Clifford Geertz, "The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant Marketing," *The American Economic Review* 62, no. 2 (May 1978): 30. See also chapter two of Theodore C. Bestor, *Tsukiji: The Market at the Center of the World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

The story nevertheless conceals the unacknowledged relationship that existed between local Italian and larger market forces that was already developed and instrumental during the 1982 World Cup. For all its local, community, and petty capitalist tone, the first party on St. Clair West would not have taken place without the involvement of large corporations. First and foremost, they were partying in response to arguably the most commercialized sporting event on the planet. In the Canadian context, the telecast itself was made possible by corporate competition. Italian Canadians had never seen World Cup soccer on television because none of the major networks were willing to pay for the broadcast rights. This all changed in 1982 thanks to the intervention of Labatt Breweries. Labatt's decision to purchase the rights to air the tournament was not about soccer *per se*. Company president John Hudson had no special connection with Toronto's soccer-mad minorities, nor a special love for the game; rather, he saw a market. Canada's three major brewing companies (Carling O'Keefe, Molson, and Labatt) were in the middle of a bidding war to advertise during televised sporting events. According to industry insiders, Canadian government regulations to control the sale, advertising, and standardization of beer—which included the now iconic “stubby” bottle—meant large savings for large breweries, and they redirected this money into advertising campaigns.⁷¹ Beginning in the late seventies, the big three started buying the television rights to sporting events outright, rather than purchase individual commercial slots from CBC or CTV. Doing so assured them of an advertising monopoly for the duration of an event. Molson held a dominant position in the National Hockey League; Carling O'Keefe controlled five Canadian Football franchises; and Labatt had recently purchased a 45 percent stake in the new Toronto Blue Jays baseball team.

⁷¹ *The Globe and Mail*, “Great Canadian Beer War Aims at Sports,” by Paul Palango, February 2, 1983, S1.

Having already claimed the major professional leagues, the three competitors reached out to the fan bases of emerging sports. Molson made a large commitment to kickboxing and Labatt purchased the signal to the World Cup via the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for 1.5 million dollars, along with guaranteed advertising rights through 1990.⁷² It proved to be a successful venture. Almost six million Canadians tuned in to the tournament, more than the Super Bowl or World Series of baseball.⁷³ The central memory script of 1982 omits the fact that this epic moment of ethnic pride through soccer fandom was made possible by a powerful corporate partner with a strictly business approach to the game. Italians remember the event insofar as it tells a story about themselves, and Labatt does not feature in that account.

The situation in 1982 was different than what the memory suggests. Local Italian newspapers gushed in appreciation to Labatt, an indication that the memory of the event only later included capitalism without corporations or global commerce. Sports writer Nicola Sparano proclaimed, "It is because of this company, this most popular beer that carries the colour and name 'Blue/Azzurro,' that allowed to live the extraordinary Spanish adventure from the living rooms of our own homes...This explains our thankfulness to Labatt."⁷⁴ Sparano encouraged readers to buy Labatt beer in recognition of their partnership in Italian Toronto's big street party. Additionally, mainstream print media worked hard during the tournament to generate advertiser and reader interest. The *Toronto Star* featured a fantasy pool allowing fans to predict the winner. The two grand prize holders received trips to Hawai'i compliments of

⁷² Ibid; Robert Sparks, "Delivering the Male: Sports, Canadian Television, and the Making of TSN," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 17, no. 3 (1992) [n.p.], Accessed 6 May 2017, <http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/viewArticle/678/584>.

⁷³ That is, 5,909,000 (1982 World Cup), 4,532,000 (1982 Super Bowl), and 4,222,000 (1981 World Series). *Toronto Star*, "Growth boom blows through Ontario soccer," by Garth Woolsey, May 15, 1983, E7.

⁷⁴ *Il Corriere Canadese*, "Thanks Labatt, our victory is also yours," by Nicola Sparano, 13-14 luglio, 1982, p. 7. Translated by author.

Sunquest Vacations; the next five runners-up won Panasonic televisions; and one hundred people took home a commemorative World Cup program. Labatt also took out full-page advertisements, notifying readers of upcoming televised games.⁷⁵ Paradoxically, mainstream media and big business took the lead in promoting Toronto's "ethnic obsession." The entanglement of the corporate world with street-level commerce on St. Clair West illustrates the extent to which the newfound sense of a national community was inseparable from the larger market forces that provided the connection to international soccer. It also shows that the popular narrative of 1982, set in motion by the Italian ethnic press, changed over time and placed greater significance on the theme of petty capitalism.

Labatt's sponsorship of the 1982 World Cup telecast on the CBC also turns our attention to the role of technology in the making of ethnicity. Participants in this study made no mention of these topics during the interview process, which is a significant omission because the struggle to access up-to-date technology took place inside the Italian community itself. Sixteenth-century philosopher Francis Bacon famously stated that knowledge is power. In modern times, the power of knowledge is heavily contingent upon one's control of or access to media technology. Gerald Friesen, in his reconnaissance of Canadian history, argues that acts of communication—namely, voice, writing, print, and modern electric forms—are the primary social contexts for citizenship and nationality. A similar case might be made for the making of ethnic groups. In Friesen's useful framework, the "dominant communication system" of an age is the meta-language through which people, both producers and consumers (if such a

⁷⁵ *Toronto Star*, June 28, 1982, F5; and *Ibid.*, June 11, 1982, B4.

distinction can be made), articulate the questions and opinions of their time.⁷⁶ The 1982 World Cup was the first international tournament shown on North American television. It was thus the first opportunity for most Toronto soccer fans to see the games in real time, and if their teams succeeded, to celebrate on a grand scale. The same Italian-language newspaper quoted earlier acknowledged this after Italy's championship victory: "Without the games on TV, the enthusiasm that shook Toronto's traditional numbness, wouldn't have reached such overwhelming heights."⁷⁷ Indeed, soccer fans no longer had to gather around a sputtering short-wave radio because televised matches were opening up new spaces for sport fandom. We know that second generation Italian Canadians were more likely to watch *Hockey Night in Canada* than listen to soccer games over a shortwave radio in the language of their parents. Weekend Serie A matches from Italy on Multilingual Television had just been introduced. For the Canadian born, soccer's limitation to radio and print media during the age of "screen capitalism,"⁷⁸ to borrow Friesen's term, made the game and its association with Italian identity seem outmoded—a vestige of an earlier age.

The televised showing of the *Azzurri* winning the World Cup captured the imagination of Italian Toronto and overcame the ocean between them and Europe in new ways. Communications theorist Marshall McLuhan might say that televised soccer invoked the senses in hitherto unknown ways, creating a more highly-charged atmosphere and a broader audience for its reception.⁷⁹ For those who had grown up with television—and 95 percent of Canadian

⁷⁶ Gerald Friesen, *Citizen and Nation: An Essay on History, Communication, and Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 3 and 5.

⁷⁷ *Il Corriere Canadese*, "Thanks Labatt, our victory is also yours."

⁷⁸ Friesen, *Citizen and Nation*, 168.

⁷⁹ Marshall McLuhan, *Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 41.

households owned one by 1967⁸⁰—the broadcasts enabled them to consume the game in the preferred and most *sensational* format. More than radio, television facilitated a “common feeling,” whereby Italian viewers could participate visually and in real time with something greater than themselves, and share a collective experience into which they could insert themselves as individual contributors. Television allowed Italian viewers to react in tandem to the development and execution of critical plays and final whistles signalling their team’s victory. International soccer fandom was now a widely shared experience in Italian Toronto. And as Richard Lo Monaco perceptively points out, the public broadcast “also brought the Italian patriarchal world of social recreation into the household,” turning soccer fandom into a family event.⁸¹

Waiting for the Signal: Identity, Technology and Muted Moments

The 1982 World Cup television broadcasts brought Italy a lot closer to Toronto in the face of opposition from certain Italian individuals. In her book, *The Sounds of Ethnicity*, historian Barbara Lorenzkowski argues that ethnicity is practiced through aural and written channels of communication. She explores how the conduits of German ethnicity in nineteenth-century Ontario and New York were commandeered by influential German “ethnic gatekeepers” who selected German symbols, values, and memories and the dialect in which they were spoken.⁸² In Toronto and for a time, certain Italian gatekeepers were obstacles to making ethnicity

⁸⁰ Paul Rutherford, *When Television was Young: Primetime Canada, 1952-1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 137.

⁸¹ Richard Lo Monaco, “‘Siamo Number One’: Toronto Italians, Soccer, and Identity, 1982,” Unpublished Master’s Thesis, McMaster University, 2011, p. 35-6.

⁸² Barbara Lorenzkowski, *The Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 7-10.

through sport fandom. As explained earlier, the paucity of international soccer on television made it difficult for the Canadian born Italian to observe or get excited about the game. One explanation was that mainstream networks were reluctant to invest the money required to purchase the rights. But another reason was that Toronto's visual link to the World Cup and Team Italy was controlled by private interests. The first closed-circuit soccer telecasts in Toronto followed the Italian team's run to the Cup final in 1970 and were held in the expansive Maple Leaf Gardens hockey arena. Admission was costly and tickets were difficult to find. The broadcasts were coordinated at the last minute, but they must have been successful ventures because four years later the rights to the live feed were purchased well in advance.⁸³ Local businessman Irv Ungelman and his company, All Canada Sports specialized in purchasing closed-circuit satellite signals for big sporting events. Ungelman had recently profited from a feed to the George Foreman-Ken Norton boxing match at the Gardens. In 1974, he partnered with the Italian Mascia brothers consortium of Hamilton and bought the signal from the Spanish International Network of New York for \$500,000 and aired eighteen matches, splitting them between the Gardens and the Canadian National Exhibition Coliseum.

While closed-circuit television prevented most Italian soccer fans from participating in screen capitalism, the strongest protests to the arrangement initially came from mainstream soccer organizations. The Canadian Soccer Association, for example, blamed FIFA for not ensuring that Canadians could follow the matches "at a reasonable price." Soccer fans in Canada were described as the victims of collusion between FIFA and closed circuit providers. To illustrate their point, the CSA argued that Colombia, a country with about the same population

⁸³ *Il Corriere Canadese*, "l'Italia in TV al Gardens," 13 giugno 1970, p. 9.

as Canada, received their signal for ten times less the price than that offered to the CBC.⁸⁴ Cognizant of the local ethnic passion for soccer, Ungelman promised that “soccer fanatics from Toronto’s Italian, Scottish, and Yugoslavian communities will be served first.” He committed to a minimum of three games involving each of Italy, Scotland and Yugoslavia, and installed a larger four-sided screen for the “bigger attractions” involving Italy and Scotland. Fans paid ten dollars at the gate, a large amount of money in 1974. Given the limited seating at the venues and high entrance fees needed to recover Ungelman’s costs, only a fortunate few from his three target groups watched the telecasts. The games could not be seen in any of the city’s homes, bars, or restaurants, thereby divorcing the spectacle from the city’s immigrant quarters. Viewership was restricted and limited to two locations—one downtown and the other along the waterfront.⁸⁵

A similar situation took place during the next World Cup tournament in 1978, this time pitting closed-circuit and public providers against one another and Toronto soccer fans against both parties. The rights to the direct feed from Argentina that year were again purchased by the Mascia consortium, a group led by Italian Canadian businessmen. It is not clear what role, if any, Irv Ungelman played this time. The first fifteen telecasts were shown at the CNE Coliseum, the last four at Maple Leaf Gardens. Patrons now paid between \$12.50 and \$20.00 for a seat.⁸⁶ In an interview with the *Toronto Star* before the first kick-off, Emilio Mascia, president of the group, waxed entrepreneurial about the prospect of a final between Italy and Scotland.

⁸⁴ The American provider opportunistically demanded the much higher sum of 1.2 million dollars from the publicly-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), which angrily withdrew its application. *Toronto Star*, “Key soccer matches will be shown on Toronto screens via satellite,” June 8, 1974, D1.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1974, C4, “Busy time for soccer fans,” by Jim Kernaghan, and *Ibid.*, “Sponsors are scaring away soccer fans, reader writes,” Letter to editor from J. McCurley, June 27, 1974, B5.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, “You’ll pay to watch television,” May 28, 1978, C2.

“Everybody knows how many Italians there are in Toronto,” he pointed out. “The Scots? What soccer fans!” To promote his enterprise, Mascia brought soccer legend Pele to Toronto for some high profile photo-ops. But the endorsement and exclusive nature of the programming did not sit well with some influential sport enthusiasts. *Star* sports columnist Milt Dunnell, for example, called Pele a “huckster,” noting sarcastically that “he didn’t come to see the [new] CN Tower.”⁸⁷

The monopoly of closed-circuit coverage also provoked angry accusations in the English-language papers. The *Star* editorials section printed a letter from a J. McCurley, who wondered why the largest television event in world was inaccessible to most Canadians and Americans. He concluded that promoters were “harming interest in the game and putting it out of reach of most.”⁸⁸ Others directed their anger at the CBC. The attack must have touched a nerve at the station because John Hudson, head of television sports, wrote a personal letter in the paper defending the corporation’s actions. He noted that the CBC was again outbid by the Mascia group, but this time tried to purchase games from them so that a general audience could tune in.⁸⁹ The Mascia group counter-offered, but their proposed package lacked the semi-final and final matches, so the CBC declined. In Hudson’s words, it would be “unfair...to not provide coverage of the most important games” and thus “subsidize a competitor and encourage the continuation of closed-circuit distribution of this event, which we oppose, and which is contrary to normal business practices.”⁹⁰ Thus, even if Italy had won the championship during the

⁸⁷ Ibid., “Scotland vs. Italy a soccer bonanza,” by Milt Dunnell, May 11, 1978, B1,

⁸⁸ Ibid., “Sponsors are scaring away soccer fans, reader writers,” Letter to editor from J. McCurley, June 27, 1974, B5.

⁸⁹ The rights to the western hemisphere were owned by Organizacion de la Television Ibero Americana, who then sold its signal to the highest bidder from each nation. Ibid., Letter to editor from John Hudson, July 27, 1978, A9.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

previous decade, Italian Toronto would not have seen it in real time. A limited number of paying customers captured the games, but sudden, large expressions of ethnic pride were out of the question. The moment could not be shared. Private profiteering and the CBC's reluctance to invest in an international sporting event that appealed primarily to immigrant men relegated World Cup soccer to the margins of Canadian culture.

Dissatisfied Italian fans coordinated a stronger lobby in advance of the 1982 tournament. *Il Corriere Canadese* quarterbacked a campaign to pressure the CBC to buy the broadcasting rights. An undisclosed number of readers sent letters to the corporation and influential Italian individuals carried the issue into the political realm. Senator Peter Bosa, for one, presented their case in the Senate Chamber.⁹¹ With the large groundswell and a high-profile endorsement, Italian Toronto was now sufficiently large and established to mount significant pressure on the Crown corporation. The timing of their mobilization was serendipitous because the closed-circuit soccer barons were losing their corner on the international soccer market. World Cup soccer was already their last bastion. Overseas league matches were creeping into regular television programming. For example, Panorama, a private station from Hamilton, showed Serie A highlights once a week after the mid-1970s.⁹² And as mentioned before, live European league games first appeared on Dan Ianuzzi's Multilingual Television after 1979. In the 1980-1 schedule, there was a live Italian Serie A match on "MTV" every Saturday afternoon.⁹³ The field got more crowded in 1984 with the arrival of the Mascia's Hamilton-based Teletatino Network and the gradual infiltration of home satellite packages

⁹¹ *Il Corriere Canadese*, "Thanks Labatt, our victory is also yours."

⁹² Nicola Sparano, interviewed by author.

⁹³ MTV Channel 47 Season Schedule 1980-1, Fonds F-1204-8-2-154, File 4, *Archives of Ontario*.

offering European channels. Televised soccer was increasingly available in Toronto homes in the early 1980s; closed-circuit coverage of international soccer was in rapid decline, and the World Cup was its last beachhead.

Toronto Italians regularly paid top dollar to sit in movie theatres and hockey arenas and watch closed circuit viewing of the top Italian pugilists and soccer clubs. Why then did some react so strongly to the privatization of local World Cup telecasts? One could argue that All Canada Sports and the Mascia group were capitalizing on a common practice in the city. But the key difference was that Torontonians of different backgrounds considered the World Cup to be a matter of *ethnic* importance and therefore something that should be accessible to the social domain. Perhaps presciently, the protestors understood the World Cup soccer fandom had broader national implications. The Mascia group had the financial wherewithal to purchase the rights to the most important soccer event in the world and put it beyond the reach of most fans. Followers of the World Cup cheered not for cities or teams abroad, but for players representing their country of origin. In the ethos of Canadian multiculturalism, which called for cultural minorities to experience greater participation in society, the actions of the closed-circuit barons were conspicuously “un-Canadian.” The profiteering of a few prevented the participation of many in a world event with implications for local immigrant communities. In the forum of technology and sport fandom, Italian Toronto’s struggle was paradoxically to convince the CBC to provide them with a service long denied by members of their own community. The writing was on the wall for the closed-circuit barons, but it took Labatt Breweries, a symbol of the Anglo establishment, to wrest control of World Cup programming.

Labatt Breweries supplied the signal for the celebration of Italian pride, which local Italians then rebroadcasted on Toronto's streets in their own *spontaneous* ways.

“A Lesson in Nobility and Civility”: Italian Toronto Confronts the Anglo Establishment

Amadeo Corridore's first impressions of Toronto are a fitting introduction to the cultural distance and tensions between the Italian population and the city's Anglo establishment. He came to Canada by steamship in 1966, docked and was processed at Halifax's Pier 21, and then boarded a train for the two-day ride to Toronto's Union Station. Upon arrival, he noticed something that is still etched in his mind today: “I went downtown Toronto and couldn't believe it. Nothing was happening. There were no people outside. I thought, ‘This is a city of 2 million? There are 8,000 or 9,000 people in my home town [in Sicily] and they have more fun.’”⁹⁴ The 1982 World Cup Street party was more than a window and force in the collective memory of how Italians in Toronto came to understand themselves as an immigrant community. The second feature of this emerging narrative was their uneasy relationship with Anglo authority and cultural influence. Like the chronicle of “spontaneity” and community self-discovery, this journey climaxed with an awakening in July 1982—the moment they believed they proved to antagonistic institutions and the general public that Italians were civil, even model, Canadians.

Corridore's first encounter with Toronto's demure social landscape parallels those of other participants in this study. As a group, they link their own acceptance and upward mobility as Italian immigrants with their access to urban space. The city's gradual embrace of its Italian population, in other words, was written in the social lives of its streets. Boulevard doldrums

⁹⁴ Amadeo Corridore, interviewed by author.

characterized a different place and period when prevailing Anglo mores and power configurations relegated Italian immigrants off the sidewalk and to the sidelines of civic participation. Iwona Irwin-Zarecka argues that pure success stories are not as compelling as “mixed narratives” that combine a shared memory of oppression with victory.⁹⁵ Toronto Italians closed the chapter of beat cops keeping them indoors or outside in small groups and claimed victory in a longstanding debate over their character. “Old Toronto” was the historical yardstick from which to contrast the fan and flag-choked streets of 1982 and period of street fandom and cultural openness that followed. News media and politicians after this point affirmed the contributions of Italians to the city’s social fabric and the community declared its preeminent role in the advancement of popular multiculturalism. They claimed to have accomplished this feat by, paradoxically, conforming to the dominant culture and claiming it on their own terms. As they sought to be recognized as Canadians, they also charted new ways to be a Canadian.

Toronto was a culturally diverse place by the time Corridore arrived, but the old power structure and its domination of cultural mores remained in place. According to Robert F. Harney, the city had a “cosmopolitan” outlook by the Second World War. It was not overtly hostile to non-Anglo-Celtics, but, as noted earlier, had “little tolerance for group difference and complete confidence in the superiority of British ways.”⁹⁶ Most officials and residents understood that labourers from abroad, such as Italians, were needed to sustain the city’s

⁹⁵ Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Reference: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1994), 58.

⁹⁶ Robert F. Harney, “If One Were to Write a History of Toronto Italia,” 3.

growing economy, but the new arrivals were expected to assimilate.⁹⁷ When assimilation did not proceed as hoped, officials turned to alternative measures. At the zenith of Italian immigration in 1964, Ontario's Deputy Director of Immigration toured Northern Europe in an effort to lure other groups to "counterbalance" the Italian influx.⁹⁸ The mission was unsuccessful because the high Italian numbers continued to outpace all other continental Europeans until the end of the Salazar regime opened up Portuguese immigration in the early seventies. By this time, officials had accepted the Italian immigrant reality and decided instead to downplay its social impact. In 1972, Ontario Premier William Davis addressed a one thousand-member delegation of cultural representatives, the largest contingent from the Italian population. Davis admitted his discomfort with open discussions about ethnicity; he recommended that an immigrant be identified "by name alone as a resident of this province and country, with his background, cultural heritage and his hopes and fears revealed through natural conversation rather than asking [him] where he came from." Doing so, he conceded, would enable Ontario to remain "a model of people living together in relative harmony," rather than a stage for groups to mobilized and "spend all their time airing and exchanging grievances."⁹⁹ The premier viewed social harmony as a status quo in which so-called British ways dominated and expressions of identities or grievances should be anecdotal and of a private nature.

But open discussions about cultural differences in Toronto did not fade into the background, and the failure or refusal of Italians, notably, to embrace British ways exposed

⁹⁷ Franc Sturino, "Contours of Postwar Italian Immigration to Toronto," *Polyphony* 6, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1984): 128.

⁹⁸ Robert F. Harney, "'So Great a Heritage as Ours': Immigrations and the Survival of the Canadian Polity," *Daedalus* 117, no. 4 (1988): 60.

⁹⁹ *Toronto Star*, "Germans, Italians, Indians, French protest 'images,'" June 3, 1972, A4.

them to criticisms about their national loyalties and respectability as new Canadians. This tension impacted Italians long into the postwar period, and their conduct in 1982 served as a symbol and commentary of their desire to resolve the matter. Almost every participant in this study claimed that the street party was a watershed moment in their relationship with the Anglo establishment—a peaceful event that showed the rest of Toronto that Italians were model, patriotic citizens. In one sense, the narrative is highly reflexive because Italians are speaking on behalf of *non*-Italians who, it is presumed, observed their conduct and retracted their negative opinions. This assumption is surprising because the Italians of 1982, while eager to show themselves respectable and patriotic, did not adhere to the script of Anglo conformity. They pushed the Anglo establishment to not only think differently about them, but re-evaluate and reconsider their longstanding assumptions about what constituted Canadian citizenship and respectability. Italians forced popular multiculturalism. “1982 was special,” Amadeo Corridore explains, “because we were finally being ourselves. We had a good time and were proud of our background.”¹⁰⁰ For Italians, “being ourselves” meant addressing three longstanding tensions—namely, the respectable use of public space; the place of minority culture identities in English Canadian discourse; and the inclusion of soccer coverage—the ethnic obsession—in the mainstream media. These components merged in the new popular multiculturalism when the expressivity of “warm” Italians melted cold Canadian attitudes. A deeper investigation, however, reveals that the Anglo establishment’s heart-melt, however remarkable, was more piecemeal than remembered.

¹⁰⁰ Amadeo Corridore, interviewed by author.

Amadeo Corridore' initial experience with Toronto street life led him to believe that the city was a cultural backwater. In reality, street life was not missing but carefully contained. "Proper channels" were a problem for Italians, who mingled as groups and moved seamlessly between indoor and outdoor settings as they did back in Italy. City officials and law enforcement officers remained steeped in certain Victorian notions of respectability, which considered outdoor assembly without prior approval as suspicious behaviour and evidence of poor assimilation. Fun operated inside strict parameters. The first licensed outdoor patio in the city, Café Diplomatico on College Street, was Italian owned and its owners, the Mastrangelo family, won their operating permit in the late sixties, and only after a hard-fought struggle with city officials.¹⁰¹ Street manifestations such as parades and protests also required prior planning and consent. There were occasional challenges to the rule, such as the impromptu "roiling dance hall" of some 2,000 counter-culture young people in the hip Yorkville district in the spring of 1965, which was broken up by police.¹⁰² In the arena of sport, rowdy outdoor crowds celebrated Toronto Maple Leafs hockey or Argonauts football championships, but these were mainstream sports franchises and so the fan reactions, though frowned upon by most, were never framed as a matter of immigrant integration or a question on the limits of Canadian pluralism.

Oral testimonies identify two unplanned Italian fan demonstrations before 1982, and both of them took place during the 1970 World Cup. In the first case, a small contingent walked out of bars onto College Street—the initial postwar hub of Italian immigrant commerce and

¹⁰¹ *Toronto Star*, "College St. a stage for 'walking theatre,'" by Phinjo Gombu, December 15, 1997, B3.

¹⁰² Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 81.

social activity—after listening to Italy’s semi-final win over a shortwave radio. Photographer Vincenzo Pietropaolo recalls a subdued scene: “Some drove down the road, honking their horns, [but] most of the guys were wearing ties because it was a Sunday afternoon and they’d just been to church.”¹⁰³ Most of the celebrants followed protocol and stayed indoors, keeping their jubilation a private matter. *Il Gatto Nero Café* co-owner Carmine Raviele made a good business that day. His patrons consumed all the food and drink on the premises, forcing him close early.¹⁰⁴ A few days later, Brazil defeated Italy in the championship match. The *Toronto Star* described “a thousand disappointed Italian fans marching through the city’s street, breaking a streetcar window and injuring a passenger, beating up fans of Brazil, and throwing eggs at police.”¹⁰⁵ The “fans of Brazil” were most likely Portuguese residents because Toronto’s Brazilian population at the time was miniscule. This vague and one-sided report of vandalism and spillover violence in the English-language press suggests that the city’s Anglo Canadian media establishment viewed Italians’ interest in soccer fandom as proof of an enduring attachment to a foreign country and a sign of failed assimilation to Canadian ways.

In their leisure lives, Italian men confronted Anglo respectability in the form of the beat officer. The constabulary regularly broke up groups who tried to assemble outside cafes, restaurants, barbershops or markets to debate the latest sports news or listen to shortwave broadcasts of soccer games back in Italy. Constables were prepared to prosecute informal outdoor gatherings as a form of loitering. Even though the force does not keep historical records of loitering misdemeanors, these confrontations are etched in the memories of

¹⁰³ Vincenzo Pietropaolo, interviewed by author.

¹⁰⁴ Carmine Raviele, interviewed by author.

¹⁰⁵ One can wonder how the paper knew it was only despondent Italians and not also jubilant Portuguese or Brazilians committing the acts, however deleterious they might have been. *Toronto Star*, “Brazil fans cheer soccer victory,” June 22, 1970, A1.

affected individuals.¹⁰⁶ Gordon D’Aloisio describes his childhood in the 1950s as a period of regular harassment by authorities:

It was pretty rough. On a Sunday there’d be four or five of us friends walking along St. Clair going for an ice cream. We were always met by police. They were totally racist against us. They’d tell us “keep moving.” They’d ask us questions if we stopped.¹⁰⁷

Italian men who refused to “keep moving” were incarcerated for their obstinacy. Armand Scaini remembers the night his friend slept in a jail cell jail for defying police instructions and remaining stationary on St. Clair Avenue.¹⁰⁸ Poet Gianna Patriarca, an Italian immigrant, describes the street surveillance and herding of Italians into indoor quarters in these words:

*there was a time
the men could not linger
had to keep moving
footsteps looking for doorways
in search of destinations
where the welcome was not suspect
the laughter not misunderstood
where the undecipherable tongue
became song and conversation
making tolerable
the exile.*¹⁰⁹

Italians working for the police force were also expected to safeguard the status quo. Julian Fantino, who later became the chief of police, remembers being asked to impose Anglo-Canadian notions of proper assembly on his co-ethnics—something he was unwilling to do.

I was in uniform on a Sunday morning [in the early 1970s]. The patrol sergeant told me to patrol an area that comprised a lot of immigrants and I’ll never forget what he said: ‘Get those WOPS off the sidewalk.’ I found that very hurtful. Here the local Italians would meet their friends after church. They’d have their espresso, Italian newspapers

¹⁰⁶ For written accounts of police harassment, see Joe Fiorito, *Union Station: Love, Madness, Sex and Survival on the Streets of the New Toronto* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2006), 102; and *Toronto Star*, “College St. a stage for ‘walking theatre,’” B3.

¹⁰⁷ Gordon D’Aloisio, interviewed by author.

¹⁰⁸ Armand Scaini, interviewed by author.

¹⁰⁹ Gianna Patriarca, “Johnny’s Street,” in *What My Arms can Carry* (Toronto: Guernica, 2005), 21-22.

and magazines, and some of them would have shortwave radios so they could listen to soccer games from back home in Italy. They would gather on the sidewalk and chat and were as harmless as can be. Obstructing nothing. Bothering no one. Just socializing. But some people complained and saw this as threatening in some way, so I bit my tongue and figured that was part of the apprenticeship, but I sure didn't throw anyone off the street. There was no need. I'd drop by and chat with them and I thought that was the greatest form of community policing you could do.¹¹⁰

Julian Fantino notwithstanding, the actions of beat officers helped unify Italians through shared experience of mistreatment and provided them with a yardstick against which they could evaluate their conduct in 1982 and claim social respectability.

Italians remember the World Cup celebration as the moment they proved they were respectable and reset relations with the police department. More accurately, the events of 1982 symbolized and capped a more gradual rapprochement between Italians and the police. The first initiative for change came from Joe Piccinnini in 1960. The son of an Italian immigrant and banana company owner, Piccinnini ran for the city council seat in Ward 5 on a platform calling for "ethnic" police officers. "A lot of trouble involving ethnic groups," he argued, is "caused through misunderstanding" that could be remedied by a more diverse force. He challenged the force to hire and post officers competent in the languages and cultures of wards with heavy immigrant populations.¹¹¹ Piccinnini won the council seat, but his mandate faced stiff resistance. Twelve years later in 1972, the newly formed Federation of Italo-Canadian Associations and Clubs of Metro (FICAC) held a meeting at a St. Clair Avenue West high school to complain that there were only forty-three Italians on the 4,000-strong Toronto Police Force.¹¹² Provincial Justice Secretary Allan Lawrence strengthen their cause a few days earlier

¹¹⁰ Fantino, *Duty*, 41-2.

¹¹¹ *Toronto Star*, "Seeks Council Seat on Ethnic Platform," July 8, 1960, p. 9.

¹¹² *Toronto Star*, "Metro Italians to fight 'relentless defamation,'" July 27, 1972, p.1 and p.4.

by admitting that there was “a serious communication gap between the Toronto Police and Italian-born residents of the city.”¹¹³ Ultimately, Italian leaders were disappointed with the meeting and media coverage that followed. C.O. Bick, chairman of the Metro Police Commission, disagreed with the Italians’ claim of poor relations between ethnic populations and the constabulary. To the FICAC, Bick’s denial was additional proof of the void between them. Hoping to break the impasse, aldermen Joe Piccinnini and Michael D’Arcy Goldrick brought the parties together at City Hall to discuss the need for community liaison officers to act as a buffer, familiarizing Italian neighbourhoods with Canadian laws while helping the force show greater cultural sensitivity to Italian residents.¹¹⁴ By 1982, the police had a twenty-member ethnic relations squad that spoke eighteen different languages, including Italian.¹¹⁵ It was a step in the right direction, but not yet a rapprochement.

Given the combination of scorned Italian soccer fans prepared to stand their ground and a police force with instructions to keep them moving, there was great potential for an ugly confrontation when Italian soccer fans took to the streets in 1982. The first Italian actions and police re-actions after Italy’s surprise quarter-final victory over Brazil set the tone between them for the next thirty years. Police moved in quickly when crowds on St. Clair West blocked streetcars and ground passenger traffic to a halt. The entire 13th Division and thirty reinforcements from the 11th and 15th Divisions descended on the scene, and many anticipated the worst. But the Italian revelers were shocked at what happened next: the police withdrew

¹¹³ *Toronto Star*, Editorials, “Media treatment of organized crime,” July 27, 1972, p.6.

¹¹⁴ *Toronto Star*, “Police, city Italians meet to seek rapport,” February 14, 1973, B5.

¹¹⁵ Report from Portuguese Community of Toronto: Needs and Services conference, held May 7-8, 1982, Portuguese Interagency Network, p. 42, Fonds 1135, Series 711, Subseries 16, File 1, CTA.

and let them have their day. *Il Corriere Canadese* seized the opportunity to frame the moment as the long-sought declaration from the police that Italians—and Italian men in particular—were not public charges but rather exemplary Canadians.

The police intervened [on St. Clair] in force, but in this instance the Italians demonstrated how to conduct themselves appropriately, without descending to the acts of hooliganism and incivility of a nation we know all too well.¹¹⁶

Il Corriere could have alternatively read the police inaction as a pragmatic response to a crowd of people too large for officers to control, but the paper chose to see it as evidence that local Italians could chaperone themselves. And it could not resist using the victor's podium to pontificate about national and ethnic differences, saying that even at their height of exhilaration, they behaved better than soccer fans in England. English hooliganism was well known by this time, but the comparison is atypical. It contrasted the conduct of Toronto Italian sport fans with those in England, rather than the Anglo Canadians who dominated the cultural, political, and economic life of the city and much of the country. The trans-Atlantic link between the two is implied, albeit indirectly. Only the United Kingdom sent more migrants to Canada after the Second World War than Italy, and until the late 1960s public officials and mainstream media were quite open about their preference for the former. *Il Corriere Canadese* was reminding its Italian-speaking readership that they were the second largest immigrant group in Toronto and exemplary Canadians without equal.

¹¹⁶ *Il Corriere Canadese*, "Circa 3,000 persone hanno sfogato la loro gioia con festosi caroselli," 7-8 luglio 1982, p.7.

Painting the Town Red, White, and Green: Taking to the Streets and Resetting the Terms for Inclusion

But there was also an implicit warning in the comparison. “In this instance” suggests that Italian soccer fan behaviour had not always been so civil. Spontaneity could be a curse as well as a blessing. The community would have to maintain its composure in the coming week of World Cup play. Some Italian community leaders shared this concern. Angelo Delfino, co-founder of the Columbus Centre and executive member of the National Congress of Italian Canadians, recalls:

When Italy started to win the big games...You could start seeing on St. Clair and College Streets after a game a motorcade with Italian flags and cars all over the city with an Italian flag flying. Excitement was building up. I asked the Congress to prepare the community for celebrations. There was also a sense of trepidation that with a crowd that size, something could spark some incidents.¹¹⁷

Recalling the theme of spontaneity, it was not a question of whether a massive outpouring of Italian pride after the championship game would take place if Italy won, but rather that so many people could conduct themselves in a *spontaneously civil* manner. A few publicized misdeeds in the Italian quarters could disqualify or at the very least call into question the notion of Italian respectability. A different police response or an outbreak of street violence would have dramatically changed the meaning and memory of an event so central to Italian Toronto’s saga of settlement and success. In the days leading up to the championship game, the Italian community and the police knew that something unprecedented might take place on Toronto’s streets if Italy won the World Cup. The fans on St. Clair had proven to themselves and the Anglo establishment that a massive and highly unscripted demonstration in public space was not a threat to security or the greater good. The matter of civility, a stable component of the 1982

¹¹⁷ Angelo Delfino, interviewed by author.

memory narrative in hindsight, was creating a significant amount of anxiety among Italian leaders that summer. They were cautiously optimistic that a larger and more enthusiastic celebration would be peaceable. Fortunately, the police were starting to believe them.

The near-absence of violence and vandalism on championship day permitted Italians to describe themselves as not only good, law abiding citizens, but models of proper social engagement. Although *Il Corriere* in 1982 limited its criticisms to overseas British hooliganism as the living contrast of local Italian fans, interviewees could not resist making direct comparisons between themselves and “mainstream”—presumably English Canadian—sports fans. “What surprised me,” says Charlie Alaimo, “was that it was controlled. No fights, all was peaceful. If you see the Toronto Maple Leafs in the Stanley Cup there’s a lot of fighting, drinking.” Pal di Iulio recalls “one broken window, by accident,” adding, “Compare this to the Grey Cup or Stanley Cup parties.”¹¹⁸ Only those born shortly after the war are able to recall the Maple Leafs in the Stanley Cup final, which last occurred in 1967, but there have been a number of Toronto Argonauts football wins in the past four decades. Respondents did not offer many details about the happenings at gridiron football post-game parties; their point was that Italians’ conduct was much better than that of mainstream sport fans in comparable circumstances. In fact, it was *superior* to its detractors. No one interviewed remembered seeing anyone get arrested, which is understandable because newspaper sources at the time list charges against only two individuals on St. Clair West, one of them for assaulting a police officer.¹¹⁹ The narrative of civility emphasized the law-abiding and peaceable character of the Italian community in the

¹¹⁸ Pal di Iulio, interviewed by author, January 14, 2011, Toronto, ON.

¹¹⁹ Charlie Alaimo, interviewed by author; Pal di Iulio, interviewed by author; and Gordon D’Aloisio, interviewed by author; and *Toronto Star*, “World Cup fever lights up Metro,” July 12, 1982, A6.

face of Anglo hostility. It did not matter if there were two or zero arrests; the rate of incidence was so low that it was possible to stand in a crowd of 250,000 people for hours and not see foul play. In the words of Amadeo Corridore, whose first encounter with Toronto introduces this chapter:

There were no fights, no broken windows. All the English world—all the British establishment—was shocked. They couldn't believe it, that we were so good. Everyone went there—grandmas, kids, families. We were only there to celebrate. It was a lesson of nobility and civility.¹²⁰

One can also read a note of nostalgia in the halcyon characterization. As we will see in the next chapter, the post-1982 period of soccer fandom featured a number of street clashes between Italian young men and outsiders who challenged their symbolic claim to St. Clair West. The narrative of civility took on greater importance in the face of conflicting developments. “1982” was Italian Toronto on its best terms, before and after their big coming out party.

An outsider watching the scene in July 1982 would have been surprised to hear that Italian-police relations had not always been so amicable. The police made no publically indication of past difficulties. On the contrary, law enforcement was a co-creator in the collective memory of 1982. To repeat an earlier quote, a constable told a *Star* reporter, “There’s never any trouble with the Italians. They are all with a family group. It’s just a few non-Italians who like to stir things up.”¹²¹ His admission is surprising given the recent past and male-driven nature of the game, and it helps explain the prevailing belief among Italian respondents that they had proven themselves civil and respectable in a short period of time. Regardless of warm and assuring public statements from the police, community leaders responded as though

¹²⁰ Amadeo Corridore, interviewed by author.

¹²¹ *The Globe and Mail*, “Toronto’s Italians take to streets in celebration of soccer victory.”

a new rapport had been reached. In 1983, organizers of the Fourth Annual Italian Street Festival on St. Clair presented Mayor Art Eggleton and Division 13 Police Sargent Alex Eberspaecher with a giant framed photograph of the crowd bearing the caption "Italian Fever."¹²² The gift symbolized the improved relationship between Toronto Italians and City Police and signaled for posterity the event that launched their new rapport.

The new rapport required some leniency on the part of the Toronto Police. Italian partiers flouted municipal rules against open alcohol consumption, enjoying it in the manner of a holiday or *fiesta* back in Italy, where no such restrictions existed. Officers who observed the violations in plain sight chose to arrest only the most disruptive drunks. And most detentions were reduced to lesser charges. On championship Sunday, Division 13, the precinct including St. Clair Avenue West, received "more angry phone calls than they could estimate." Yet, officers dispensed only a few summonses for excessive noise—sixty according to *The Globe and Mail*, and between 150 and 200 in the *Toronto Star's* estimation.¹²³ That the figures varied so wildly in the press showed that the police no longer wished to identify and treat Italians as a group in the prosecution of misdemeanors. Metro Police's new flexible approach to the Italian population can also be observed in their Annual Reports. The 1982 figures for Division 13 show only 489 individuals charged with contravening the Liquor License Act. Of the eighteen divisions in the city, the rate for number 13 was well below the city average of 873.3, an amazing result considering that the largest peacetime demonstration in Toronto's history had occurred there

¹²² *Toronto Star*, "10,000 at Italian street-festival recapture the World Cup spirit," by Pauline Johnson, July 24, 1983, A3.

¹²³ Further north in the city of York, four neighbours were charged with creating a disturbance and two others were arrested for assault. The paper did not mention charges for public drunkenness in these cases, but liquor was likely a factor. *The Globe and Mail*, "Toronto's Italians take to streets in celebration of soccer victory"; and *Toronto Star*, "World Cup victory fever lights up Metro: Italians celebrate with orgy of emotion...but a few fans wind up in trouble," July 12, 1982, A6.

that summer.¹²⁴ Alongside police reports, other historical sources give different, but not contradictory, accounts of transgressive behaviour. English-language newspapers noted how police turned a blind eye to open imbibing; *Il Corriere* rather tellingly made no mention of it; and the people interviewed for this study stated triumphantly that the cops drank with them.¹²⁵ For the last group, it was the appropriate toast for their new rapprochement.

In the broader context of Toronto history, it is noteworthy that the open drinking spectacle occurred next door to the city neighbourhood most opposed to alcohol. The urban anomaly known as “The Junction” was Toronto’s last surviving dry district from the Prohibition Era. Its self-imposed sanctions actually stretched back to 1904, when constituents of the former City of West Toronto voted to ban the sale of alcohol. The sanction, they hoped, would solve the social problems stemming from the rough and tumble businesses lining the railroad tracks that passed through the area.¹²⁶ Eighty years later, residents in The Junction showed surprisingly little appetite for change. In 1978, restaurant and café owners along St. Clair Avenue just west of the main Italian shopping district¹²⁷ petitioned Councillor Richard Gilbert unsuccessfully for the right to serve alcohol on their premises. The proposition finally went before voters in 1984—two years after the Italian soccer frenzy—and was rejected by a

¹²⁴ *Toronto Urban Affairs Library*, Metro Toronto Police, 1982, Annual Statistical Report, John W. Ackroyd Chief of Police, Other Offenses Reported by Division, 1981, p. 9.

¹²⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, “Toronto’s Italians take to streets in celebration of soccer victory”; *Toronto Star*, “250,000 toast Italy’s soccer victory”; Amadeo Corridore, interviewed by author; and Fausto di Marco, interviewed by author.

¹²⁶ At the time of the referendum, the borders of West Toronto (or “The Junction”) were from Rountree Road in the north to Bloor Street West in the south, and heading west from the CPR tracks to Runnymede Road. *Toronto Star*, “Dry debate strong stuff,” by Kathleen Kenna, April 7, 1984, B5.

¹²⁷ That is, west of Caledonia Road.

measure of 7,992 to 5,778.¹²⁸ The status quo remained until 1998, when a blanket referendum on alcohol sales overturned the near century-long prohibition.¹²⁹ The Junction had a very different ethnic composition than the Latin quarters surrounding it. Census data shows few Italians living in its five neighbourhood tracts, despite its proximity to the core of Italian settlement in the city. The highest-ever proportion of Italian residents was just over six percent, a number reached in 1971. The British proportion, by comparison, never dipped below 40 percent.¹³⁰ The remainder were a mixture of people claiming Northern and Central European backgrounds. These demographics add a compelling spatial component to the story of local Italian-Anglo ethnic relations. The largest public drinking spectacle in the Toronto's history took place across the railroad tracks from the city's last bastion of Old Anglo sobriety. Celebrating Italians not only proved to the police that they could congregate peacefully; they also showed their Anglo-Saxon neighbours how to do it with alcohol.

The most pragmatic assessment of police inaction in 1982 is that they let Italians "have their day" because they were heavily outnumbered and powerless to intervene. *The Globe and Mail* advocated this view. "When a community that still functions as a community wants to go to town," it argued, "there's nothing to stop it."¹³¹ Indeed, once it became clear that the police would not interfere, fans took their liberties a big step further and incorporated them as human stage props in the street theatre. One group tossed a red-faced officer into the air after the win

¹²⁸ "Vote under the liquor license act R.S.O. 1980, chapter 244, as amended: To electors of the former city of West Toronto, April 9, 1984, 'Are you in favour of the sale of spirits, beer and wine under a dining lounge license for consumption on licensed premises where food is available?'" Fonds 1135, Series 711, Subseries 21, File 15, CTA.

¹²⁹ Ibid., Ward 3 newsletter, 1978, p. 2, CTA.

¹³⁰ For this query I included Irish, English, Scottish and Welsh. *City Stats* portal. Query for West Toronto ("The Junction") Census tracts 101, 102, 103, 105, 106 for the years 1961, 1971, and 1981. *Citystats*, Accessed May 25, 2017, <http://citystats.uvic.ca/db/src/wizard.php>.

¹³¹ *The Globe and Mail*, "Street activating, Italian style," by Adele Freedman, July 17, 1982, E11.

over Brazil. On championship day, larger crowds bombarded constables with kisses and dances. A female officer counted twenty-three passes and seven dance partners by the night's end.¹³² The merrymaking continued until 9:00pm the following day when police, concerned about the cavalcades speeding down city streets, went over the airwaves to announce that the party was over.¹³³ This time, the fans played by the rules.

The civility narrative rests on a central irony—that while Italians did not want to be singled out by the law, their World Cup party required that the law give them special treatment. For more than a week, they breached the loitering and liquor laws that had kept them indoors for years and challenged Anglo-Canadian notions of social respectability. Streetcar and bus lines were cancelled or re-routed after each Italy win, the longest interruption falling on July 11. When the Italians stopped moving, so did much of the city. Participants in this study recognize that their actions were subversive, but at the same time do not consider them anarchistic. They view themselves as asserting their rightful place within a *changing* social order in which they had a transformative role. In the spirit of Pierre Trudeau's official 1971 declaration that Canada is a multicultural society, an ideal that the Toronto establishment was still reluctant to embrace at the time of the Charter debates in 1982, Italians were being quintessentially Canadian by celebrating their heritage. The Italian-language press heavily emphasized this point after the World Cup win and it has been re-articulated in individual stories ever since. An Italian-born businessman confessed, "When I saw young kids waving the Canadian and Italians flags together after the World Cup soccer victory, I wanted to

¹³² *Toronto Star*, "Metro's Italians celebrate soccer victory over Brazil"; and *Ibid.*, "250,000 toast Italy's soccer victory."

¹³³ *Il Corriere Canadese*, "La polizia dice: "La festa e' finite," 13-14 luglio 1982, p. 1.

cry. In my day, if a bunch of Italians got together on the street the cops would intervene.”¹³⁴ Pal di Iulio, who came to Canada as a child, suddenly felt more comfortable with his origins:

The '82 celebration meant that Italians have arrived, that 'we're not going back or taking the subways home. We're staying right here and wearing our shirt.' On this date soccer became acceptable and it was acceptable to celebrate with both friends and opponents.¹³⁵

The decision by hundreds of thousands to stay put and wear their colours was thus intended to profess, not provoke. In 1982, when Italian upward mobility in Toronto had become a well-known fact, the community celebrated themselves on their terms to make a visual statement of having “made it” in Canada. Both then and now, Italians believed they had made a conclusive declaration, proven by their exceptional composure in an unpredictable environment, that they were peaceful, hardworking, and fun-loving. In a multicultural Canada, theirs was a better way to live as Canadians.

The locations of the 1982 Italian street parties tell an interesting story about the relationship between Italian ethnicity and city space. Most of the action took place in predominantly Italian neighbourhoods. Revelers did not actually “take over” non-Italian areas of the city, but rather “took back” ones they already occupied as residents and patrons. They were claiming a position in the Canadian social-political mainstream on their own turf. The strip along St. Clair Avenue West between Dufferin and Lansdowne had become the main Italian business district in Toronto by the 1960s. It was a bustling enclave where Italians from the neighbourhood and other locales gathered to purchase familiar products in the grocery, clothing and textile stores, attend church services, watch soccer, or sit down at a café or

¹³⁴ Read, for example, the declarations in *Corriere Canadese*, “Ancore una vota: Viva l'Italia,” 12-14 luglio, 1982, p. 5; followed three years later by *Toronto Star*, “A Minority Report,” 1985, p. 39.

¹³⁵ Pal di Iulio, interviewed by author.

restaurant. As the centre of bedlam in 1982, St. Clair West's beating heart was EarlsCourt Park, where for decades thousands of mostly young men watched amateur soccer teams bearing the names of their European roots. The occupation of the street itself was more brazen, but it was nevertheless a six-lane stretch of asphalt that cut through the slice of urban space most familiar to them. Despite living, working, and playing there for decades, partygoers did not feel the neighbourhood to be fully theirs until they reclaimed it from police beat patrols, temporarily reapportioned the streets and sidewalks into a mass gathering, and isolated the area from the regular order and rhythm of the city for their own benefit.

Beyond the main commercial strip along St. Clair West, the city streets occupied by Italian soccer fans say much about the "choreography of community" in Italian Toronto.¹³⁶ Italians blocked other symbolically important corridors with their bodies and vehicles. Makeshift pedestrian malls and processions appeared in three other locations: College Street around the Grace Street block, St. Clair Avenue West between Oakwood and Caledonia Roads, and The Danforth between Woodbine and Greenwood avenues, east of downtown. The first two neighbourhoods were part of the city's postwar Little Italies. Demographically speaking, College Street had by this time become more Portuguese, but maintained its role as a destination point for city Italians because they owned many of the apartment blocks, stores, and restaurants, the Roman Catholic parishes still offered Italian-language services, and the annual religious processions, such as the carrying of St. Anthony's shrine through the streets, continued to be quite popular.¹³⁷ The third blockade, in East York, is an unusual case because of

¹³⁶ The title of Jordan Stanger-Ross' thesis: "The Choreography of Community: Italian Ethnicity in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia," (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2005).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, Chapter 3.

the small Italian population there. There had been some settlement on the east side since the turn of the century. Historian John Zucchi cites nine Sicilian fruit vendors operating on the Danforth between 1914 and 1925.¹³⁸ In the 1960s and 1970s, the remaining families were closely linked with those on College Street and frequently travelled there to purchase Italian products and participate in leisure activities.¹³⁹ However, their residential neighbourhood was dominated by residents from Anglo-British and Greek backgrounds.

A small demographic did not deter The Danforth's Italian residents. Revelers occupied the intersection of Danforth and East Lynn Ave and refused to move when surrounded by law enforcement officers. When the police finally reopened the crossing, a fan entered it with his truck and parked it sideways. Right away, the onlookers formed a perimeter around it and a shouting match ensued between police and fans, who demanded they be allowed to have a street party like those on Toronto's west side. They must have learned about the spectacles by word of mouth or just returned from there. The police de-escalated the situation much like they did in the larger demonstrations by backing off. Inspector Robert White did not conceal his exasperation: "What could we do? There are too many children here. Too many people could get hurt here if we forced the issue."¹⁴⁰ The fact that east-end Italian soccer fans were more concerned about launching their own street spectacle than joining big party on St. Clair West suggests that some in that community had stronger emotional ties to areas outside traditional Italian neighbourhoods. The 15,000 party-goers—likely an overestimation by the *Toronto Star*, given the small local population—attached their experiences and claims to a multi-ethnic

¹³⁸ John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto*, 91.

¹³⁹ Jordan Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian*, 95 and 106.

¹⁴⁰ *Toronto Star*, "250,000 toast Italy's soccer victory."

neighbourhood on the east side of town, and “refused to move” in the same fashion as those in the west.

Another explanation for the Italian east-enders’ demonstration is that it was a response to The Danforth’s recent branding as a Greek neighbourhood. In the early eighties, The Danforth underwent a period of gentrification, which set off a strong campaign by the Greek community to shape the future identity of the area. Greeks were moving to the eastern suburbs as the “yuppie” crowd moved in. According to Royal LePage Realty, almost all home sales in the area were going to Anglo-Saxon clients.¹⁴¹ In 1981, merchants formed a business improvement area and unofficially dubbed it “Greektown.” While the 1982 World Cup was taking place, old street signs on The Danforth were being dismantled and replaced with distinctive blue and white postings featuring Greek and English lettering. A logo of Doric columns and laurel leaves—the winning selection from a public contest that February—soon appeared on lamp posts and store windows.¹⁴² The *Azzurri*’s victory provided Italian residents with the pretext to temporarily assert themselves and challenge Greek claims to this changing parcel of city space. Demographic trends over the next twenty years indicate that they were going to maintain a strong presence there. In 2001, Italians were still the largest ethnic group residing in “Greektown” (Danforth from Pape Ave. west to Woodbine) with 1,040 residents, compared to 1,020 Chinese, 885 Canadian, and 850 Greeks.¹⁴³

The fervor on St. Clair West, College Street, and The Danforth was physically and symbolically transported by vehicles and pedestrians to other parts of the city. A motor

¹⁴¹ *Toronto Star*, “Greek-dominated Danforth yields to the yuppie influence,” by Jim Foster, June 16, 1986, A6.

¹⁴² “Greektown on the Danforth,” History, Accessed January 15, 2013, <http://www.greektowntoronto.com/about.php>.

¹⁴³ Lastly, 510 people identified as English. City of Toronto, Community and Neighbourhood Services, “Danforth Village” Social Profile #2. p. 3, Accessed May 25, 2017, <http://www.toronto.ca/demographics/pdf2/cpa66.pdf>.

cavalcade of blaring horns and flag-wavers brought traffic to a standstill on Eglinton Avenue West, Davenport Road, Dupont Road, Yonge Street, and Dufferin Street all the way north to Wilson Avenue.¹⁴⁴ Deliberately or not, the people who led the procession along a north-south axis between the two postwar little Italies and north to the city's expanding edge were retracing the recent path taken by upwardly mobile Italian immigrants to large, more spacious properties in the suburbs. Most of them now lived outside the urban core, and some still returned to the shops, restaurants, and streets of their childhood neighbourhood. The procession moved from traditional Italian neighbourhoods to the newer upmarket ones where they preferred to live. Celebrants also took their informal parades to areas outside Italian Toronto. Some of the slow-moving vehicles with flag-waving occupants travelled up and down Yonge Street, the principal artery through Toronto's business, media, and entertainment districts. After the win over Brazil, fifty people carried a 350-foot Italian flag—made by employees of Antonia's Dressmakers—to city hall and then jumped into the fountain.¹⁴⁵ A more ambitious crowd of 400 partied all night after the final game and marched a tricolour 24 kilometers from St. Clair West to North York City Hall.¹⁴⁶ There was more than one way to paint the town red, white, and green.

Italian Toronto made a bold statement of ethnic pride; it defied local bylaws, Toronto Police, and social conventions, and then symbolically occupied Italian neighbourhoods and strategic locations across the city. In response, all three levels of government publically acknowledged the World Cup's significance to Italian Toronto. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, and *Il Corriere Canadese*, "Campioni del mondo: 3-1," 12-13 luglio, p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ *Toronto Star*, "Little Italy promises a giant party on Sunday, July 9, 1982, A4.

¹⁴⁶ *Toronto Star*, "Bleary-eyed Italians march tricolor to North York," by Adam Singer and John Keating, July 13, 1982, A6.

gave the most reserved response by sending a message of personal congratulations to Italian President Sandro Pertini.¹⁴⁷ Ontario Premier Bill Davis, by comparison, raised the Italian flag above the provincial legislature in downtown Toronto. The same event happened in the suburban city of East York.¹⁴⁸ Mayor Alan Redway declared “Italian Soccer Week,” flew the Italian flag, and dedicated “each and every train whistle of CN and CP trains moving through the borough to all citizens of Italian descent in East York and to the Italian National Soccer Team.”¹⁴⁹ His was a surprising gesture, given that only 5.3 percent of the borough’s 1981 population was of Italian descent. We can only surmise that the intractable east enders celebrating on The Danforth had caught his attention. The “highest” tribute came from the individual—presumably Toronto Mayor Art Eggleton—who ordered that the words “Italy” be placed and illuminated atop the CN Tower, then the world’s tallest freestanding structure.¹⁵⁰

Soccer Fandom and Debating Diversity in the New Charter Era

Italians had reached a rapprochement with the police and politicians, but their Anglo Canadian neighbours and the mainstream media were far more variable and volatile in their reactions to the Italian celebrations. The public discourse in 1982 shows initial disagreement about Italian civility and a much more uneven and unsettled process of acceptance by the English Canadian mainstream than the narrative later conveyed. When Italians forced the rest of Toronto to take notice, they instigated not a consensus, but rather a noisy debate about the integration of immigrants and the merits of multiculturalism. There were obstacles to painting

¹⁴⁷ *Toronto Star*, “Italians roll out the red carpet for world champs,” July 12, 1982, E1.

¹⁴⁸ *Toronto Star*, Editorial. “Viva Italia, for sure, but don’t forget Canada, eh?” by Robert Duffy, July 14, 1982, A22.

¹⁴⁹ *Toronto Star*, “250,000 toast Italy’s soccer victory.”

¹⁵⁰ Statistics Canada, 1981 Census, Public Use Sample Tables, Census Tract File, Table 8.1 Single origin; and CN Tower tribute reported in *Toronto Star*, “250,000 toast Italy’s soccer victory.”

the town red, white, and green and not everyone supported the open spectacle of Italian expressivity. Some were uncomfortable with the fact that the largest peacetime demonstration in the city's history involved the flag of another country and was led by thousands of people with roots in Canada no deeper than twenty or thirty years. Police charged a 64-year-old man who was upset about the noise and fired his rifle into the parade. Fortunately, only the fender of a moving vehicle was hit.¹⁵¹ Some residents threw tomatoes and rocks at passing motorists, held signs with anti-Italian messages, or burned Italian flags.¹⁵² Other protests were peaceful but heated. A group of Canadian Second World War veterans stormed the York City Council chamber, demanding that officials remove the Italian flag flying beside the Canadian ensign atop the cenotaph memorial. The servicemen recalled the time when Italy was an Axis power and some of them fought in the Italian campaign. Police forcibly removed the objectors, but also pulled down the tricolour forty-five minutes later.¹⁵³

The most extensive debates emerged in the mainstream and Italian newspapers and they featured a variety of opinions, both laudatory and livid. One enthusiastic columnist for *The Globe and Mail* envisioned the St. Clair street party as a model for urban renewal. "This Italian Woodstock," it argued, "[was] a spontaneous eruption of entertainment and community [that] had everything an urban designer's handbook would prescribe, except a permit."¹⁵⁴ The editors of the *Toronto Star*, who the Italo-Canadian Associations and Clubs of Metro (FICAC) accused only a few years earlier of perpetuating negative Italian stereotypes, were initially

¹⁵¹ *The Globe and Mail*, "Soccer fans target of gun; man charged," July 13, 1982, p. 4.

¹⁵² *Toronto Star*, "250,000 toast Italy's soccer victory."

¹⁵³ *Toronto Star*, "Italian flag taken down after vets complain," by Robert Sutton, July 13, 1982, A6.

¹⁵⁴ *The Globe and Mail*, "Street activating, Italian style."

ambivalent.¹⁵⁵ They congratulated the city's Italian community on Italy's win, but gently rebuked them for their comportment. The op-ed exhorted readers to "quietly—but warmly—offer [local Italian celebrants] congratulations on the national team's performance."¹⁵⁶ In other words, celebrations of the scale, volume, and disruption of Italian Toronto were still undesirable in the city and not to be repeated. In a passive-aggressive manner, non-Italian readers were instructed on how to remain hospitable to their Italian neighbours while also setting an example of how to engage a passionate subject in a controlled manner. Old notions of social respectability were still preferred, but the method of imparting them was more subtle. The paper was unwilling to blatantly discriminate; instead, it presented itself as the measured voice. There were many reader responses that "bordered on bigotry" and it was refusing to print them, *The Globe and Mail* pointed out.¹⁵⁷

An article in the *Star* took a more conciliatory approach by trying to help bemused readers understand Italians' seemingly bizarre and disorderly behaviour. The confusion, it explained, stemmed from the different cultural relationships that people from Italian and British backgrounds have to public space. Italians were "outside people," whereas the latter preferred to socialize and revel inside the walls of a private establishment, such as a pub.¹⁵⁸ This surprisingly acute appraisal replaced moral imperatives with a relativist model of cultural difference. British ways—to repeat Harney's earlier description—were no longer considered superior, but *different* from Italian ways. One socialized in private, the other in public, and a more open Toronto could accommodate both dispositions. Street meetings were a regular part

¹⁵⁵ *Toronto Star*, "Germans, Italians, Indians, French protest 'images,'" June 3, 1972, A4.

¹⁵⁶ *Toronto Star*, Editorial. "World class!" June 12, 1982, A12.

¹⁵⁷ *Toronto Star*, "Proud Italians are Canadians too," by Frank Jones, July 19, 1982, A2.

¹⁵⁸ *Toronto Star*, "New Year's Eve all over again for Il Magnifico," by Milt Dunnell, July 12, 1982, B1.

of Southern European life. The piazza, usually situated in front of a prominent church, was the informal town hall where citizens met, debated, observed, and passed one another in the daily rhythm of life. Upon arrival in Canada, the inclination to socialize outdoors was augmented by their living arrangements. During the fifties and sixties, a significant number of Italian immigrants in Toronto lived in cramped and poorly ventilated rooming houses. Owners found ways to pay off their mortgage by limiting their living space to only a couple rooms while renting out the rest of the building to tenants.¹⁵⁹ Italian immigrant social life thus originated in the streets and stark housing conditions in the postwar period made it difficult to move indoors. In 1982, the police and some media outlets were much less concerned about these “outside people” and open to learning from them.

The World Cup celebration came in the wake of a debate over the patriated Canadian Constitution that became law that spring. The *Star* used the Italians’ actions to debate the merits of Canadian multiculturalism, a key component of the new Charter of Rights. Following Italy’s quarter-final win over Brazil, the editors drew comparisons between Toronto Italia’s high-spirited party to the model situation, as Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau first envisioned in 1971, of a minority population participating more fully in Canadian society. The *Star*’s discussion can be understood alongside the “public sphere” explanation as an example of the mainstream acknowledging that a former outsider or “foreigner” population imports talents, values, and cultural qualities that lack in the dominant society. As Bonnie Honig explains, the peripheral group enlivens democratic life with their unique contributions while indirectly

¹⁵⁹ Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 70 and 110.

disciplining the majority for failing to meet these objectives.¹⁶⁰ In this vein, the editors argued that “it would be a cold Northern heart indeed that couldn’t take some vicarious pleasure in a classic upset victory.” They went on to frame the event in the language of multiculturalism:

Monday’s celebration should remind us all it is one of our national strengths that, rather than a melting pot concept, we honor cultural ties as an essential part of our cultural mosaic.¹⁶¹

Canadian multiculturalism, like Brazil’s surprising defeat, involved repealing the former advantages of a dominant group. In a nation known for its cold climate, Canada’s warmth came from its embrace of diversity. To scoff at the success of one of its communities—even if it came vicariously through the exploits of a soccer team overseas—was to act like an American and be therefore *un-Canadian*.

A week after Italy won the championship and a deluge of letters flooded in to the paper’s editor. *Star* correspondent Frank Jones threw his journalistic hat into the ring to combat “an ugly streak of meanmindedness [sic] surfacing among some Toronto people.” Italians were accused of being turncoat Canadians and he wanted to challenge readers to view the celebration through a transnational lens. Jones explained the difference between sports and *principal* loyalties. Anyone could be expected to maintain a fondness and nostalgia for the sport they grew up playing, he wrote. Toronto Italians were therefore not principally loyal to Italy, but rather the World Cup instead awakened in them a heightened sense of connectedness with loved ones in distant places:

Grandma and Grandpa and Cousin Guido and Aunt Rosa are still just as much part of the family circle whether they live in North York [Ontario], Adelaide or Naples. That feeling

¹⁶⁰ Bonnie Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3.

¹⁶¹ *Toronto Star*, editorial, July 7, 1982, A20.

of family, which most of us can only envy, spans the seas and still takes in the village or neighbourhood of the guy cutting hair on St. Clair [who] came 20 years ago.¹⁶²

Being part of a greater diaspora was not a sign of being less Canadian or patriotic. Their everyday lives and loyalties were here in Canada, whereas World Cup soccer was an out-of-the-ordinary occasion to reconnect with and restate their place in a family-based diasporic community that exceeded national borders. As the immigrant community became more socially acceptable, the orientations that might have formerly been labelled as clannishness, unpatriotic, and unassimilable were recast in positive language as tight-knit, familial, and homespun. Similarly, “hot-blooded” and “temperamental” became “passionate” and “colourful.” Popular language, whether overt or inferred, was an important barometer of the mainstream’s acceptance of immigrants.

Other columnists were less certain. The *Star*’s correspondent for provincial politics, Robert Duffy, questioned the national loyalties of people carrying foreign flags through the city’s streets and why officials would condone such acts. While conceding that Italians’ sense of community was “envious” and that the party might help loosen the province’s strict alcohol consumption law, he thought the event exposed the ugly dystopian reality of Canadian national unity. Evoking the hoary argument that soccer (and multiculturalism for that matter) enhances old nationalisms—so frequently reported in local soccer between the 1950s and 1970s—Duffy saw the celebration as evidence of minority groups failing to assimilate into Canadian society. He believed that the problem started with liberalized postwar immigration policies, became politically enshrined in Trudeau’s 1971 declaration of federal multiculturalism, and was now

¹⁶² *Toronto Star*, “Proud Italians are Canadians too.”

spilling over into the streets of the country's largest city. In this zero sum game, Toronto had become more Italian and Canada as a whole had become less Canadian.

Duffy concluded his article by lauding a German Canadian woman who refused to be identified as "German." He then probed if Premier Bill Davis would have flown West Germany's flag above Queen's Park if the outcome of the final game had been different. The query implied that Germans had integrated into Canadian society better than Italians and politicians therefore did not have to pay lip service to them or their origins. We cannot know Premier Davis' intentions if West Germany had won the match, but Italian revelers certainly forced the province, the mainstream press, and the ruling establishment to acknowledge them as a community. It probably was in the Premier's political best interest to congratulate the Italian Consul-General because hundreds of thousands of voters were calling for it. Duffy disagreed with the display of ethnic pride, but understood its social and political implications. "Even though Premier Davis was at his cottage [that weekend], he heard the music," Duffy added.¹⁶³ Italian Toronto watched the big game; now it was the rest of Ontario's turn to watch Italian Toronto.

The Globe and Mail sports columnist Al Strachan shocked many when he declared that the *Azzurri's* sporting accomplishment was not a suitable vehicle for community adulation. Italian Toronto's celebration of Italy's World Cup victory should never have progressed into grand discussions about national loyalties, social diversity, or the merits of multiculturalism. In fact, he struggled to understand why they were celebrating in the first place. On an entertainment level, the tournament had appeal, which he defined as electrifying games, player

¹⁶³ *Toronto Star*, Editorial. "Viva Italia, for sure, but don't forget Canada, eh?," by Robert Duffy, July 14, 1982, A22.

sportsmanship, and strong technical play. Although Italy's games after the second round were high scoring affairs, he believed these three caveats were missing and dubbed the entire campaign a major disappointment. The teams in the final were "second rate"; the 24-team format and proliferation of tied games (Italy's first three matches) offered a low return for North American television viewers seeing international soccer for the first time; and the subpar officiating and histrionics of ostensibly "fouled" players were altogether intolerable. Worst of all, the tournament top scorer and most valued player, Italy's Paolo Rossi, should not have been permitted to play because of his involvement in the *Totonero* scandal.¹⁶⁴ "Only a country like Italy," Strachan charged, could approve of a boring event with a disgraced striker as its hero. It did not matter who won, or for that matter what the victory *meant* to anyone: no amount of cheering in the city's Italian quarters could redeem a lackluster tournament and its tarnished hero.

The Italian language papers responded to the negative assessment—in particular, its denial of a credible foundation for Italian Toronto's big moment—with incredulity and anger. Some even associated it to the older Anglo system that had kept Italian immigrants and their favourite sport on the social sidelines for decades. *Il Corriere Canadese* thought that *The Globe and Mail's* article was much more than an unfortunate exercise in missing the point. Sports writer Nicola Sparano admitted he had anticipated a sour reaction from the British press, but was shocked to read one so close to home in Toronto, Canada. He called out *The Globe* for "exhibiting the typical North American bias against soccer," and added that Mr. Strachan would

¹⁶⁴ *The Globe and Mail*, "What's all the big fuss about?," by Al Strachan, July 12, 1982, S2; and *Ibid.*, "Making the point clear for irate soccer fans," by Al Strachan, July 13, 1982, S3.

not know a good game if he saw one.¹⁶⁵ A letter to the editor, printed in full and bursting with themes of patriotism and respect, offered a more scathing rebuke. The author, Giovanni Giampaolo, described his “heart of rage” after reading Strachan’s article. “My nation,” he proclaimed, “destroyed the rest of world with enormous force.” He added, “[So] what bestial race vomited up this journalist?”¹⁶⁶ Giampaolo’s firm declaration of “my nation” as Italy instead of Canada might have added fuel to the debate over immigrant loyalties. The contributor also appeared to be drawing a distinction between himself as an Italian and the ill-defined “race” to which Al Strachan belongs by punctuating his anger with discriminatory language. Or he was asserting that no such ignoble race exists that could produce the likes of Al Strachan. Whatever the intention of the insult, Giampaolo proclaimed an imagined community bound by nation, diaspora, and sport in which Italians everywhere participated and relished in the victory of their soccer team. An attack against the *Azzurri* was therefore an assault against Toronto’s Italian population. Any thinking person could (and should) recognize that Italy was the best soccer team in the world and that Italians everywhere—the collective body that produced these superior athletes—are celebrating an accomplishment that belongs to them all.

The article’s comment that “only Italy would allow [the disgraced] Rossi to play” struck a nerve. Following the high profile scandals in the local construction industry and popular *Godfather* film from the early 1970s, Italian Torontonians were particularly sensitive when people in power linked them to crime and corruption.¹⁶⁷ Most distressing was the 1974 Royal

¹⁶⁵ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “La vittoria dell’Italia e i commenti inglesi,” by Nicola Sparano, 15-16 luglio 1982, p. 7.

¹⁶⁶ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “Al direttore sportive del corriere canadese,” 15-16 luglio 1982, p. 7. Translated by author.

¹⁶⁷ One upset response followed a front-page story in the *Star* about organized crime in Calabria, which mentioned that the majority of Italians in Toronto come from that region. *Toronto Star*, “Star editor says ethnic news must be improved,” June 5, 1972, A4. Two decades later, the Italian community itself was clinging to myths and conjecture to defend themselves. Peter Edwards, in his 1993 book on mafia activity in Canada, noted how Italian Torontonians

Commission that described a construction business culture rife with threats, assaults, and targeted killings.¹⁶⁸ Manual work had always been a central feature of the Italian immigrant experience and a rite of passage for many newcomers. In 1961, 31.6 percent of Italian men worked in the sector, but this number fell to 23 percent in 1981.¹⁶⁹ When it came to the popular stereotype of Italian enclaves riddled with corruption and organized crime, the community was deeply affected by the actions of a few and generalizations by many. Some individuals worked hard to change these perceptions. At the 1972 Heritage Ontario conference Italian delegates cited police reports showing that Italians commit fewer crimes than most groups. They then chided the mainstream papers for inferring local connections to secret societies in Calabria.¹⁷⁰ Giampaolo resented this typology being applied to his homeland—the country that produced the world’s best soccer team and star forward and gave cause for Italian Toronto’s “coming out” party. Given his stated nationality as Italian and written fluency, Giampaolo was likely a first-generation immigrant. To him, Strachan’s comments threatened to reverse public perceptions of the Italian community’s gains, both as soccer fans and successful immigrants. Victory in soccer was parallel to their story of achievement in Toronto because

were frequently repeating a statement by *Star* writer Peter Edwards that 99.8 percent of Italians in the city had no ties to organized crime, despite there being no known origin to that figure. Peter Edwards, *Deadly Silence: Canadian Mafia* (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1993), 44.

¹⁶⁸ Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on Certain Sectors of the Building Industry*, Judge Harry Waisberg, (Toronto: Queen’s Printer for Ontario, Vols. 1 and 2, 1974).

¹⁶⁹ Cited in Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, Appendix, Table 12, Occupations, Metro Toronto, 1961: Italian Men, Experienced Labour Force, Aggregate data from Statistics Canada. Latter statistic from Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian*, 125.

¹⁷⁰ This three-day conference was sponsored by the Ontario Department of Citizenship and included one thousand delegates from fifty-four ethnic groups. The largest delegation came from the Italian community. *Toronto Star*, “Germans, Italians, Indians, French protest ‘images,’”; and *Ibid.*, “Star editor says ethnic news must be improved.”

both called into question the notion of fair play.¹⁷¹ To criticize Team Italy was to suggest that Italian Toronto's epiphanous moment was based on a fraud.

That *Il Corriere Canadese* published the letter and preserved its colourful language indicates that the paper sympathized with Giampaolo, or at the very least wanted his comments added to the discussion about what Italy's victory meant for Italian Toronto and Canadian multiculturalism. The remarkable irony is that *Il Corriere*, or its insert *Il Corriere Sportivo*, would have agreed with Strachan just a six days earlier. Before Italy defeated Brazil in the second round knock-out match, this paper was a loud critic of Italy's uninspiring play and lack of preparedness. They too would have admitted that Paolo Rossi had no business being on the pitch. But much had changed in six days: the *Azzurri* had become world champions, Rossi was the tournament's leading scorer and Italy's *cause célèbre*, and Italian Toronto now had to confront the inflexible dilemma of either embracing him as a hero or rejecting the victory as altogether tainted. They determined that he had sufficiently redeemed himself, and his sudden rise from pariah to protagonist became part of the made-in-Toronto story of coming to terms with themselves and earning approval and inclusion on their own terms. The Italian papers thus took offense at *The Globe and Mail's* comments because it called into question not only the catalyzing accomplishments of the *Azzurri*, but the status they believed they had just earned for themselves on Toronto's streets.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ For more discussion on the notion of fair play in sport, see Detlev Claussen, "On Stupidity in Football," in *Globalised Football: Nations and Migration, the City and the Dream*, eds. Nina Clara Tiesler and João Nuno Coelho (New York: Routledge, 2008), 217.

¹⁷² I recognize that there at least two broader societies in Canada—Quebec and English Canada—but here I use the term more generally to claim that Italian Canadians of multiple generations saw in the 1982 World Cup a cause to assert and take pride in their origins. The country's second largest Italian population also celebrated in Montreal, albeit on a much smaller scale. Montreal would offer scholars an excellent opportunity to study and compare the role of sport fandom in Canada's French-speaking heartland and English Canada's largest city.

The *Toronto Star*, which interpreted the events of 1982 through a dual identities lens, received an enthusiast response from *Il Corriere Canadese*. The front page of the July 21-22 *Corriere Canadese* featured the headline in English typeface, “Fiercely Canadian, Proudly Italian.” It praised the *Star* for accommodating demonstrations of ethnic pride in the fabric of a multicultural Canada. We can read the article as an endorsement of *Il Corriere* and Multilingual Television’s founder Dan Ianuzzi, who, among other Italian Canadians, had for years been played a leading role in the promotion and organization of Canadian diversity through media. “Better late than never,” it proclaimed, that the *Star* realized what Italian Canadians had been saying all along—that “pride in our Italian origins does not signify a sentimental distance from Canada, but is above all a sign of an enriched multicultural society.”¹⁷³ Those who experienced the events of 1982 from street level continue to express this conviction. Italian-born Nuccio Cece explained that the party on St. Clair actually helped to resolve lingering struggles with their sense of belonging: “That year meant something—that we were in Canada but proud to be Italian. Sometimes you come to a new country and not feel a part of it, but we did.”¹⁷⁴ Alberto di Giovanni thought the sport spectacle brought their dual identities to the surface:

Sports meant a lot to the Italian community; it united them. 1982 wasn’t just a moment; it had been there for years. Many people loved Canada. But when Italy won, *that* loyalty also came out strong.¹⁷⁵

The fidelities of Toronto Italians, like those of other immigrant populations in the city, were not singular or circumscribed by national borders. They stretched transnationally to encompass

¹⁷³ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “Fiercely Canadian, Proudly Italian,” 21-22 luglio, p. 1, translated by author.

¹⁷⁴ Nuccio Cece, interviewed by author.

¹⁷⁵ Alberto di Giovanni, interviewed by author.

places “both here and there.”¹⁷⁶ The paper put the past week’s events into historical and geographical perspective:

Not only is there not a gap between Italy and Canada; there is growth and development. The Italian-Canadians, after a period of adjustment in this new nation, realized that despite their Italian origins, the best choice was for them to become Canadians, participating in all aspects of the life of the nation. But while becoming Canadians, they weren’t able to bring with them the mobility, freshness and vitality of the Italian character. But this is not a betrayal of the rules of Canadian life. It results in a thawing of the ice—at times—of Canadian attitudes.¹⁷⁷

In concert with the multicultural vision of Canada laid out by Pierre Trudeau a decade earlier, Italian immigrants who emphasized their Italianness, both then and now, saw themselves as acting quintessentially Canadian. The two were not mutually exclusive. All of the *tricolore* flag-waving, victory chants in another language, street dances, and champagne drinking in the open were ways to celebrate their Canadianness. Robert Duffy’s accusation that there were no identifiably “Canadian” symbols and expressions in the World Cup parade showed that the ice of older assimilationist thinking had not yet completely thawed. Italians were not only forcing others to take notice by celebrating their shared heritage in public. Civil, expressive, and at the same time transgressive on their own terms, they set a precedent by thawing the ice and encouraging other groups to hasten the melt. Multiculturalism was the future, and Italian Canadians viewed themselves at its cutting edge. Nevertheless, the blade was a precarious place to be.

Italian Toronto’s collective memory of 1982 brought together key components of the story that Italians wished to tell others of themselves—namely, they were a model immigrant

¹⁷⁶ The idea of expanded loyalties of immigrants is brought forth in John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto*, 8, and in Robert F. Harney’s borrowed concept of *chiaroscuro* (the side-by-side existence of dual loyalties, as compared to light and dark contrasts in paintings) in Harney, “Chiaroscuro: Italians in Toronto, 1885-1915,” *Italian Americana* 1, no. 2 (1975): 142-67.

¹⁷⁷ *Il Corriere Canadese*, “Fiercely Canadian, Proudly Italian.”

community that was family-oriented, hardworking, fun-loving, able to “make do” without accepting handouts, and demonstrably civil. Their economic mobility well known by this time, they were already moving into the mainstream in the early 1980s. But they had yet to turn their status into a statement. The notion of spontaneity, triggered by a sporting event, was a suitable answer to outstanding questions about their suitability as good, mainstream Canadians. In this narrative, two days of exemplary behaviour—conducted and interpreted on their terms—publicly redeemed them from more than three decades on Toronto’s social and political periphery and confirmed their arrival at the centre. Their demonstration also captured the attention of the mainstream media and the city at large, forcing a conversation about the future shape of a civic and national identity and the qualities that constitute a model minority. The next chapter explores how the City of Toronto appropriated the pluralist model of sports fandom in which the Italian community, its entrepreneurs and neighbourhoods were critical components. By the mid-1980s, the public sphere in Toronto was transformed by every FIFA World Cup and UEFA Euro Cup into a competitive arena that exalted cultural difference. Key contributors to the new reality, Italians upheld the 1982 World Cup party and the same collective narrative to counter negative images that emerged when rough masculinities erupted at subsequent events. In the face of unflattering developments, they could point to a moment in which the community and its history shone in a much more positive light.

Shortly after the streets reopened in 1982, Italian business owners and organizations rushed to commemorate the event. Five days after the final game, Toronto Italia FC reached out to the *Azzurri* team itself. During a friendly match against Scottish powerhouse Glasgow Celtic, Italia officials helped thousands of fans sign a Rome-bound telegram at half time to

congratulate the team.¹⁷⁸ The telegram fulfilled a dual purpose: it praised Italy for its success, but also implored the Italian team to acknowledge Toronto's Italian community. The next initiative came from the owner of Lorenzo's restaurant on St. Clair West, who proposed a \$40,000, 8-foot-tall bronze statue of a soccer player, with a list of former World Cup champions at its base, to stand at Earlscourt Park or Exhibition Stadium.¹⁷⁹ The restaurateur's campaign never reached its goal, but the enduring legacy of 1982 took the shape of a memory narrative. On October 15, 1989, merchants from the Corso Italia Business Improvement Area welcomed members of the Italian soccer team that won the World Cup in 1982 and captivated Toronto's Italian community. A journalist interviewed a group of children who were nine and ten years old. They were too young to remember what happened, but they knew about the victory and had come to see the stars. Gae Campese, owner of the Café Romeo at the Corner of Via Italia and St. Clair West, told the reporter: "That 1982 demonstration was spontaneous. No organization. Ecstatic. Hundreds of thousands of people. No fights. No vandalism. Just an outpouring of happiness."¹⁸⁰ Seven years later, soccer was an undisputed symbol and force of Italian identity, now wrapped in family garb, and "1982" was a story of spontaneity and civility. The Azzurri scored the winning goals and a colossal team of participants banded together to make the moment, but it was already easy to forget the assists from the Toronto Police, Labatt Breweries, the CBC, and supportive politicians in its making and memory. The story of Italian Toronto's self-image, post-migration mobility, and foundational role in the organization of diversity through soccer fandom is a narrative anchored by Italians who celebrated themselves

¹⁷⁸ *The Globe and Mail*, "Soccer tourney comes at right time," by Neil A. Campbell, July 14, 1982, S2.

¹⁷⁹ *Toronto Star*, "Man Seeks \$40,000 for World Cup Soccer Statue," August 5, 1982, A6.

¹⁸⁰ The players in attendance were Mauro Bellugi, Renato Zaccarelli, Romeo Benetti, Sandro Salvaggi, and names from the 1978 World Cup squad. *Toronto Star*, "Metro Italian community recalls days of soccer glory," by Walter Stefaniuk, October 15, 1989, A6.

on St. Clair Avenue West. In the post-1982 popular climate of street-level fandom, Italians wanted others to recognize that It all started there, and it began with them.

IV

Appropriate Fandom: Popular Multiculturalism, Civic Branding, and Italian Toronto after the 1982 World Cup

A few years had passed since the whistles and tarantellas of July 1982, and St. Clair Avenue record store owner Marco Antonelli was clearing most of his shelves of Italian records and movies. In their place, he was restocking the store with soccer paraphernalia and sporting goods. Marked for sale were not only Italian, but also Portuguese and Brazilian t-shirts, scarves, jerseys, posters, and key chains. He describes the mindset behind the dramatic overhaul of his inventory as a practical business response to changing demographics: “The first generation [of Italian immigrants] is dying off and with them the music and film. That’s why sport was such a smart move—because the kids still follow the European soccer.”¹ Just a few blocks away, Salvatore Giannone purchased La Paloma Gelateria (discussed in Chapter Two) from a friend and converted it from a sports bar and social space frequented mostly by Italian men into a family-oriented cafe exclusively devoted to serving ice cream and espresso. The move that likely finalized the transition was when he cancelled his liquor license and increased the number of gelato flavours from six to eighty. “The time changed and the area changed.” He explains: “Many Italians moved away from here, up north to [the suburb of] Woodbridge. And gelato isn’t just for the Italians. Other people are educated about gelato.”² La Paloma had been a popular hangout for Italian men since its founding in 1967 and was strategically located beside the city’s premiere nightly amateur soccer hub at EarlsCourt Park, but St. Clair Avenue

¹ Marco Antonelli (pseud), interviewed by author.

² The purchase and transition occurred in 1987. Salvatore Giannone, interviewed by author.

West was an immigrant enclave in transition. The cafés, restaurants, bookstores, and clubhouses that catered exclusively to male immigrant sport fans had served a practical role in the social lives and local economics of the first generation, but the decline of local spectator soccer, and more importantly, the gradual exodus of Italian families from St. Clair Avenue West, meant that Italian merchants could no longer rely on an Italian clientele. Antonelli began providing sport paraphernalia for the Latin communities living on Toronto's west side, and Giannone replaced the clubhouse setting that catered to Italian men with a gelateria that delivered an Italian delicacy to a new and diverse foundation of customers.

The efforts of Antonelli, Giannone, and other Italian entrepreneurs to remodel their businesses to attract a more diverse clientele to traditional Italian neighbourhoods paralleled movements toward greater cultural engagement taking place in other communities and at City Hall. Urban change, ethnic enterprise, and municipal rebranding formed the backdrop of the popular, street-level multiculturalism that emerged in the wake of 1982. Italian Toronto's party inspired other communities to translate their own identity statements into street theatre during every World Cup and UEFA Euro Cup tournament that followed. "1982" stood out as proof that crowds of diverse people could peacefully engage one another in a competitive urban environment mediated by sport. And these would also not be limited to the traditional male social spaces of stadiums, soccer parks, sports bars, restaurants, and barber shops. Instead, crowds numbering in the tens of thousands gravitated to Italian neighbourhoods and confronted one another in the streets. Street-level soccer fandom became a form of popular multiculturalism that local Italian businesses, along with ethnic elites, large companies, and most importantly, City Hall, considered highly marketable and representative of Toronto as a

whole. That thousands of flag-waving soccer fans appeared to do so organically and for the most part in peaceful fashion added weight to claims from groups positioned to profit from popular multiculturalism that they were not inventing, but rather drawing attention to, a grassroots phenomenon.

Chapter One examined the period during which postwar European immigrant men migrated to Toronto and resettled their lives on the cultural and sporting periphery of postwar English Canadian society. This chapter brings us to the 1980s, a time of tremendous change when the once-maligned game of soccer at the fulcrum of male immigrant socialization was appropriated by the political mainstream and business interests, then bound together in the language of civic boosterism as “Toronto stories.” This generation of sport fandom was different than the newcomer leisure worlds that came before it. The people filling the streets represented communities with demographics no longer skewed toward young male immigrants, and the emerging type of grassroots diversity through soccer fandom did not emerge from an immigrant city geography of male social spaces. In the twilight of mass European migration to Canada, sports such as soccer, hockey, and boxing were no longer the *modus operandi* for urban people of different backgrounds to confront one another. The young soccer players and fans after 1982 were the children of these immigrants. Their lives were economically and socially more stable and with a few exceptions—such as the Canadian Macedonian Hockey League explored in Chapter Two—they did not *commune* in large numbers very often as sporting communities or treat athletic participation and fandom as unique conduits for employment, friendship, and personal leisure.

The vernacular model of pluralism based on sport fandom that moved from stadiums and soccer parks into the municipal and economic mainstream publicized a troublesome link between immigrant masculinity and claims to urban space. These threatened the bottom line of entrepreneurs who hoped to profit from international soccer festivities and called into question the image of a harmonious cultural mosaic that the City of Toronto tried to project to the outside world. The new generation of fans rekindled the older phenomenon of male violence in concert with immigrant soccer, with changed locations and mediums. The young men now defended their community and culture on city streets and sidewalks, rather than at soccer stadiums, and overseas games provided the catalyst to organize instead of local or regional competitions. This conflicted form of grassroots pluralism became the subject of a wider struggle about suitable forms of popular and spontaneous cultural exchanges. Those hoping to manage these expressions for political and economic ends struggled to suppress the troubling hyper-masculine behaviours of young, self-appointed ethnic custodians who hoped to alternatively safeguard their own title and challenge others' claims to their historical stretch of city space. But the uncomfortable reality was that all legislators, businesses, and turf warriors justified their actions according to the same basic principle about the relationship between ethnicity and Toronto city space—namely, that these markers, once identified, had to be preserved and protected. Like the sporting events that brought these expressions to the surface, one immigrant community and neighbourhood distinguished itself from another through competition. As we will see, City Hall aided in this endeavour by collaborating with merchant associations to “defend” the character of ethnic neighbourhoods with official designations such as “Corso Italia” and “Little Italy.” When city boosters appropriated soccer

fandom as the model of Toronto on its best terms, they were unwittingly promoting a form of pluralism that categorized the urban environment by cultural difference that had to be upheld and enforced by young men.

Setting a Precedent: Grassroots Multiculturalism and the Making of Corso Italia

When Italian Toronto made its bold and enduring historical claim to St. Clair Avenue West during its 1982 World Cup party, it did so in the absence of competing declarations. Its celebration of multiple identities, as encouraged by Trudeau multiculturalism, was based on the assumption that their immigrant saga was rooted and symbolized in urban space. People from other sections of the city came to witness the carnivalesque in the Italian quarters and many were caught up in the excitement. *The Globe and Mail* interviewed two Greek Canadian girls carrying Italian flags. One confessed with carefree resignation, “We can’t beat ‘em, so we join ‘em.” Much further down the street, West Indian proprietors of a reggae bar reassembled their speaker system outside and blasted Caribbean beats for the passing crowds, waving Italian flags to the rhythm and turning the sidewalk into a “cosmopolitan dance floor.”³ Today, Italians recall their initial surprise at the arrival and enthusiasm of the other ethnics, but few, if any, begrudged the party crashers. “Even if Italy didn’t play, there were other people here,” remembers one St. Clair West storeowner. “It was nice [because] in ’82 we didn’t expect people to come here.”⁴ Perhaps with the benefit of hindsight, another person describes the moment as the spark for the municipal vision that followed. “[1982] was all races. It was like a community,

³ *The Globe and Mail*, “Street activating, Italian style.”

⁴ Marco Antonelli (pseud), interviewed by author.

except the community was the city of Toronto.”⁵ Italian celebrants never sent out an invitation to the city, but neither did they face direct challenges to redesign the tile they constructed for themselves in Toronto’s cultural mosaic. The first outsiders to celebrate this sport-driven brand of Canadian multiculturalism rallied around the Italian flag; in the future, they would wave their own.

The timing of Italy’s 1982 World Cup victory and Italian Toronto’s confident claim to St. Clair Avenue West was ironic because recent demographic pressures brought new uncertainties for Toronto’s principle Italian neighbourhood. In 1984 historian Robert F. Harney still marveled that St. Clair Avenue West was like a “modern Italian city [in which] one can live, prosper, retire and die within an Italian Canadian *ambiente*.”⁶ But at the time of Harney’s writing, St. Clair’s Italian residents were about to pass through their next stage of life in a multi-Latin neighbourhood. The St. Clair “strip” admittedly still served a large population of Italians residentially spread out across a vast and concentrated urban space, but great changes were under way at the symbolic and economic heart of Italian Toronto. We see these clearly in a forty year trajectory of the five census tracts in the principle business district.⁷ The neighbourhood facilitated the movement of people on a large scale because it contained one of the highest proportions of rental housing units in the city.⁸ The 1961 Canada Census showed that only 2,293 people or 7 percent of the local population in the neighbourhood were of Italian

⁵ Dominic Stalteri, interviewed by author.

⁶ Harney, “Toronto’s People,” 11.

⁷ The tracts fall inside an area bounded by the Canadian National Railway line at its western edge, Oakwood Avenue to the east, Rogers Road at the northern margin, and Davenport Road in the south. These are census tracts 110-113 and 163. Statistics Canada, 1981 Census, Public Use Sample Tables, Census Tract File, Table 8.1, Single origin.

⁸ Only downtown was higher. A 1976 study found that 50.7 percent of housing units on St. Clair West and 61 percent of those in the Italian section of College St. were rentals. *Metro Suburbs in Transition*, Part I: Evolution and Overview. Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (June 1978), 72.

origin. By 1971, this number swelled to 19,515, or 66 percent of the neighbourhood total. Not surprising, those with British origins⁹ fell from 20,975 to 5,095, or 60.8 to 17.2 percent, during the same period. But during the seventies Italian numbers entered a long period of historical decline. On the eve of the epic street party in 1981, a much smaller figure of 11,650, or 55 percent of St. Clair West residents, came from Italian origins.

The “modern Italian city” described by Robert F. Harney was increasingly occupied by senior citizens, neighbourhood stalwarts, Italians who had moved to other parts of the city but returned for amenities and social life, and Latin newcomers speaking unfamiliar languages. Many of the Italians who remained in early 1980s were empty nesters. They had purchased homes and raised children in the spacious walk-up dwellings, then watched the younger generation leave the “old immigrant neighbourhood” for the fresher northwest suburbs such as Woodbridge and Maple. In 1976, the average household contained only 2.85 members.¹⁰ The number of Italian residents declined precipitously during the 1980s and 1990s, falling to 35 percent in 2001.¹¹ At the same time, Portuguese families were moving into the neighbourhood in large numbers.¹² Their population ballooned from 8.8 to 28.2 percent, and Spanish speakers increased from 1 to almost 3 percent.

⁹ For the sake of convention and simple comparison, I have included Irish, Scottish, English and Welsh in the category “British.” Note that 1961 and 1971 numbers are for single responses only. Accessed 16 March 2013, *Citystats*.

¹⁰ The study predicted that household size would increase in the 1980s, presumably because of new immigrant arrivals. *Metro Suburbs in Transition*, 70.

¹¹ Figures for people of “British Isles” origins in 1981 and 2001 are 15.8 percent and 4.0 percent, respectively. But the 2001 census includes 5.1 percent “Canadian,” which are presumably those of British descent. Accessed March 16, 2013, *City Stats*.

¹² A prime example of the growing Latin American presence in the area, which exceeds their residential one, is the “Salsa on St. Clair” festival, a massive street event held just a couple blocks east of Corso Italia between Winona and the Wychwood Barns every year since 2005. Hillcrest Village BIA, organizers of Salsa on St. Clair, followed the example set by the Corso Italia BIA two decades earlier by capitalizing on international soccer fandom. Beginning in 2007, restaurant and sports bars owners converted their businesses into soccer headquarters for patrons to watch

Latin newcomers altered the area's residential and business alignment and set the stage for street confrontations during international soccer matches.

Ironically, St. Clair West *appeared* more Italian at the moment even though fewer Italians were living there. Pluralism-promoting local merchants welcoming customers from other cultures to the neighbourhood by emphasizing its Italian character.¹³ Their vision of popular multiculturalism held that St. Clair was exclusively Italian, but not exclusive *for* Italians. In 1984, a group representing businesses located in the corridor between Lansdowne and Westmount Avenues successfully petitioned the city to recognize the strip as the "Corso Italia" Business Improvement Area (BIA).¹⁴ Lamp posts were marked with permanent red, white and green signs and Elmwood Avenue was renamed Via Italia. Similar to the Greektown BIA on The Danforth (discussed in Chapter Three) that Hellenized that business district a few years earlier with blue and white signage and Greek street decor, the Corso Italia BIA enabled Italian merchants to make a symbolically potent claim to St. Clair West. It was an assertive move from

the quadrennial COPA América, while the BIA set up outdoor "soccer zones" with giant screens and tents where customers could purchase soccer merchandise and test their skills on a computerized apparatus. The dance festival that envisioned a combined customer base of salsaeros and fanaticos. A recent sign of the growing connection between Latin Americans, St. Clair West just east of Corso Italia, and soccer was the crowd of young Chileans who congregated there to celebrate Chile's surprise 2015 Copa América victory. Description of Salsa on St. Clair events, Accessed February 15, 2011, <http://www.torontodance.com/DANCE/2007-06-20-152425-Salsa-Festival.php>, *The Globe and Mail*, "Festival features Latin beat," by Alwynne Gwilt, July 14, 2007, Accessed November 17, 2017, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/festival-features-latin-beat/article962900/>; and Yonita Parkes, "Salsa on St. Clair: Consumer Consumption and the Construction of Cultural Identity," York University Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean, October 2014, Accessed November 17, 2017, http://cerlac.info.yorku.ca/files/2016/07/Salsa-on-St.-Clair-Paper_Parkes.pdf

¹³ Despite the demographic changes, some Italian business sectors increased their presence on St. Clair West during the 1980s. For example, after the 1982 World Cup party an Italy-based financial institution named Banca Commerciale Italiana chose St. Clair West as the location for their first branch in Canada.

¹⁴ Corso Italia Business Improvement Area, Accessed May 5, 2012, <http://www.torontocorsoitalia.com/page.php?id=789>. The concept of business improvement areas in Toronto originated in 1970 by a collection of merchants in the Jane-Bloor area of west Toronto. They sought to protect their marketplace from the recently extended subway system and growing popularity of shopping malls. See Toronto Association of Business Improvement Areas website. Accessed May 5, 2012, http://toronto-bia.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=19&Itemid=66.

Italian proprietors, who knew their bottom line depended on preserving the ethnic character of the neighbourhood through symbol and official approval. It also reveals a degree of anxiety that there was a limited window of opportunity to secure this connection for posterity, surviving in the wake of enthusiasm created by the World Cup street party two years earlier.

Italians were a group well-positioned to reap their rewards of popular multiculturalism as it took shape through soccer fandom. “1982”—or more specifically, soccer fandom, a fortuitous win, and the coming out party of a strong-minded population—had inspired an innovative sport and language school and an Italian bank to set up its first Canadian branch. All these factors were certainly the impetus behind the successful lobbying and official municipal endorsement of the neighbourhood as an Italian urban space. In light of demographic counter challenges weakening the Italian presence in the St. Clair neighbourhood, “1982” not only made Corso Italia, it probably saved it as well. As a historical event that gave new meaning to the Italian immigrant experience in Toronto and symbolically anchored it in a few city blocks, it prompted a new generation of entrepreneurs and fans to defend the enclave even as they opened it to the city. As “memory entrepreneurs,”¹⁵ they reinforced the precedence and importance of the 1982 World Cup celebration in the creation of St. Clair West as a multicultural gathering place and Italians as the local hosts to the new forms of conversations to emerge.

However, an Italian moniker and the addition of new signage did not ensure a stable Italian future when the area reemerged as a popular fan rendezvous. Following the example of

¹⁵ Russell Johnston and Michael Ripmeester, ““That Big Statue of Whoever””: Material Commemoration and Narrative in the Niagara Region,” in *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* eds. James Opp and John C. Walsh (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 132.

Dan Ianuzzi, Johnny Lombardi, and Emilio Mascia, who built Canada's first multilingual media empires over the past three decades, Italian entrepreneurs on St. Clair West set themselves up as multicultural brokers. During each World and Euro Cup tournament that followed, café and restaurant owners marketed their establishments as fan headquarters through advertising and merchandise sales. In 1990, the Chairman of the Corso Italia Business Improvement Area, Gaetano Lo Faso, used a letter to the *Toronto Star* editor to promote his street as "the centre of international soccer festivities in Canada." Four years later, merchants there spent \$20,000 to promote the strip for the 1994 World Cup.¹⁶ The throng of visitors, which numbered more than forty thousand during key matches, were greeted with national flags festooned from patio awnings and a ready supply of patriotic merchandise to cheer their own side.¹⁷ Italian neighbourhoods became the premier locations to celebrate *other* identities. In comparison to the locally-sourced wares for sale in 1982, the popular multiculturalism that Italians marketed to the masses also meant greater integration with global trade networks. The products on sale—hats, key chains, t-shirts, posters and flags—likely came from an Asian factory. To borrow the Progressive Conservative Party's motto during the 1980s, multiculturalism meant business. With soccer fandom and ethnic pride overwhelming the city every two years, Italian merchants positioned themselves at the nexus of these exchanges.

The marketing by business elites of St. Clair West as an Italian urban space is worth comparing to the process simultaneously taking place in the city's other postwar Italian

¹⁶ *Toronto Star*, letter to the editor from Gaetano Lo Faso, July 13, 1990, A18; and *Ibid.*, "Fans bite nails, prepare to party, as World Cup fever grips Metro," by Donovan Vincent, July 16, 1994, A8

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, "Italians cheer soccer win: Street parties mark 2-1 victory over England," July 8, 1990, A10.

locale—College Street. In 1985, just a year after christening Corso Italia, City Hall designated the segment of College Street between Euclid Avenue and Shaw Street a business improvement area. College Street vendors in turn voted to rename themselves the “Little Italy” Merchants Association, officially re-designating their territory in title and symbols as an Italian city space.¹⁸ As they were on Corso Italia, passersby were greeted with red, white, and green street signs signifying passage through an Italian neighbourhood. One of the association’s first campaigns was to lobby the Department of Works to fund improvements to street lighting. That way, prospective customers would feel safer and be more likely to stay and spend money.¹⁹ The College Street of the 1980s actually bore little resemblance to the original Italian enclave after the Second World War where Louis Jannetta and his neighbours established the Canadian Italian Hockey League. Residentially, it was proportionally far less Italian than Corso Italia. In the 1981 Census, the area bounded by Harbord Street to the north, College Street to the south, Bathurst Street to the east, and Ossington Ave to the west was only 18 percent Italian, while the Portuguese number had reached 26 percent.²⁰ With the continued exodus of Italians to the suburbs and influx of Portuguese, St. Clair West was poised to follow the same trajectory.

In spite of similar demographic trends and businesspersons in both places “going multicultural,” the Little Italy BIA and Corso Italia BIA arrived at different conclusions about the Italian character of their traditional Italian neighbourhoods and claims to city space that accompanied their engagement with other communities. Business owners on College Street

¹⁸ The budget of the BIA that year was \$25,000. Each business member was obliged to pay an annual membership fee between 100 and 500 dollars. *Toronto Star*, “‘Little Italy’ signs split community: Many cultures now inhabit College strip,” by Rosie DiManno, March 10, 1986, A6.

¹⁹ Letter from City Commissioner (name not provided) to Councillor Joe Pantalone, February 10, 1986. The improved lighting was slated for College Street from Euclid Ave. and Shaw Street. Fonds 1135, Series 711, Subseries 10, File 25, CTA.

²⁰ Figures generated on *Citystats*, Accessed March 17, 2013.

were rather ambivalent about the need to “defend” the enclave. In one high-profile example, long-standing occupant and CHIN radio mogul Johnny Lombardi objected to the street’s Italianization. He added his signature to a petition, created by local Portuguese business owners, that alternatively called for College Street to be called “The Latin Quarter” to reflect the current mix of Italians, Portuguese, and Latin Americans living there. The former owner of Toronto Roma and annual host of the massive CHIN Radio picnic—which was essentially Italian fare served to a multicultural crowd—also provided a platform for other communities to celebrate at the expense of Italian Toronto. During the 1994 World Cup, Lombardi’s station hosted a Portuguese-Brazilian after-party that provided free food and beverage to fans of the team that beat Italy in the final, who as we will see were also the population presenting the strongest challenge a few kilometers north to exclusive Italian claims to St. Clair West. Lombardi was not alone: other business owners were skeptical about the need to formalize College Street’s Italian character. Carmine Raviele, the co-owner of Il Gatto Nero Café—a men’s soccer hangout during the days of shortwave radio later converted into a classy eatery—still questions the Italian stamp place on the neighbourhood in 1985. “Those signs they’ve put up, I’d say they’re late by about 20 years. But I guess it was one way of doing what they should have done a long time ago.”²¹ The Little Italy BIA addressed a historical oversight, but even the Italian beneficiaries of its rebranding found it to be an anachronism. St. Clair, by comparison, was an Italian boulevard, a message driven home by 250,000 exuberant soccer fans a couple years earlier. 1982 created Corso Italia because it gave proprietors a new level of confidence to claim the street as definitely Italian. The rebranding that followed the World Cup party also

²¹ Carmine Raviele, interviewed by author.

illustrates how quickly memories formed in urban spaces can re-rank the hierarchy of the neighbourhoods in the immigrant saga and rearrange the terms of their interactions with other communities. The success of popular multiculturalism through sport fandom, as Italian entrepreneurs and fans saw it, and we will later see, depended on all parties upholding a “gentlemen’s agreement” that St. Clair West was open to everyone but belonged to the Italians. Some outside young men, however, were unwilling to honour this code, placing gender dynamics at the turbulent centre of a new official vision of multicultural Toronto attached to ethnic communities, neighbourhoods, and expressions of pride in the public sphere during periods of soccer fandom.

Italians after 1982 were not surprised by the inter-ethnic soccer fandom on St. Clair West because they believed they had set the gold standard. Storeowner Dominic Stalteri, who has witnessed every cavalcade since that time, says, “Whenever there is a World Cup, people come down to St. Clair. They’re thinking, ‘I got to be seen. This is where it happened.’”²² Older members of the “crowd”—that is, the non-elites and non-business owners who can recall every tournament and street celebration since 1982—also describe the subsequent arrival of non-Italian fans on St. Clair West as the historical response to an Italian precedent of expressive ethnicity and cultural openness. Italian soccer fans were the catalyst for a ritual repeated every World Cup and UEFA Euro Cup tournament that followed, when communities from other enclaves with qualifying teams “made like the Italians” and amassed on street and sidewalks, blocked traffic, partied late into the night, and choked city motorways with caravans bearing their own flags, many of them destined for Italian neighbourhoods where the largest crowds

²² Dominique Stalteri, interviewed by author.

gathered. Two weeks after the Italy's World Cup victory, a local Italian artist proposed erecting a statue to the cause of multiculturalism at Union Station, Toronto's busiest transit interchange.²³ The project never materialized, but the policies and ideals it hoped to venerate in stone survived in the more lively format of soccer fandom cast against the non-pretentious but now hugely symbolic St. Clair background of brick walls, awnings, concrete and asphalt. Explains photographer Tony Pavia, "Now every country celebrates on St. Clair because this is the place where it all started."²⁴ Sitting at Tricolore Café, Gordon D'Aloisio recalls with pride the multicultural buzz that erupts in the neighbourhood when the Italians open up their businesses to the city. "In the last World Cup (2010) there were Chinese, Brazilians, Portuguese, and Croatians too. You couldn't move in the café; there were no chairs to sit on."²⁵ Presumably, Gordon could identify one's allegiance by their outward appearance, flag, t-shirt, or paraphernalia. He did not consider rubbing shoulders with competitors in his favourite café a threat to himself as an Italian, or to the neighbourhood where he grew up and still returns for a drink. The other patrons sitting there with him agreed: St. Clair West was open to everyone.

The new exchanges opened up a complex dialogue in which other ethnics simultaneously acknowledged and resisted Italian claims to St. Clair West. In one sense, the congregation of other bodies, sounds, and symbols in traditional Italian spaces reinforced the association between expressive ethnicity, winning, and soccer established in 1982. The main difference was that the centre of the new soccer fandom was not the soccer park and the focus was not teams representing immigrant communities in the local or regional leagues. The new

²³ *Toronto Star*, "Man Seeks \$40,000 for World Cup Soccer Statue."

²⁴ Tony Pavia, interviewed by author.

²⁵ Dominic Salteri, interviewed by author; and Gordon D'Aloisio, interviewed by author.

fandom operated in the streets and featured much larger crowds making bold statements of self and community identity with flags and other national symbols. In this new atmosphere, Little Italies were the place to be, Italy was the team to beat, and Italians were the fans to greet. Toronto now featured a unique urban cultural phenomenon in which non-Italians performed for an Italian audience. The city's many other communities *wanted* to be seen by the Italians. By making Italian neighbourhoods their stage and Italians their audience, they were also implicitly acknowledging their pre-eminent position as leaders in the organization of diversity through sport, culture, and commerce. This combined approach of pursuing recognition from Italians while acknowledging their privileged status became standard practice. In 1990, some 13,000 victorious Germans turned St. Clair West into "a sea of black, red and yellow flags." One fan, Seigried Hau, 49, exclaimed, "We're going to pay a visit to the Italian soccer fans. We're going to rub it in a bit. But we won't rub it in too much."²⁶ The *Toronto Star* interviewed two Turkish men on the way to St. Clair West to celebrate their team's quarter-final victory and Italy's shocking loss to South Korea—"just to stick it to the Italians."²⁷ Antonio da Silva, a second-generation Portuguese Canadian, has also made regular trips with his friends to St. Clair Avenue West and College Street since the mid-nineties to deliver a specific message to the Italian audience awaiting them. "For the Portuguese, we like to go to Little Italy or Corso Italia—like I do. It's a friendly f--- you to the Italians, but also because of the concentration of the Portuguese [there]."²⁸ In 1982, other communities celebrated with Italian Toronto; later,

²⁶ *Toronto Star*, "Fans of Germany savour soccer win," by Maureen Murray and Kim Honey, July 9, 1990, A2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, "Where the stars ciao down," by Rita Zekas, June 30, 2002, D1.

²⁸ Antonio da Silva (pseud.), interviewed by author, February 9, 2011, Toronto, ON.

they reveled at their defeats. But in each case, the Italians maintained their recognized position as hosts and critics in expression and organization of diversity through soccer fandom.

The Italians' brokering roles in promoting popular multiculturalism went beyond multilingual media business models and Corso Italia BIA promotional efforts. Elites representing Italian institutions created their own cosmopolitan exchanges. In 1994, the massive Columbus Centre began to host "Friendship Nights," where soccer fans and representatives from other ethnic communities were invited to their building to watch a game. CEO Pal di Iulio, who came up with the idea, commissioned an artist to sketch a promotional poster for each of the seven different matches.²⁹ In each, an Italian player stands beside his rival that night. Smaller versions of these still hang from the walls of the Centre's "Café 500" eatery. Supporters of the countries Italy played—Nigeria, Brazil, Mexico, Spain, Norway, Ireland, and Bulgaria—were greeted with caricatures of both themselves and their Italian hosts. The posters paradoxically accentuated both their differences and bonds through humour at one another's expense. The Spaniard looked like a cross between a bullfighter and Don Juan with his cape and a red rose between his teeth. The Bulgarian appeared peasant-like with a traditional kalpak fur hat and hand basket full of bread and tomatoes. The artist seemed hesitant or perplexed about the Nigerian caricature because the African figure lacked any ethnic "accessories." It was simply bigger and taller than the Italian. The Italian representative, star forward Roberto Baggio, wore a large cross hung outside his jersey to show his Roman Catholic affiliation, and he carried a glass of red wine in his left hand. For an ethnic Canadian audience, he was identifiably religious, modern, and high cultured. He wore no hat or extra accoutrement and carried nothing to evoke

²⁹ Pal di Iulio, interviewed by author. Also profiled in *Toronto Star*, "Italy's fans bop, Brazil's samba: Sunday's big day for soccer final," by Donovan Vincent and Phinjo Gombu, July 14, 1994, A7.

a rustic past. In the spirit of inclusive multiculturalism that guided the Friendship Nights, he conveyed a confident, stylish, and progressive Italian host.



Figure 13. Poster for 1994 Italy vs. Brazil World Cup Final, welcoming fans of both countries to watch the game together at the Columbus Centre. Oddly, the Brazilian player identified as Romário appears to be Bebeto. The friendship societies were an effort by the Centre to generate positive exchanges between soccer fans and improve public perceptions after recent street confrontations and negative media attention. Source: Columbus Centre

Popular multiculturalism in sport fandom paralleled Italian initiatives taking place in other leisure areas. Centro Scuola, profiled in Chapter Two, was by the 1990s encouraging non-Italians to register for its language courses and play for its *Azzurri* soccer teams. The ironic result of this orientation was that Centro Sportivo's teams were more multicultural and less Italian in composition than their competitors in Italy at the *Giocchi della Gioventù* or the teams

they hosted from other cities at the annual Italian Canadian Youth Games in Toronto.³⁰ Another high-profile example is the Roman Catholic Società Unita, which reorganized its summer camp in 1990 to a multicultural tune. Camp Teopoli, or “city of God,” was originally founded in 1972 by Italian-born Fr. Claudio Piccinnini of the Roman Catholic Passionist Order. Located 170 kilometers north of Toronto, it coordinated events for campers to share and appreciate one another’s cultural heritage.³¹ “There’s a real mixup there,” director Joe Colalillo told a *Toronto Star* reporter, no pun intended. “It’s as multicultural as Toronto.” Similar to the CHIN Radio International Picnics, the camp was also as Italian as Toronto. Children competed in a soccer tournament, attending daily mass and communion, and consumed a diet of pizza, pasta and spumoni gelato prepared by volunteer “nonnas.” They also set up their own socio-political structure, which involved selecting from their peers a mayor, town council, religious officials, and even a pope.³² Multiculturalism at Camp Teopoli came on an Italian platform. Campers became aware and sensitive to one another’s differences, and understood that in addition to their Roman Catholic faith, they shared an interest in Italian culture. Camp Teopoli’s inter-ethnic ambassadors followed the guest-host arrangement laid out by the media moguls, CHIN picnics, St. Clair West merchants and the Columbus Centre’s “Friendship Nights.”

³⁰ Davide di Iulio’s youth team that travelled to Italy in 1995 was quite multicultural. Davide di Iulio, telephone interview by author; and De Maria Harney, *Eh, Paesan!*, 120-1.

³¹ Youth projects that emphasized individual rights and spiritual growth through community building were inspired by the Second Vatican Council’s *Gaudium et Spes* promulgation of 1965. The first ones in the Toronto region were introduced a year later by the Youth Corps programs of Father Bob McKillop. Camp Teopoli followed this vision with an ethnic-infused formula. See Peter E. Baltutis, “Rooted in the Vision of Vatican II: Youth Corps and the Formation of Christ-Centered Social Activists in Toronto, 1966–1984,” *Historical Studies* 76 (2010): 7–26.

³² *Toronto Star*, “Children make rules to help run this camp,” by Lisa Wright, June 14, 1990, A6; *Ibid.*, “A Spiritual Playground of Biblical Proportions,” by Melanie Sochan, August 9, 1998, Accessed via Canadian Newstand, May 4, 2012; and *Ibid.*, “Nonnas nourish body and soul at Teopoli,” by Leslie Ferenc, Accessed May 4, 2012, <http://www.thestar.com/freshairfund/article/1023609--nonnas-nourish-body-and-soul-at-teopoli>.

In the late 1990s, multinational corporations identified Toronto's Italian quarters as a potential market for their products. Nike's first foray into the Canadian soccer market was launched as an advertising campaign on Toronto's St. Clair West Avenue and College Street in 1998. Jeff Spriet, advertising manager of Nike Canada Ltd. announced that company believed that its success in Canada's soccer market depended on first tapping into Toronto's ethnic rivalries: "We felt that rather than dilute our message around Canada, we would focus on one area where soccer is both popular and important." The company plastered four different posters and slogans—two pro-Brazil, two pro-Italy, each directed at the other team's fans—on seventy-five bus shelters throughout the two enclaves. One advertisement on College Street marketed to rile the Italians and please the Portuguese (who comprised many of Toronto's Brazil fans) by exalting Brazil's offensive and high possession style of play read, "Don't worry about winning the game. Try winning the ball." Another launched on St. Clair West with the Italian fan in mind read: "Brazil plays beautiful soccer—when we beat them."³³ The selection of these streets, with its historical importance to Italians, and use of the plural "we," was a clever marketing ploy to get the attention of a community that claimed St. Clair West, in particular, as its own. Italian entrepreneurs were no longer the only group profiting from friendly rivalries among Toronto's soccer-mad populations. In fact, the City of Toronto itself was the one with the most to gain or lose by attaching its image to the spontaneous cultural exchanges among flag-saving sports fans.

³³ *The Globe and Mail*, "Nike gets a toehold in soccer stronghold In Toronto's Little Italy, the rabid soccer fan feels the advertiser's bite," by Grant Robertson, June 18, 1998, A1; and *Toronto Star*, "World Cup flag-waving had nothing to do with soccer," by John Montesano, July 13, 1998, A13. For another case of a mainstream company seeking an ethnic market, read about how the New England Revolution, a Major League Soccer franchise, courted the local Portuguese population. Miguel Moniz, "Adaptive Transnational Identity and the Selling of Soccer: The New England Revolution and Lusophone Migrant Populations," in *Globalized Football: Nations and Migration, The City and the Dream*, eds. Nina Clara Tiesler and João Nuno Coelho (New York: Routledge, 2008), 20-38.

“Where the True Heart of the City Lives”: City Rebranding, Ethnic Neighbourhoods, and Soccer Fandom

By the mid-1980s, the City of Toronto, Toronto Police, and mainstream media—formerly suspicious of immigrant men who congregated in public and resistant to unplanned exhibitions of ethnic pride—viewed ethnic soccer fandom as “Toronto stories.” These moments showcased the city’s multicultural diversity and, by the late 1990s, its international reach. The city had already adopted an official multicultural policy and employment equity programs in the late seventies, but its self-revisioning as a “city of neighbourhoods and peoples” was first conceived in the tourism sector.³⁴ Before 1982, the only site of ethnic significance mentioned in travel brochures was Kensington Market, which consisted at the time of three interconnected city streets with Jewish food merchants and a patchwork of clothing shops, cafes, and small restaurants.³⁵ Two booklets from the early 1980s labelled Toronto “a people city” and listed ethnic events such as the West Indian Caravan, the CHIN International Picnic, and the Hadassah Bazaar. But apart from the newly constructed China Court—“North America’s first and only authentic Chinese Mall”—along Spadina Avenue’s Chinatown, the city still lacked ethnic *destinations*.³⁶

In 1982, the City Hall commissioned a major advertising firm to explore ways to create more revenue in the increasingly competitive global tourism market. The report was released

³⁴ The city’s Urban Alliance on Race Relations dates from the mid-1970s, and the first employment equity policy was approved in 1977. An official multiculturalism policy was adopted by the Municipality in 1978. Michael Doucet, “The Anatomy of an Urban Legend: Toronto’s Multicultural Reputation,” Working Paper No. 16 (Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement, 2001), Accessed July 24, 2012, http://ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/pdf/research_publication/working_papers/wp16.pdf.

³⁵ Derek Carter, “Sample Toronto’s Ethnic Flavor,” in *Key to Toronto: Your Complete Guide to the City (Our 25th year)*, The Hotel Association of Metropolitan Toronto, August 1978, p. 24-5, Fonds 2, Series 112, File 39, CTA.

³⁶ “Guide Map,” Convention & Tourist Bureau of Metropolitan Toronto [1982?], and “You’ve Got Friends in Toronto,” Tourist Brochure, Convention & Tourist Bureau of Metropolitan Toronto [1984?], *Ibid.*, File 58, CTA.

two years later, and it called for greater integration between municipal government and the private sector and a significantly larger marketing budget. Its key recommendations, however, dealt with how the City and tourism-affected industries should reimagine and market themselves. During its research, the firm surveyed local citizens to assess their impressions of their city. The most common responses they received were—in order of appearance—cleanliness, safety, diversity, and conservatism. The last response was ignored entirely. On the others, the firm instructed that “civic pride, safety and cleanliness don’t draw tourists,” but “the discovery of fun and excitement is a more enticing message.” It called for a new slogan (“Toronto: Discover the Feeling”), logo, and a promotional song of 30-second jingles suitable for radio and television ads. The first radio jingle aired on stations across Northeastern America and Ontario. The opening line enthused about Toronto’s diversity and closed with a rather nebulous invitation to “Discover the feeling [and] Let it be what you want.”³⁷ The 30-second television ad that appeared the following year, driven by the sprightly tune of a synthesizer and horns, featured a montage of sport and cultural activities, at least three of them with servers or performers in identifiably “ethnic” costume. Crooner Tony Bennett appears at the end and concludes the pitch on a personal note, sharing “When I come to Toronto, I come to play.” More than ever before, “discovery of fun and excitement” meant envisioning the city as a mosaic of ethnic people and neighbourhoods. The local tourism industry accepted the advertising firm’s recommendations and put them into action.

³⁷ The opening lyrics are: What puts smiles on every face?/Hold like a warm embrace?/Where does all the world meet in one place? “Toronto—Discover the Feeling: The Metro Toronto Song,” Words and music by Mark Shkter and David Fleury, 8 June 1984, Mckim Adversiting Ltd., 1984, TTC Marketing Board, Release of Metropolitan Toronto Marketing Plan, by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 16, Series 1549, File 250, CTA.

The Annual Visitor's Guide for 1988 illustrates how quickly and unequivocally the rebranding took place. The front cover featured a street post with signs stacked on top of one another. These destinations included: Little Italy/College Street, Chinatown/Dundas Street West, the Spadina Avenue fashion district and the Bloor-Yorkville shopping area.³⁸ Chinatown, it should be mentioned, would have been demolished sixteen years earlier in favour of a new freeway. Once considered a candidate for "urban renewal," it now featured among the city's top attractions. The guide's title was "Toronto: A City of Neighbourhoods," an image no doubt influenced by the recent creation of ethnic BIA's in Greektown, Little Italy, Corso Italia, and the Gerrard India Bazaar,³⁹ among others. The manual claimed that when visiting these locales and experiencing their different sights, smells, tastes, and residents, one could physically be in Canada but swept away to a foreign place. The prospect of encountering the unfamiliar so close to home was both enticing and exciting.

The guide makes clear links between city space, civic identity, and pluralism. One article explains: "The first observation one makes about Toronto is its ethnic diversity. [There are seventy ethnic groups in the city] and each offers a key ingredient to the make-up of Metropolitan Toronto." These ethnics live in neighbourhoods that form "where the true heart of the city lives."⁴⁰ The bureau's remarketing of Toronto as a multi-ethnic place was intense to the point that it had to point out to tourists that "there is [actually] more to Toronto's

³⁸ "Toronto: A City of Neighbourhoods," Metropolitan Toronto 1988 Annual Visitor's Guide, Metropolitan Toronto Convention & Visitors Association. Fonds 265, Series 1269, Subseries 1, File 5, CTA

³⁹ The Gerrard Street Indian Bazaar BIA received City Council approval in 1982. Harald Bauder and Angelica Suorineni, "Toronto's Little India: A Brief Neighbourhood History," (Toronto: Ryerson University, 2010), Accessed July 28, 2012, www.digitalcommons.ryerson.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002.

⁴⁰ "At the heart of it all," by Steve Johnston, in *Toronto: A City of Neighbourhoods* visitors guide, p. 22-23. Fonds 265, Series 1269, File 5, CTA.

neighbourhoods than the ethnic diversity they provide.”⁴¹ The campaign appeared to be successful one. Between 1982 and 1987, direct expenditures generated by the tourism industry increased by 20 percent.⁴² City officials, by defining the metropolis as its cultural diversity, were rejecting the hegemonic notions of Victorian respectability that once limited outdoor social activity. In terms of tourist revenue, they learned that Anglo-conformity was not good for business, and with time few considered it desirable at all. The city remained Toronto the Good, but it was now virtuous for a different reason. Marketable diversity meant packaging the foreign with the familiar and the unpredictable with the safe. In this welcoming format, not all that different from the street soccer fandom that preceded it, the city projected an image of itself as cosmopolitan, ever-changing, and open to rediscovery. The latter quality was nicely captured in the 1998 book *Secret Toronto: The Unique Guidebook to Toronto’s Hidden Sites, Sounds, and Tastes*, which geographically divided the “unexplored” city into primarily ethnic destinations.⁴³ Toronto tourism, like soccer fandom, celebrated a wide range of cultural differences. The Tourism Bureau and Corso Italia BIA shared a key assumption about the relationship between ethnicity, belonging, and urban space. On this model, the city of Toronto

⁴¹ Ibid., 23.

⁴² Unfortunately, this source does not provide an annual revenue breakdown, so it is difficult to state what proportion of growth took place after the marketing changes in 1984. In 1987, however, we know there were 17.62 million visitations and more than 2.65 billion in tourist expenditures. “TORONTO: DISCOVER THE FEELING!” Metro Toronto Convention and Visitors Association Business Plan, 1989, p. 26, Convention and visitor’s association 1989-91, Fonds 288, Series 1395, File 48, CTA.

⁴³ Scott Mitchell, *Secret Toronto: The Unique Guidebook to Toronto’s Hidden Sites, Sounds, and Tastes*, revised edition (Toronto: ECW Press, 2002). Another thought to consider is that official municipal diversity policies during the 1980s and 1990s were aimed at anti-discrimination, removing social and economic barriers, and equity hiring programs. The multicultural image the city wished to project to outsiders was of a different type than what motivated program funding. The street-level celebrations it now formally encouraged in fact more closely resembled the 1970s folkways (song and dance) funding from which all three levels of government had been moving away. For a discussion of municipal programs, read former City Hall employee Ceta Ramkhalawansingh’s “Multiculturalism by other Names: Sketching Four Decades of Evolving Practice in Toronto,” *Canadian Journal for Social Research* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 77-83.

was Corso Italia writ large: it consisted of neighbourhoods marked out for specific communities. Everyone else was welcome, but they were *visiting* nonetheless.

Perhaps appropriately, the glowing conclusions advanced in tourist material were taken to new heights through sport in the City's 1996 and 2008 Olympic Games bids. These campaigns anchored Toronto's global reach in its diverse and harmonious population. The first bid, launched in 1990, packaged these ingredients into a press release describing Toronto as:

*the ideal model of the emerging global village. People from every part of the world have chosen Toronto as their home, and have blended into a new international urban culture...every national Olympic team will be welcomed by their countrymen who live here...Toronto is a city of the future. Urbane and sophisticated, it is a deliberately multicultural city that rejoices in its diversity.*⁴⁴

The committee for the 2008 bid presented Toronto as a safe, multicultural city capable of hosting the Games.⁴⁵ Its slogan, "Expect the World," reproduced the formula from eight years earlier. The second bid coincided with the amalgamation of six core municipalities into the "megacity" of Toronto in 1998. The motto of the new conurbation strongly emphasized its pluralistic character: "Diversity—Our Strength." The Olympic and civic slogans were "media civic superlatives" that packaged the city for residents, business, and visitors alike.⁴⁶

Harmonious diversity was a theme that gave cohesion to an urban metropolis that might alternatively be described as decentralized, dissimilar, and unassimilated. It was civic shorthand

⁴⁴ Toronto's Proposal to Host the Games of the XXVITH Olympiad, 1990 Toronto Ontario Olympic Council, Fonds 72, Series 336, File 193, CTA.

⁴⁵ "Toronto loses to Beijing in 2008 Olympic bid," *CBC News*, July 13, 2001, Accessed July 24, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2001/07/13/games010713.html>.

⁴⁶ Gene Burd, "Mediated Sports, Mayors, and the Marketed Metropolis," in *Sporting Dystopias: The Making and Meaning of Urban Sport Cultures*, eds. R C Wilcox et al. (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2003): 36-7.

for a sense of place and consensual identity that turned millions into a single “imagined community.”⁴⁷ Toronto was a shining example of the world on better terms.⁴⁸

For city officials, soccer fandom painted a moving and exciting picture of Toronto’s exceptionalism. In 1998, Mayor Mel Lastman proclaimed

A world event like the World Cup pulls our city together because this city is the world. We party together, we have fun together and we know how to do it with civility, with dignity and pride. You can go anywhere in this city and be anywhere in the world...you can wave any flag you want.⁴⁹

World Cup squads might be performing on soccer pitches under the watchful eye of officials and a billion viewers, but in Toronto people of diverse origins congregated peacefully on their own initiative. Interestingly, he applied the same terms to Toronto’s people —civility and dignity—used by Italians who recalled their party in 1982.⁵⁰ Mayor June Rowlands embodied City Hall’s acknowledgement of Italian precedence during the mid-nineties when she strolled through Corso Italia wearing a t-shirt with the inscription *Forza Italia*.⁵¹ An often-heard statement from her office was that the United Nations had declared Toronto to be the most multicultural city in the world. The misnomer originated in the late 1980s under Art Eggleton and was reiterated by other politicians, city boosters, and newspapers for another decade.

Toronto certainly made an excellent candidate for the title, if one existed, but the UN had never

⁴⁷ A term popularized by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983). Eva Mackey explores multicultural self-branding at the federal level: “They are imaginings of tolerance of diversity, imaginings which consider cultural and racial heterogeneity an integral part of national identity.” Eva Mackey, “Postmodernism and cultural politics in a multicultural nation,” *Public Culture* 7 no. 2 (Winter 1995): 408.

⁴⁸ Doucet, “The Anatomy of an Urban Legend.”

⁴⁹ *Toronto Star*, “World Cup: Why Toronto is a city of winners,” by Elaine Carey, June 27, 1998, A1.

⁵⁰ A more recent example was Deputy Mayor Joe Pantalone’s campaign to permit bars to serve liquor three hours earlier to coincide with the 2010 World Cup games in South Africa. To pre-empt fears that early drinking might create social disturbances, he assured critics: “I think people in Toronto are responsible. There has never any problem with soccer fans in this city.” *The Globe and Mail*, “World Cup fans cheer on earlier drinking hours,” by Kelly Grant, May 8, 2010, A14.

⁵¹ *Toronto Star*, “Metro fans united by love of the game,” by Donovan Vincent and Henry Stancu, July 18, 1994, A9.

made such a declaration, as geographer Michael Doucet discovered. Few bothered to challenge its veracity because they wanted it to be true. Toronto is undoubtedly one of the most culturally diverse places on the planet. In 1996, 42 percent of the population was foreign born. More compelling, nine groups speaking a mother tongue other than English or French each accounted for more than one percent of the total population.⁵² But being *one* of the most multicultural cities did not always distinguish Toronto as a model of peaceful coexistence.

Toronto's popular multiculturalism through soccer fandom challenges cultural theorists who predict that all types of fandom disappear once they become mainstream and part of normal consumption.⁵³ Entertainment subcultures often disappear once mass media renders them ubiquitous and therefore irrelevant. But the "Toronto stories" were powerful because they generated memories through competitive discourse and the local production of symbolic space, a phenomenon that Greg Dickenson and Carole Blair call *memory places*.⁵⁴ Toronto's biannual street parties and their uncertain outcomes gave soccer fandom staying power and the renewed potential for new scripts. Each tournament featured a new cast of teams and winners, which in Toronto corresponded to a changing neighbourhood mosaic. Street theatre and national symbols gave fresh meanings to city spaces, and fan rituals ensured that the original party in 1982 and those that followed were neither isolated nor passing moments in the life of ethnic Toronto.

⁵² These are, by order of size, Chinese, Italian, Portuguese, Indo-Iranian, Polish, Spanish, Punjabi, Greek, and German. Statistics Canada, Census 1996, Public Use Microfiche Files, cited in Clifford Jansen and Lawrence Lam, "Immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area: A Socio-demographic Overview," in *The World in a City*, 86, and pg. 4 of the editor's introduction.

⁵³ This is discussed further by Henry Jenkins in his "Afterward" to *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*, eds. Johnathan Gray, Cornel Sandvoss, and C. Lee Harrington (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 362-4.

⁵⁴ Editors' introduction to *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, eds. Greg Dickinson and Carole Blair (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 3-4.

Sudden attention to one's community could be a public relations and business bonanza. In a city that defined itself by public acts of celebratory diversity, a tournament berth and street party put a community on the map. Journalists typically looked for sensational stories and the carnivalesque,⁵⁵ so mass media became a soundboard for identity performance. An enthusiastic celebration caught the attention of the press, which in turn brought public attention to the ethnic neighbourhood hosting the event. Fandom was a sign of an ethnic locale's vitality and vibrancy. During the 1998 World Cup tournament, for example, the *Toronto Star's* demographics reporter boasted that "no matter who wins the World Cup in mid-July, there'll still be a whopping, flag-waving, horn-honking all-night victory party in Toronto."⁵⁶ St. Clair West and College Street, the two Italian strips, were the main hubs of activity. One reporter observed in 1994 that the College Street *mélange* was "farcically complex."⁵⁷ Italians were out there in force, but so too were fans of Brazil and Argentina, who made a few blocks their base camp, and the Portuguese, who divided their presence between St. Clair, College Street, and Dundas Street West's "Little Portugal." Italians could be found on St. Clair West, College Street, and Market Square in suburban Woodbridge; Greeks celebrated on The Danforth's Greektown; and other ethnics were more dispersed throughout the city.

The surprise qualification of Jamaica in 1998 and success of South Korea in 2002 brought two more immigrant communities and their neighbourhoods into the fan mosaic. Jamaica supporters seemed to care little that their team lost every match as they danced and sang at the corner of Eglinton West and Oakwood. One poet navigated the crowd selling framed copies

⁵⁵ Riccardo Lo Monaco, in his thesis on Italian Toronto and the 1982 World Cup, perceptively notes that mainstream dailies focused on carnivalesque aspects of the party on St. Clair West, while Italian-language papers emphasized what the moment meant for the Italian community. Lo Monaco, "*Siamo Number One*," p. 51.

⁵⁶ *Toronto Star*, "World Cup: Why Toronto is a City of Winners."

⁵⁷ *The Globe and Mail*, "World Cup fever runneth over in Little Italy," by John Barber, July 16, 1994, A1.

of his tribute “Reggae Boyz on a Rampage.”⁵⁸ South Koreans fans turned normally stoic Koreatown around Bloor West and Bathurst into a street party that surprised even police officers now accustomed to soccer fandom. Elated by their team’s shocking upsets over Portugal and Italy, 30,000 Korean students filled Koreatown waving flags, while their older, more conservative co-ethnics looked on with curiosity.⁵⁹ Fascinated by the enhanced visibility of certain ethnics during the World Cup, one reporter perceptively noted: “In neighbourhoods that won’t find their way onto any ‘Best of’ lists in *Toronto Life* magazine, city-dwellers have been reclaiming strips of cityscape and turning a little national pride into a good excuse for a street party.”⁶⁰ The entrance of Jamaica and South Korea in the world’s “greatest dance” presented new opportunities for improvisational theatre and fans gave the newspapers something to report.

To the print media, peaceful interaction among soccer fans was proof *par excellence* that the city’s multicultural experiment was working. In honour of the 2004 Euro Cup final match between Greece and Portugal, the *Toronto Star* asked a journalist from the local *Sol Portuguesa* and pair of Greek theology students to each write a large column, assessing the upcoming match from a technical standpoint and what it meant to their own communities. Perhaps to illustrate its support of cultural diversity, the *Star* printed the article in Portuguese and Greek beside the English version. Even people not ordinarily interested in soccer or sport were drawn to the streets and bars because it was an ethnic event of local importance.

⁵⁸ *Toronto Star*, “Soccer fans yield to flag mania: Souvenir fest enriching vendors of all stripes,” by Steven Theobald, June 27, 1998, C1.

⁵⁹ *Toronto Star*, “Suddenly Koreans are mad for soccer” by Natalie Alcoba, June 14, 2002, A14; *The Globe and Mail*, “The Fan,” by John Allemang, June 19, 2002, A2; and *Ibid.*, “A Sporting Chance,” by John Allemang, June 29, 2002, F3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, “Diversity on display for soccer,” by John Montesano, June 29, 1998, A17.

Member of Parliament Jack Layton, for one, rushed back to Toronto from Ottawa when Greece made the final because Greektown on the Danforth is within his riding.⁶¹ Reporters made special note of parties that were inter-ethnic affairs, places of cultural exchange where fans demonstrated solidarity with people from outside their own group either by cheering for another's side or retaining their original affiliations while celebrating the atmosphere of collegial civility. Many Torontonians comfortably participated in a local popular multiculturalism through sport that reified group differences even as it encouraged people of various backgrounds to walk across boundaries. One fan, looking for a place to watch a politically-infused match between Iran and the United States in 1998, was amazed to find more Iranians gathered at an English pub than at an Iranian restaurant.⁶² Another person dropped by a German eatery to discover most supporters there had no affiliation with Germany. The Anglo and Kuwaiti Canadians seated next to him simply "liked the way Germany played the game."⁶³ During the 2004 Euro Cup, the *Star* quoted the Middle Eastern owner of a Greektown video store: "if you like soccer or not, you have to like seeing your neighbourhood so happy," he said.⁶⁴ The most common stories revolved around parties with ethnic "hosts." The most prominent one featured a competition between College Street Brazilians/Portuguese and St. Clair West Italians over "bragging rights for throwing the best World Cup party in the city."⁶⁵ The newspaper's conception of diversity moored cultural difference with urban geographic markers. Considered together, opportunistic soccer fans, ethnic locales, and "best party"

⁶¹ *The Globe and Mail*, "Meet me by the World Cup," by Robert Vipond, July 22, 1998, A15.

⁶² *Toronto Star*, "Diversity on display for soccer."

⁶³ *The Globe and Mail*, "The Fan."

⁶⁴ *Toronto Star*, "The roar of victory, the tranquility of defeat," by Jordan Heath-Rawlings, July 4, 2004, A9.

⁶⁵ *Toronto Star*, "Supporters of Italy and Brazil battle to see who throws best party," by Natalie James, June 28, 1998, A6.

bragging rights followed the same reasoning: those having a good time “within limits” on the potentially divisive stage of soccer fandom embodied the best of multicultural inclusivity. Conversely, parties that descended into ethnic standoffs challenged this new arrangement. In the sunny and darker moments, the fate of Italian Toronto was intertwined with those of the city itself.

But opportunistic fans “did not a multicultural Toronto make”: they could party *with* the Italians, Portuguese, Brazilians, or Jamaicans—for example—but never *be* Italians, Portuguese, Brazilians, or Jamaicans. While the papers celebrated the possibility that a person of any background might travel to a different locale, wave their own flag, and watch a soccer match, the neighbourhoods they were visiting essentially *belonged* to a certain group of people and those locations and the people of similar descent occupying them formed the foundations of pluralistic postwar Toronto. Parties in ethnic quarters required a host with a recognized claim to that space. Most stories featured soccer fans “acting ethnic” in their historical enclave, their bodies the bearers of cultural meaning. Notable examples were passionate Italians drinking espresso, Brazilians dancing the samba, Jamaicans cooking jerk chicken, and Greeks playing backgammon.⁶⁶ The papers reinforced the idea of soccer fandom as male domain by profiling mostly men in these roles. In the rare times that a woman was interviewed, she was usually juxtaposed with a male partner with a different soccer allegiance, or partying alongside male fathers, friends, and brothers.⁶⁷ Men were the seminal figures in soccer fandom. “Soccer, for us it its natural. It’s like dating...or pinching women,” the *Toronto Star* quoted an Italian man

⁶⁶ John Montesano of the *Toronto Star* should be credited for questioning the idea of ethnic authenticity in World Cup reporting. See *Toronto Star*, “Diversity on display for soccer.”

⁶⁷ *Toronto Star*, “Fans bite nails, prepare to party,” by Donovan Vincent, June 16, 1994, A8; *Ibid.*, “Big fat street party,” by William Lin, July 5, 2004, and *Ibid.*, “Some hearts too heavy to party,” by Tarannum Kamlani

saying in 1986.⁶⁸ In the same paper twelve years later, a gathering in a Mississauga Croatian billiard was described as “definitely a guy thing.” The heart of the story was Croatia’s first appearance in the World Cup. The men gathered around the room stood around nervously “like fathers waiting in a maternity ward.” Their country of origin’s initial game on the big stage was “like having a first baby,” said the owner’s son.⁶⁹ Sports were an important node of generational transfer among immigrant men. The long gestation period finally over, it was the Croatian fathers’ turn to celebrate the good news.

Italians and Portuguese: Good Neighbours on the Sidelines

Curb-side conversations were the manifestation of longer historical relationships and unresolved questions between communities. The Italian population, given its number, influence, and historical precedence in creating sport spectacles, were at the fulcrum of these disputes. The occasional fisticuffs and vitriolic exchanges were the rough edges hewn out of their symbolic claims to Corso Italia by other immigrants, most of all their Portuguese neighbours, despite the two groups sharing a relationship that was paradoxically quite amicable on the whole. The tensions between them can be attributed to the stark economic disparity that exists despite their similar cultural, occupational, and settlement experiences. To make sense of their discourse in soccer fandom, it is necessary to explain their unique urban relationship in Toronto in some detail. An Italian passenger liner, the *Saturnia*, symbolizes the common ground that Toronto Italians and Portuguese shared before and after settlement in

⁶⁸ Ibid., “Metro Italian fans saddened after 2-0 France win ends World Cup hopes, by Kelly Toughill, June 13, 1986, A6.

⁶⁹ *Toronto Star*, “Croatians cheer first Cup win,” by Jim Rankin, June 15, 1998, A15.

Canada, and also the unequal rapport that caused tensions. The ship was commissioned from its Italian owners in 1952 to bring the first eighty-seven Portuguese men across the Atlantic. There would be many more instances of Italians playing a guiding role in the settlement of their Portuguese neighbours. They came from regions of Europe least affected by industrialization—Italy's *mezzogiorno* or "south" and Portugal's Azorean islands. These societies were remarkably poor, devoutly Roman Catholic, almost exclusively rural, agriculturally dependent, and marked by traditional notions of gender and the family. The depressed societies of rural Portugal and Italy produced the same class of migrant workers—a large cohort of relatively uneducated and unskilled workers for the booming postwar Canadian economy. With these limitations, Italian and Portuguese male migrants initially gravitated towards the same working-class neighbourhoods and vocations, which were typically in construction and small family enterprises. Italian women found work as domestics, keepers of boarding houses, and seamstresses, while a large number of Portuguese women operated as custodians and domestics.⁷⁰ The two populations also regularly encountered one another at the local parish, school, and sometimes at the altar.⁷¹

⁷⁰ At present, we know very little about the pre-migration labour practices of Portuguese women. The task is further complicated by the fact that the Canada census stopped recording occupations by ethnic group in 1971, ten years before it included the Portuguese in its findings. Edite Noivo's limited sociological survey of Toronto Portuguese noted a high incidence of working mothers in low-paying service industries. As well, Gilberto Fernandes explores activism among female office building custodians. See chapter 4 of Edite Noivo's, *Inside Ethnic Families: Three Generations of Portuguese-Canadians* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); and Gilberto Fernandes, "Beyond the 'Politics of Toil.' Collective Mobilization and Individual Activism in Toronto's Portuguese Community, 1950s-1990s," *Urban History Review* 39, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 59-72. For a insightful study of Italian women running boarding houses in Vancouver see Laura Quilici, "'I was a Strong Lady': Italian Housewives with Boarders in Vancouver, 1947-61," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1995.

⁷¹ Nicholas DeMaria Harney notes that it is difficult to find reliable statistics on rates of Italian-Portuguese intermarriage. But he offers a micro analysis of exogamy at St. Anthony's Parish on Bloor Street, where 33 out of 244 weddings between 1992 and 1996 were between members of the two groups. DeMaria Harney, *Eh Paesan!*, 184, footnote 3.

As suggested, Toronto's Italians had a historical head-start in Canada. The country opened its borders to southern European immigrants after 1947, but large-scale Portuguese migration to Canada trailed that of Italians by more than fifteen years. The largest Italian cohort arrived during the 1950s (229,332) and this trajectory slowed only slightly during the 1960s before plummeting after 1973. In 1971, the Portuguese had barely established a foothold and there were already 271,380 Italians settled in the city.⁷² The fall of the Salazar regime in 1973 (?) opened the floodgates for Portuguese seeking to go abroad and by the end of the decade there were 88,870 Portuguese in Toronto, most of them settled in or close to Italian neighbourhoods west and northwest of downtown.⁷³ In these twenty census tracts, the Italian population was so large and concentrated and its institutions were so advanced that one could argue that the Portuguese were received by an Italian subculture more so than a dominant Anglo culture. Nor was their urban relationship a short-lived phenomenon. Despite changing neighbourhood demographics, Italians and Portuguese were more likely to live near one another in 2001 than at any point during their first three decades of large-scale contact.⁷⁴

⁷² *Citystats*, Accessed March 25, 2013.

⁷³ *Ibid*; and Carlos Teixeira and Victor M.P. Da Rosa, *The Portuguese in Canada*, 6. An interesting 1998 television segment on CBC's *Saturday Report* discusses the World Cup sport celebrations in Toronto and how they are being impacted by Portuguese moving into traditional Italian neighbourhoods. "World Cup crazy in Little Italy," by Robin Smythe, *Saturday Report*, CBC Television, June 27, 1998, Accessed December 20, 2016 from the CBC Digital Archives, <http://archives.cbc.ca/sports/soccer/clips/13479/>.

⁷⁴ This statement is based on a measurement called the Interaction Index. Based on local population statistics and given a value between 0 and 1, it shows the degree of exposure of one ethnic group (x) to another (y). The *Citystats* website describes this number as the likelihood of two people, from groups x and y, respectively, confronting one another at a bus stop. Italian and Portuguese points of contact were centralized in an area marked by twenty census tracts, all of them to the immediate north and south of St. Clair West. They comprised the two largest groups by ethnic category in these tracts. They are: 42; 56; 95-96; 107; 109-112; 159.01-164; 169.01; 170-171; 513.04. See Statistics Canada. 2001 Census, Cat. 95-250-XPB, Vols. I-III, Table I. In 1981 Italian-Portuguese exposure was 0.13 and the number for Portuguese to Italians was 0.31. Both figures actually increased in 2001 to 0.22 and 0.31 respectively. In real terms, the Italian population of these twenty tracts fell from 33,855 to 15,935 while that for the Portuguese increased from 14,020 to 23,060. The 1981 Census tracts did not provide statistics for ethnic groups, so the tracts of 2001 are imputed into the *Citystats* engine to procure results for 1981, which may alter the results somewhat. *Citystats*, Accessed March 20, 2013.

The late-arriving Portuguese gravitated to networks already established by Italians over the previous twenty years. Large numbers of Portuguese worked for Italian construction firms, purchased European goods at Italian import stores, and depended on Italian-run social services for settlement assistance.⁷⁵ A Portuguese Canadian politician had this arrangement in mind when he joked before a banquet of Italian and Portuguese Canadian leaders that two thousand years ago a Portuguese worker had an Italian foreman during the Roman Empire and he still does in the city of Toronto.⁷⁶ Owner of the famed Portuguese Bookstore, José Tomaz, is quick to credit Italian migrants with giving the local culture a more Mediterranean feel. Pointing to the building across the street, he explains: “I think you’ve got to thank the Italians for the friendliness of this neighbourhood. This place right here—I think this was the site of the first patio.”⁷⁷ The Italian and Portuguese participants interviewed in this study who are in their twenties and early thirties consider people from the other population among their closest friends. One young Portuguese man recalls his peers during the 1990s entering high school and creating racially segregated friend circles, with Portuguese and Italians always establishing their own clique.⁷⁸ All of them admitted that their friendships, however close, were pushed aside during international soccer tournaments and everyone temporary returned to his own “tribe.”

⁷⁵ Franc Sturino, “Intergroup Relations,” Multicultural Canada, Accessed July 22, 2012, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/Encyclopedia/A-Z/i11/10>; and *Toronto Star*, “World Cup flag-waving had nothing to do with soccer.”

⁷⁶ Story told in De Maria Harney, *Eh Paesan!*, 78.

⁷⁷ José Tomaz, interviewed by author. Nicholas DeMaria Harney discusses close rapport between the two communities in *Eh Paesan!*, 77.

⁷⁸ José Falcão (pseud), interviewed by author, February 10, 2011, Toronto, ON. He stressed that this segregation wasn’t vindictive or tenuous but “just happened.” Two Italian peers of the same age interviewed in this study also confirmed the type of social arrangement. Nick C., interviewed by author; and Gian Paolo Brindisi, interviewed by author, October 19, 2010, Toronto, ON.

Grown men who were co-workers echoed the same pattern.⁷⁹ There, in this temporary realm of sport fandom, friends and neighbours could address unresolved issues between their communities.

Tensions were rooted in income disparity and divergent economic opportunities caused by the different timing of large-scale Italian and Portuguese migration. The Portuguese were too late to capitalize on the construction and housing boom that benefitted Italian manual workers during the fifties and sixties. By comparison, Portuguese men in semi-skilled professions were at a disadvantage during the economic restructuring during the 1980s and 1990s.⁸⁰ Most Italians by this time had moved into higher posts in these industries or other occupations. The effects of two different economic trajectories is evident in their 2001 household incomes. The average median household income in Toronto was \$59,502. Italians were the largest ethnic group in eighty census tracts and in thirty-seven of these tracts had household incomes equal to or above the civic average. The Portuguese, by comparison, dominated twenty-one tracts, but only one had an average median household income above the city benchmark.⁸¹ Although household income by census tract is not an exact formula to gauge ethnic economic disparity, it is able to project a dominant pattern. Interestingly, Portuguese community leaders looked to the Italian example to address a key cause of their socio-economic under-representation. Italians had progressively achieved higher levels of education, but the children of Portuguese immigrants generally preferred to remain in the

⁷⁹ Tony Rebelo, the owner of the Macaelense Home Bakery in Kensington Market, said, "I have to babysit grown [Greek, Portuguese, and Brazilian] men who are arguing over soccer. They love working with each other, but they can't stand each other when it comes to sports." *Toronto Star*, untitled article, June 17, 2002, A14.

⁸⁰ Based on a sample created by sociologist Wenona Giles. Her findings dovetail with two key patterns during this period: declining union memberships and increasing low-pay service positions—sectors in which Portuguese Canadians have been over-represented. Wenona Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto*, 13.

⁸¹ Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, Cat. 95-250-XPB, Vols. I-III, Table I.

same areas of work as their parents.⁸² In 1973, only 3 percent of Toronto Italians had a university or college education, compared to 15 percent of the local English-speaking population.⁸³ Only eight years later there were proportionally more Italians between the ages of 15 and 24 still attending school than the Canadian average.⁸⁴ By comparison, in 1993 the Toronto Board of Education identified 50 percent of Portuguese adolescents as at “high risk” of dropping out of high school.⁸⁵ That same year, the Portuguese Canadian National Conference linked secondary school desertion with the “growing number...that find themselves within the ‘blue-collar’ and ‘ghetto’ working industries.” The conference report cited Italian institutions as role models and recommended setting up workshops similar to the Italians’ councils of professionals.⁸⁶

Although many of the wealthier Italians had moved north of Highway 401, where few Portuguese had yet settled, residential proximity and economic disparity was bound to collide in everyday personal sentiments and exchanges in the core neighbourhoods they shared. Author Romeo Olindo Chiocca describes what some felt like growing up Portuguese in Italian Toronto. “It was a new experience feeling like a minority in a city that boasted 550,000 Italians

⁸² A survey by the Portuguese Canadian Congress found a strong preference of “work” over education in the community. This orientation might exist because the majority of Portuguese immigrants came from the Azores Islands, which did not have a university until the 1980s. Education was not even an option in this poor region. Not surprising, it did not take on much importance for the Azoreans who came to Canada. Conference Program, “Portuguese-Canadians From Sea to Sea: A national needs assessment,” by the Portuguese Canadian National Congress, 1998, p. 25-6, Fonds 255, Series 1163, File 14, CTA.

⁸³ Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 73.

⁸⁴ 55 percent of Italians were attending school, compared to the national average of 49 percent. Jansen, *Fact-book on Italians*, 20-22.

⁸⁵ Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto*, 12.

⁸⁶ The conference five years later identified the high drop-out rate as the most pressing issue facing the Portuguese Canadian community, followed by parents not encouraging them to finish their studies. See Conference Report, Portuguese Canadian National Congress, “From Coast to Coast: A Community in Transition,” March 5-7, 1993, p. 19 and 21, Fonds 255, Series 1163, File 14, CTA; and Conference Program, “Portuguese-Canadians From Sea to Sea,” 1998, p. 25-6, CTA.

who thought they ruled the city with their construction companies, monster homes, and Ferraris.”⁸⁷ Obviously, very few Italians owned a Ferrari, but many believed and repeated the axiom that they had built the city of Toronto. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney even told them so in a voter-flattering speech during the 1980s, adding that “the present generation owns it” for effect.⁸⁸ The city’s subway tunnels, freeways, side streets, and high rises indeed exist in large part because of Italian labour. But the statement contains the more important acknowledgement that, since doing back-breaking work decades ago, much of the city’s wealth is now in Italian hands. Few of them were still doing the dirty work of the first arrivals. Italians occupied a privileged place in postwar Toronto—something they knew and some Portuguese resented.

When privilege translated into post-1982 international soccer fandom, St. Clair West became the symbolic site to alternatively celebrate and contest Italian Toronto’s success. Their Portuguese neighbours wanted to “beat” the local Italians and humble them, even if vicariously through a soccer match. For a couple weeks every two years, they had a public forum to resist playing second fiddle to their richer Latin cousins. Antonio da Silva, a second-generation Portuguese Canadian, explains

There’s just something there. It’s a desire to beat them or make a statement. To be like them, but different. They don’t work for us; we work for them. An Italian can say, “Hey, that Portuguese works for me.’ I think culturally and historically Italian culture is a lot more mainstream and valued by the popular culture than Portuguese culture—the espressos, the vespas. They are in the upper echelons of the upper class.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Chiocca, *College Street*, 31.

⁸⁸ DeMaria Harney, *Eh Paesan!*, 161.

⁸⁹ Antonio da Silva, interviewed by author.

In 1998, John Montesano, former editor of *Eyetalian Magazine*, wrote an op-ed for the *Star* that put the argument in similar terms. The outbursts of the last eight years, he explained, had nothing to do with World Cup soccer per se. They came from the expressed grievances of Portuguese frustrated about their unrecognized place in west Toronto. “The names Corso Italia and Little Italy,” Montesano added, “act as theme-park sign posts for shopping and café districts rather than neighbourhood descriptors.”⁹⁰ Indeed, Portuguese neighbourhoods remained Italian destinations. The latter gave up living near College Street and St. Clair West without relinquishing their hold on the places. Ironically, the Portuguese helped maintain their Italian character, a fact that added to Portuguese frustration during international soccer fandom. Owners who had purchased Italian-owned restaurants, bars, and bakeries frequently retained their Italian names and menus.⁹¹ Staying Italian was good for business, regardless of the financial beneficiary. During the 1994 World Cup final, for example, a *Globe and Mail* article featured Antonio Barato and his wife Eugenia, owners of Trattoria Giancarlo on College Street and both Portuguese, who admitted feeling torn between rooting for Italy or Brazil alongside the other Portuguese. Barato confessed, “The Italians have a tendency to be somewhat arrogant. They do an awful lot of things well and they want people to know it. But it’s tough to be humble when you’re good.”⁹² Portuguese were also buying Italian restaurants and cafes on St. Clair Avenue. If Portuguese proprietors struggled between pledging allegiance to their people or their product in Little Italy, where prominent Italians acknowledged a multi-Latin

⁹⁰ *Toronto Star*, “World Cup flag-waving had nothing to do with soccer.”

⁹¹ A few examples on St. Clair West are Palermo Bakery, Venezia Bakery, and Invictus restaurant. Vincenza Scarpacci notes how the close contact between Portuguese and Italians in West Toronto has resulted in a hybrid offering of baked goods. Vincenza Scarpacci, *The Journey of Italians in America*, 253.

⁹² *The Globe and Mail*, “World Cup fever runneth over in Little Italy PARTY TIME / Toronto’s Italian and Brazilian soccer fans are ready to celebrate and thousands of Portuguese are joining in,” by John Barber, July 16, 1994, A1.

revival taking place, their counterparts in Corso Italia no doubt faced a weightier dilemma because very few Italians accepted any other claims to the neighbourhood.

Unsettled scores turned into popular fan stereotypes, created and renewed in the urban *memory places* where fans started gathering after 1982. The Portuguese, by switching sides to Brazil after Portugal was knocked out of the tournament, were “sell-outs,” and the wealthier and overconfident Italians were “arrogant.” The contrasts were self-perpetuating, reinforced through repetition, and they provided language and symbols to moor and inflame future confrontations. Cultural studies scholar Vivi Theodoropolou explains that these types of labels are common in fandom and have an important function. Usually framed as binaries, stereotypes enable soccer fans to juxtapose themselves against the perceived negative qualities of the other side and provide a ready yardstick to measure themselves against what they are not.⁹³ Pal di Iulio, the Villa Charities CEO who coordinated the World Cup Friendship Nights at the Columbus Centre in 1994, reduces Portuguese support for Brazil as historical appropriation or duplicity at best. “It’s an act of colonialism. You know—‘we gave you the language, the culture.’ So Italians make fun of them. We say, ‘Where is your loyalty?’”⁹⁴ In 1998, a group of Italian fans on St. Clair West made this point with a large sign for a passing pro-Brazil cavalcade that read, “Please note, Brazil is not part of Portugal.”⁹⁵ José Tomaz admits, “Unfortunately we’re not as good [at soccer]. [The rivalry exists] probably because the Italians are so

⁹³ Vivi Theodoropolou, “The Anti-fan within the Fan: Awe and Envy in Sport Fandom,” in *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*, eds. Jonathan Gray, Cornel Sandvoss, and C. Lee Harrington (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 321-4.

⁹⁴ Pal di Iulio, interviewed by author.

⁹⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, “Soccer rivals’ tempers flared in the streets as Brazil won its World Cup match. The team’s fans converged on Little Italy to gloat over the Italians’ loss,” by Jill Mahoney, July 4, 1998, A6.

flamboyant, like ‘We’re the best.’”⁹⁶ Italian fans were outspoken about their team’s ability to win, while their Portuguese neighbours found in Team Brazil a vehicle to strike back at their rivals, however disingenuous it appeared. Until very recently, the closest Portugal had ever come to a UEFA or FIFA championship was a loss in penalty kicks to Greece in the 2004 Euro. The fortunes of long-suffering Portuguese fans changed when Portugal won the 2016 UEFA European Cup. It will be interesting to see how this opening victory will impact the place memories and street exchanges between Portuguese and Italian fans on St. Clair Avenue, given that the historical economic disparities between the two communities still remains.

Italian inclusivity through soccer fandom involved a claims and code of conduct. Entrepreneurs and community leaders welcomed other ethnics into their businesses and centres and they were eager to share St. Clair West with others. But few Italians in the crowd or of those trying to profit from the larger crowd, appreciated being taunted when Italy lost an important match or enjoyed watching their Portuguese neighbours wave Brazilian flags in spite. Having settled in the neighbourhood twenty years earlier than the Portuguese, climbed the socio-economic ladder, designated the street Corso Italia, and celebrated two Italy World Cup championships on its tarmac in 1982 and 2006, respectively, they believed they had won a privileged position as arbiters of cultural diversity. Italians engaged other communities based on the assumption their identity in Toronto was intimately bound to the World Cup Party of 1982 and symbolized in a historical claim to St. Clair West where it happened. Their defense of the street through a code of conduct was intimately bound to protecting their Italian identity. The Portuguese, in their view, had a noticeable presence but insufficient *claim* to the area,

⁹⁶ José Tomaz, interviewed by author.

which they demonstrated by marching down the street dressed as someone else. At least until 2016, the latter's connection to a winner was dubious. Portuguese fans no doubt interpreted Italian criticisms of them wearing another team's colours as a euphemism of their historical relationship. Larger historical economic conditions aside, Italians saw themselves as having becoming successful immigrants on their own merit. In actuality, they were also willing to raise a different banner when the match involved a local rival. After West Germany defeated Argentina—whose local Latin American fans had just provoked Italian residents by parading up and down St. Clair Avenue with chants of *Cry, Cry Italia!* and in Spanish "Italy, the cup is yours to see but not to touch" when Italy lost the semi-final match—in the 1990 World Cup final, young Italians purchased West German flags and lined the sidewalks of St. Clair West waving them for the passing caravans of German fans. Again, when France defeated Brazil in the 1998 final, Italians even waved the *bleu, blanc et rouge*.⁹⁷ This would have been unlikely to happen in Italy itself, but if Team Italy was out of playoff contention, fans in Toronto relished nothing more than to see their Argentine or Portuguese neighbours denied the opportunity to celebrate on Corso Italia.

Tentative Victories: The Potential and Perils of Popular Multiculturalism through Sport Fandom

Italian Toronto's claim—and counter-claims by others—to this neighbourhood became the central deciding factor in how popular multiculturalism was defined in the city and it mitigated the extent to which civic boosters, "pro-diversity" Italian entrepreneurs, and big business could appropriate it for their own goals. When "greenlighted" by results on the soccer

⁹⁷ *Toronto Star*, "Fans of Germany savour soccer win"; and *The Globe and Mail*, "Meet me by the World Cup."

field, communities translated their unresolved tensions into public taunting and laments, which in the worst cases, descended into violence and called into question the new ethos of fandom as a bastion of inclusivity and harmony.⁹⁸ The exchanges on St. Clair Avenue, most of all, revealed the enduring masculine gendering of cultural pluralism and immigrant working-class neighbourhoods that stretched back to the tensions and inter-ethnic soccer riots of the early postwar period and remained unresolved in the new millennium.

When male youth confronted one another on St. Clair Avenue, they were acting out a gendered drama with long historical roots. As Chapter One showed, violence between teams representing different national backgrounds was common in local and regional league play between the 1950s and 1970s. The rigid efforts of the constabulary to prevent “loitering” turned soccer parks into containment areas for crowds of immigrant men, and also a valve to where they could release intense emotions, both warm and aggressive. The uncertainty and excitement of sport competition heightened these emotions immensely. One of the ironies of gendered police enforcement—at least from law’s standpoint—it created a scenario whereby mature women from patriarchal traditions could congregate more freely in the streets of immigrant working-class neighbourhoods than men. In both spatial and cultural terms, the loss of male mobility was particularly emasculating. The sidewalks and back alleys of European and Latin immigrant enclaves are historically male-dominated spaces, invariably crisscrossed with toughs, youth gangs, and in some cases, criminal activity, where men work and fight with their

⁹⁸ One geographer has noted the rarity of violent outbursts and inter-ethnic tensions on Vancouver’s Commercial Drive—that city’s World Cup soccer meeting place and dwindling Italian business district. Toronto, by comparison, has its greater share of high-profile incidents, but it also has exponentially larger populations of European immigrants with high levels of interest in international soccer, not to mention the unique historical dynamic of competing claims to St. Clair West. Paul Kingsbury, “The World Cup and the national Thing on Commercial Drive, Vancouver,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29, no. 4 (2011): 733.

hands. This image of young male neighbourhood guardians has frequently appeared in Hollywood films, such as *West Side Story*, *Raging Bull*, *Scarface*, and *Rocky*, among others. There were also daring Italian youth willing to challenge authority and risk a confrontation with Toronto Police, but immigrants who played and followed sports outside of approved spaces could find themselves in trouble. Louis Jannetta, it should be remembered, formed the Canadian Italian Hockey League and chaired it for three decades in order to “keep Italian male youth off the streets.” Now in the period after 1982, it was possible for males of European descent—mostly second generation Canadian—to reclaim the streets and sidewalks as masculine terrain. Street-level fandom “opened up” as the traditional male social spaces of cafes, sports bars, and clubhouses were disappearing or being converted into multicultural meeting places. The street therefore became a last piece of the material environment to claim as a male space, exclusive to one’s side. It was a new gendered proving ground and there was no more coveted prize than St. Clair Avenue West.

International soccer tournaments after 1982 turned Toronto city streets into biannual ethnic proving grounds with male youth on the front lines. Pal di Iulio explains, “The individual ethnic communities found it acceptable to celebrate because the Italians did it—the Portuguese, Brazilians, Greeks. All of a sudden it became a rite of passage for the young kids.”⁹⁹ A youth demonstrated his loyalty and bravado before his peers through confrontational behaviour, and post-game street parties provided them with an ever-ready cast of antagonists. Male-driven identity performances quickly delved into hyper-masculine chants, insults, and behaviour—an exchange in which both sides jockeyed to position themselves as powerful and

⁹⁹ Pal di Iulio, interviewed by author.

the other as subordinate.¹⁰⁰ Nick C. is in his late twenties and has watched events unfold on St. Clair Avenue since the late 1990s. He sees soccer fandom as an adolescent ethnic pecking order.

Right here on St. Clair. Outside the bars, outside everywhere. It doesn't even have to get violent when the games are on. People have arguments today when there's [sic] no games going on. They sit there and glare at each other...One of them [thinks he] is better than the other. They want to be better than another person.¹⁰¹

The gendered drama made soccer fandom a powerful, albeit blunt, tool for youth identity construction. For some, it separated the men from the boys and could be engaged both during and outside the regular tournament schedule. Older Italian immigrants blame youth violence on a "generation gap" and demographic changes in the neighbourhood. "Now it's more the young people and they get drunk," says middle-aged Nuccio Cece. "Back in '82 it was more family. Now it is more the youth that get involved and sometimes they fight."¹⁰² Tony Pavia describes the fracas as a sign of the Italian neighbourhood's decline: "[Now] we cannot cheer here. Plus, what's Corso Italia without Italian people? At that time [in 1982] it was all Italian. No Portuguese or Latin Americans then."¹⁰³ According to these statements from people who remember the original celebration, 1982 was Italian Toronto at its best—a spontaneous and peaceful family affair uninterrupted by others.¹⁰⁴ Italy had won the World Cup; Italians were still the largest residential population on St. Clair West; and they were the first to take their

¹⁰⁰ Vivi Theodoropolou, "The Anti-Fan within the Fan," 325. The Star interviewed older Greek residents, gathered in their fading enclave on Bloor Street West (about half way between St. Clair Avenue and College Street) to watch Greece play in the 2004 Euro Cup. A restaurant owner noted that there weren't any clashes there because "it's an older generation that's stayed behind." *Toronto Star*, "Toronto's other Greektown," by Angus Loten, July 3, 2004, A3.

¹⁰¹ Nick C., interviewed by author.

¹⁰² Nuccio Cece, interviewed by author.

¹⁰³ Tony Pavia, interviewed by author.

¹⁰⁴ The post-1982 "family/gender-inclusive" argument was recently put forward by Riccardo Lo Monaco, "'Siamo Number One,'" 10 and 28.

pride to the streets en mass. As well, the violence and crude behaviour involving young men was destructive for a community that professes to be family-focused and was able to convey that message to the general public when multiple generations celebrated on the streets in 1982. The actions of youth not only threatened Italian businesses in the Corso Italia BIA; the older, mainly immigrant, generation worried they were reflecting badly on the entire community.

A key variable affecting the testosterone-driven scenes after 1982 was that the location of the World Cup host country, and specifically its time zone. This determined the age group of fans dominating Toronto's streets during a game. Mexico was the host country in 1982, for example. Most matches were played in cities that fall inside the Eastern Time Zone or Central Time Zone, which meant that Italians of all ages could come home from school or work and participate in a street culture. With two exceptions, every tournament thereafter was played in the eastern hemisphere, meaning that games could only be seen in Toronto during the daytime when most people were on their morning commute or already at work. This left a fan base of young people, retirees, those on vacation, and workers who called in "sick." A full age spectrum of fans was possible only for weekend games. In the absence of working-age people, post-game parties and claims to Italian space were by default dominated by young people. They were the most passionate, visible, and consistent supporters of Team Italy. This combination of time zones and life stage explains the reaction of Enzo, an 18-year old who was incensed by the taunts of Argentine fan taunts in 1990: "They know we come out here after every game and

they just came up here to put it in our face. If there's a riot, it's their fault."¹⁰⁵ The memory narrative of inclusivity was thus built on a paradox. Soccer fandom in 1982 served as a historical benchmark from which Toronto Italians could envision themselves as a peaceful community unbounded by generations and welcoming to others. In the years that followed, it became a rite of passage for young Italians—an identity performance to act out their Italianness for peers and stake out their position for themselves in a competitive and even sometimes threatening social theatre. While few condoned their excesses, the youth were now the mainstays of Italian soccer fandom.

Tensions never reached the scale, organization, or vitriol of European or Latin American hooliganism. Fans took turns parading down the six-lane stretch of St. Clair Avenue to peaceful effect until the 1990 World Cup, when Argentina supporters celebrated Italy's elimination at their team's hands. A combined Latin front of some 700 Chileans, Salvadorians, Guatemalans, and Argentines expressed their soccer loyalties in a multicultural Canada at the expense of Italian pride by parading in front of the Italians. The group was brazen, considering they were outnumbered 3 to 1. The angered Italian response revealed two caveats to Italian inclusivity: St. Clair West belonged to Italians, and as such "outsiders" should abide by their code of respect—namely, not chiding them on their own soil. A 32-year old cement finisher shouted this message to the visitors:

This is an Italian community. Get the hell out of here. Don't they understand how we're feeling, how sad we are right now? Why do they have to come up here to celebrate? Why don't they stay down on College Street where they belong?¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, "Soccer fans carry rivalry to the streets. Rush-hour traffic halted by hordes of rowdies skirmishing in west end," July 4, 1990, A6.

¹⁰⁶ *Toronto Star*, "Shame on Italians for being poor losers: 'They're so mean,' Argentine complains," by Rosie DiManno, July 4, 1990, A7.

Young male combatants drove this sentiment home with their fists, burned flags, shouted about the others' supposed sexual inadequacies, and hurled bottles and rotten eggs. Their pride wounded, Italian fans struck by addressing their rivals' severed connection to their homelands, shouting "Refugees! Refugees!" From the sidelines "old ladies swore, young children darted in to throw rabbit punches, and *women urged their men* to get involved."¹⁰⁷ In gendered terms, females were bystanders or accomplices at best, while males carried the responsibility of defending community and neighbourhood against outside threats. When a riot broke out, more than 100 officers on horseback and motorcycles intervened to quell the fracas. They forced fans of Argentina to relocate further east and by 9:00 pm, with the two groups now safely corralled, a heavy rain serendipitously fell and dispersed the crowd.

The next morning's front page headline read, "Thousands of soccer fans clash in city streets." Columnist Rosie Di Manno, who is of Italian descent, wrote an inflammatory article on page 7 titled "Shame on Italians for being sore losers." She described "two much-macho cultures" battling it out, with "the Italians more hot to trot, hot to rumble, hot to hit."¹⁰⁸ The piece was a black eye for Italian Toronto. Member of Parliament Joe Volpe (Eglinton-Lawrence) received more angry letters from constituents than at any point in his political career.¹⁰⁹ He issued a public statement condemning the *Star* and Di Manno for "putting the entire community in a negative light." Many wrote the *Star* and the Italian-language press echoed his sentiments to protest the broad stroke painted of the whole population. None of the letters

¹⁰⁷ Emphasis is mine. One source reported, "Most of those in the streets were teen-agers on their first week of summer vacation. *The Globe and Mail*, "Soccer fans carry rivalry to the streets." Also, *Toronto Star*, "Thousands of soccer fans clash in the city," July 4, 1990, A1.

¹⁰⁸ *Toronto Star*, "Shame on Italians."

¹⁰⁹ *Toronto Star*, "Metro Italians denounce Star reports on soccer fans," by Gail Swainson, July 7, 1990, A3.

denied that things got out of hand that sweltering July evening or that some Italians bore responsibility for the riot. In each case, it was an issue of scale. Hoping to quell the furor but respect journalistic freedom, *Star* Ombudsman Rod Goodman retracted only the article's emphasis, admitting that the "headline was just too heavy." But he added that his columnist was expressing her own views and these were not necessarily those of the paper itself.¹¹⁰ The *Star* was also less likely to apologize for an "insider's" perspective.

Italian leaders worried that the general public was going to see the displays of hyper-masculinity as representative of the community.¹¹¹ The National Congress of Italian Canadians meanwhile held an emergency meeting to counter the unsavory image painted of Toronto Italians and St. Clair West. Its president Annamarie Castrilli clarified that St. Clair was not "a hotbed of violence," rabble-rousers numbered in the hundreds rather than thousands, and [Italian] people, because of these exaggerations in the press, "found themselves on the offensive for something they haven't done."¹¹² The Corso Italia Business Association issued a statement expressing outrage that the paper focused on a "few incidents" rather than the bigger story that "Corso Italia is the centre of international soccer festivities in Canada and has been the host of many successful and orderly events that have been second to no other Canadian ethnic community events."¹¹³ Inclusivity and ethnic harmony, and not inter-ethnic tensions among male youth, they argued, were the real legacy of 1982. As Italian politicians, commerce, and community representatives entered damage control mode, they re-emphasized

¹¹⁰ *Corriere Canadese*, "Ecco cosa é successo veramente su St. Clair" and "Non siamo hooligans," July 5, 1990, p. 1; and *Toronto Star*, "Insight: Letter from the Ombudsman Rod Goodman," July 7, 1990, D2.

¹¹¹ A similar phenomenon is described taking place between young male Turkish soccer fans and the German public in Ehrkamp, "Risking publicity," 118.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Toronto Star*, Letter to the editor from Gaetano Lo Faso, Chairman of Corso Italia Business Association, July 13, 1990, A18.

their historical leadership role in the organization of diversity through sport fandom. But Italian community leaders and the *Toronto Star* journalist argued about the Italian community's character without unpacking the deeper symbolic battle of Italian claims and non-Italian counter-claims to a stretch of urban space that formed the backbone of these outbreaks.

A potentially more serious situation emerged when Brazil met Italy in the 1994 World Cup final, thus pitting Toronto's large Italian and Portuguese communities against one another in a high stakes match. This time the mainstream newspapers were careful to avoid ethnic descriptors or details of unbecoming behaviour. When Toronto Police Division 14 was kept busy with fights on St. Clair West and a stabbing on Dundas Street, the *Toronto Star* put a positive spin on fan excesses and printed Sergeant Niels Sondergaard's comment that "most people in shoving matches ended up partying together."¹¹⁴ In a stark reversal from reporting in 1990, the *Star* summarized the festivities as "Good sports, good sportsmanship and the fun of the game—that's what was mostly been celebrated on Metro's streets into the early morning hours today."¹¹⁵ Another daily reported a mixed crowd of 25,000 Italy-Brazilian/Portuguese fans watching the game over the JumboTron screen at the SkyDome, "hugging and shaking hands" after the final whistle.¹¹⁶ Insofar as press reporting went, there were no gender or ethnic connotations at play, but a bit of innocuous roughhousing that ended well.

When Toronto launched its bid to host the 2008 Olympics in March 1998, the City, law enforcement, and newspapers had a new reason to project a harmonious multicultural image of itself during that summer's World Cup. Their public relations skills were put to the test when

¹¹⁴ *Toronto Star*, "World Cup parties keep police 'hopping': Man stabbed, others injured in aftermath," by Peter Small, July 19, 1994, A6.

¹¹⁵ *Toronto Star*, "Giant samba party marks win," by multiple authors, July 18, 1994, A8.

¹¹⁶ *The Globe and Mail*, "Jubilant soccer fans celebrate Brazil's victory," by Dan Hawaleshka, July 18, 1994, A5.

hot-headed youths sparked another turf war over the title to St. Clair West. Brazil supporters celebrated Italy's semi-final elimination on penalty kicks to France by parading before rows of dejected Italians, who stood outside bars and cafes trying to process their loss. There were only 3,000 Brazilians living in Toronto at the time, so it was easy for the Italians to guess the origins of those strutting by them with yellow and green flags. "I don't understand why the Portuguese would come here to rub salt in our wounds," one person told a reporter as a steady procession of pro-Brazil traffic passed by. "Hey, go to your own street. This is called Little Italy," shouted another, grabbing his crotch. A large pack, fed up with the taunting, blocked St. Clair West to stem the flow of hecklers. Some burst out from the police barricade to seize the revelers' Brazilian flags and went on to tear, rip, and spit on them in front of their owners.¹¹⁷ The flag was a physical alternative to attacking the other person. But it was a powerful object that presented a challenge—good-natured or incendiary—to rivals because it could symbolize a fan's affiliation, cause, and intent. The act of waving a flag and chanting turned someone into an urban activist, sending a message to another community. For upset Italian youths, the ideal solution was to remove the "threat," or to steal or deface the foreboding object. Above the heads of the hot-headed youth, the same International flags were hanging below restaurant awnings and merchandise shops along St. Clair Avenue to entice non-Italians customers to Corso Italia. They were only a menace when animated with gestures of disrespect and the appearance of a competing claim to the neighbourhood. Removing another's flag served a very

¹¹⁷ The *Toronto Star* blamed youths for the trouble, while *The Globe and Mail* went into detail about the exchanges. *The Globe and Mail*, "Soccer rivals' tempers flare in the streets. As Brazil won its World Cup match, the team's fans converged on Little Italy to gloat over the Italians' loss"; and *Toronto Star*, "Agony, ecstasy at the World Cup," by Josh Brown, Jim Rankin, and Jennifer Quinn, July 4, 1998, A1.

practical purpose because a youth could leave someone empty handed and score an immediate victory for his side.

The City of Toronto tried to confront the youth fan problem as a public safety issue. In 1998, the Toronto Police threatened to charge parading fans for not wearing a seatbelt or waving a flag out the window of a moving vehicle. Sergeant Neils Sondergaard cited fans' well-being as the main concern. The avoidable outcomes he cited included: pedestrians hit by the flags, distracted drivers, and passengers not wearing seatbelts injured in an accident.¹¹⁸ There was no mention of the two stabbings, assaults, and arrests during the previous World Cup.¹¹⁹ With intentionally vague language, he explained that certain practices might result in someone getting hurt, not mentioning that one person might deliberately hurt another person. The public threat to arrest belligerents was almost certainly driven by concerns of inter-ethnic provocations—particularly between fans of Italy and Portugal/Brazil—that might get out of hand and tarnish the city's vaunted but vulnerable multicultural image. When the *Spice Girls* considered performing a second concert in the city on the same date as the World Cup final, city fire, police, and ambulance officials publicly worried that they lacked the resources to attend to both the street fandom and the concert.¹²⁰ Officially, Sondergaard withheld the rationale behind the new policy: "We have to compliment the soccer fans in Toronto," he proclaimed. "They are extremely well-behaved."¹²¹ There was a long history in the city of violent altercations between young males of different ethnic backgrounds during soccer

¹¹⁸ *Toronto Star*, "Police flag crackdown draws soccer fans' scorn," by Michelle Warren and Henry Stancu, June 16, 1998, A1; and *The Globe and Mail*, "Police curb World Cup antics," June 16, 1998, A12.

¹¹⁹ *Toronto Star*, "Italy's fans bop, Brail's samba: Sunday's big day for soccer final," by Donovan Vincent, July 14, 1994, A1; and *Ibid.*, "World Cup parties keep police 'hopping,'" A6.

¹²⁰ *Toronto Star*, "Be prepared for extra Spice on day of World Cup final," by Betsy Powell, July 3, 1998, A1.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

matches. However, Sergeant Sondergaard had the unenviable task of trying to describe and contain this particular male form of pluralist relations which had now come to symbolize the city's identity. By threatening to arrest soccer fans, law enforcement put themselves in a moral and political quagmire. They aimed to minimize acts of violence, but did not want to appear opposed to expressions of ethnic pride, which by this period would be un-Canadian and un-Torontonian. The police department set up a hotline for motorists to call if they wanted to avoid the traffic-snarling World Cup street parties.¹²² In so doing, they implicitly acknowledged that spontaneous street parties were acceptable civic activities. Those who thought differently could make a simple telephone call and take an alternative route. The police department's new approach combined containment with the threat of confrontation. It was much easier to secure and control clusters of fans moving on foot. Containment required eliminating the act of flag waving from moving vehicles, and the inevitable result would be the abolition of parades. It is hard, if not impossible, to wave a flag out a window or back of a truck while wearing a seatbelt. Deprived of a flag to provoke another's enjoyment or chagrin, revelers now had little incentive to drive from one neighbourhood to the next, and particularly St. Clair West.¹²³ Those who still wished to cheer their side in the presence of other ethnics would now have to do it on foot. The ban was designed to slow everything and everyone down.

The warning did little to halt the flag-bearing caravans. The moratorium was designed to prevent inter-ethnic rivalries from combusting and it actually helped unite fans in opposing and flouting it. The *Toronto Star* interviewed people, some of whom—like a Mexico supporter on his way to St. Clair West—were in the process of defying the ban. A fan of Portugal asked,

¹²² *Toronto Star*, "Police flag crackdown draws soccer fans' scorn."

¹²³ One could always attach flags to the body of a vehicle, but doing so risked having someone easily remove it.

“What? You think they gonna arrest people for having fun and showing their pride? This is Canada and everybody is allowed to wave flags here, man.”¹²⁴ The *Star* seemed to side with them. It set up a hotline for readers to respond to the question: “Do you think Toronto police have gone too far in their crackdown on World Cup flag waving?” The query’s slanted wording suggested an affirmative answer.¹²⁵ The editorial section featured a humorous cartoon of a police helicopter with its searchlight beaming down on a parading soccer fan, a megaphone shouting out his arrest orders.¹²⁶ Such heavy-handed tactics, it implied, were inappropriate. Below the image the editor made his case. Employing Italian phrases throughout the article—like *mi scusi, non capisco, é pericoloso!*—he argued that car cavalcades were an appropriate way for the kids to let off steam. Moreover, “flag-waving, yelling and a little honking is all part of the new Toronto, and the World Cup.” The alternative was to “sit around on ladder-back chairs like Presbyterians at a Sunday social.”¹²⁷ His argument presented two options: turn back the clock to the insipid Toronto that reigned supreme before Italians loosened its collar in 1982, or let ethnic expressions unfold with minimal police interference for a few weeks every two years. The latter, he concluded, was “the *Italiana* thing to do.” Diversity called for exceptions to the rules, which was a key Italian message in 1982. The safety of individuals in moving vehicles needed to take a back seat. Vulnerable in the public perception without the support of the press or soccer fans, the Toronto Police relented. Rather than risk a direct confrontation with fans by making arrests and then suffer criticism in the papers the following day, Sergeant Sondergaard tried to end the conversation by saying there had been a big misunderstanding.

¹²⁴ *Toronto Star*, “Gleeful flag-wavers defy harried police,” by Henry Stancu, June 17, 1998, B1.

¹²⁵ *Toronto Star*, “Police flag crackdown draws soccer fans’ scorn.”

¹²⁶ *Toronto Star*, “Flagging them down,” Editorial, June 17, 1998, A24.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

For extra assurances, he added, “We haven’t issued any summons yet as our concern is with public safety.”¹²⁸ Popular multiculturalism was a delicate balance of containment and confrontation. Toronto Police were hoping to reduce the youth melees and protect the City’s self-projected image of harmonious pluralism by removing the primary and most provocative signifiers of fans’ cultural differences. Instead, the best they could do when matters got out of hand was separate people: each to his own flag and side of the street.

In the middle of the flag debate, one journalist cited hyper-masculinity as a critical factor in the contestation of ethnic and neighbourhood boundaries. Elvira Cordileone of the *Toronto Star* asked readers, “What is it about kicking a soccer ball around a field that turns people into nincompoops? I guess you have to be a guy to appreciate it because mostly it’s a guy thing.” Exposing her lack of interest in the game and local spectacle that it generated, she explained that all the macho energy being expelled in bars, living rooms, and street corners could be better converted to social causes.¹²⁹ It was unrealistic and perhaps supercilious to suggest that grown men could somehow bottle up the passion for their favourite game—including all its accumulated historical memories and attachments—and transfer it into another sphere of life. But Cordileone’s missive was groundbreaking because it provoked the first large conversation about the outsized and uncomfortable role of gender in street soccer fandom. It asked readers to consider the gendered arrangement of male protectors and female bystanders that was playing out in the streets. More broadly, it called into question the image of a

¹²⁸ *Toronto Star*, “Frenzied crowd celebrates win: Soccer fans jam Corso Italia late into the night,” by Henry Stancu, June 18, 1998, C8.

¹²⁹ *Toronto Star*, “A contrary view of the importance of soccer,” by Elvira Cordileone, June 25, 1998, A25.

harmonious, diverse Toronto propagated by tourism boards, city politicians, and the English media.

The *Star* dedicated an entire page to readers' responses. Their reaction was expectedly zealous and defensive, and many women shared stories of watching games alongside brothers, fathers, and male friends. Given the Italian community's central position in Toronto soccer fandom, it is not surprising that the *Star* chose to print a number of letters to the editor from respondents with Italian names. Their authors went to great pains to prove that women were just as enthusiastic about the game as men. The "Letter of the Day" came from Antonia Guidotti, Secretary of Metro Toronto Soccer Association in Etobicoke, who cited the dramatic increase of female soccer players in the city and studies showing lower incidence of crime and pregnancy among physically active teenage girls. In actuality, she addressed soccer participation but not soccer fandom, related but different forums of gendered behaviour. Her response was followed by one from "Mario," who argued that 40 percent of soccer fans in his circle are females, but nonetheless conceded that both genders have their emotional outlets: "I've always thought that nothing turns women into idiots like a sale. And watching women put on make-up for 15 minutes has always turned my stomach."¹³⁰ Women were playing and watching soccer in larger numbers, but men were still the core and driving force of its passion.

In 2006, hundreds of thousands of Italian soccer fans flooded St. Clair Avenue West to celebrate Italy winning the World Cup again. Although the *Azzurri's* victory over France came in a tense final round of penalties, no one was surprised when partiers blocked traffic and public transportation well into the night. Italians gathered on the same street, but this time the

¹³⁰ *Toronto Star*, Letters to the editor from Antonia Guidotti, and Mario Martinelli, respectively, July 4, 1998, E3.

celebration took place on *Corso Italia*. It followed more than two decades of local merchants attracting non-Italian customers to “Toronto’s World Cup headquarters” and a generation of street-level exchanges between fans of different communities, fused in popular memory. OMNI Television (the successor to Multilingual Television, started by Italian entrepreneur Dan Ianuzzi in 1979) boasted its highest-ever audience for non-English programming. The Rogers Corporation, which now owned the network, decided to broadcast games in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese on the OMNI 1 and OMNI 2 networks to reach out to non-English speakers and households without cable subscriptions to TSN or Sportsnet. They also capitalized on China’s second qualification to reach out to Toronto’s Chinese community with Mandarin and Cantonese programming.¹³¹

But unlike 1982, the 2006 party is not commonly remembered as a “lesson in nobility and civility.” *The Globe and Mail* reported that street-level tensions and violence after the soccer game had reached a new level. There were three stabbings, a murder, dangerous driving convictions, and an overwhelmed Police Division 13 that had to make an emergency call for additional officers. Officers struggled to regain control of a situation that the inspector said had regressed into “unusual nastiness.” The papers were once again careful to avoid naming communities or mentioning specific tensions between them, but one reporter resurrected the flag debate of eight years ago suggesting that City Hall needed to slap a “sin tax” on banners to deter fans from purchasing their symbols of cultural pride and difference.¹³² A more telling article in the *Star* downplayed the general view that soccer is a male-dominated sport and women are resigned to play the role of “soccer widows.” Citing research provided to Reuters, it

¹³¹ *Toronto Star*, “Omni’s World Cup broadcast an ad boom,” by Patrick Evans,” July 13, 2006, C3.

¹³² *The Globe and Mail*, “Let’s put a tax on World Cup flags,” by John Barber, June 27, 2006, A6.

explained that 39 percent of the world's 5.9 billion audience for the World Cup that year was female.¹³³ Women were indeed tuning in and waving flags, but no one was making the argument that they were guardians of Toronto soccer fandom, which had for two decades been appropriated by the City as a model of urban harmony and conviviality.

Young immigrant and second generation males had been defending their "group" in the competitive atmosphere of Toronto's soccer parks and stadiums since the early postwar years, but the post-1982 expressions on city streets were the product of different social realities. Fandom moved from the parks to the boulevards at the same time that the Italian community—led by entrepreneurs and ethnic elites—positioned themselves as multicultural brokers by inviting the rest of the city into traditional Italian spaces to celebrate their own affiliations through soccer fandom. Corso Italia became the central *piazza* of the new popular pluralism as Italian merchants, elites, and the "crowd" alike advanced their symbolic claim and rooted their identity more forcefully in this neighbourhood. This uneasy social model moved into the municipal mainstream and became part of a political project that classified urban people and neighbourhoods for its own ends. The city-sponsored neighbourhood branding of ethnic spaces during the 1980s coincided with its own self re-visioning as a paradigm of cultural pluralism. However, multiple visions of multiculturalism were debated and deployed. At the grassroots level, there was a fine line between promoting and preserving cultural differences because the very communities the City wished to recognize and endorse used the theatre of sport fandom to defend themselves and the character of their neighbourhoods. Unresolved issues from the overlapping settlement experiences of postwar immigrants on the city's west

¹³³ *Toronto Star*, "Marketers ignoring female football fans," by Jeffrey Goldfarb, July 3, 2006, C5.

side conflicted with Toronto Italians who tried promoting the neighbourhood as inclusive even as they worked to ensure it remained Italian. The City of Toronto faced the unsettling reality that male violence was not an anomaly, but the frontline expression of a highly gendered domain. The custodians of multiculturalism through sport fandom were male.

Conclusion

Shortly after the Liberal Party's surprise election victory in 2016, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau awarded the *New York Times Magazine* his first public interview since entering the new office, both literally and figuratively. He explained with pleasure that the furniture renovations included replacing the desk of former leader Stephen Harper with the same one used thirty-one years earlier by his father, Pierre Elliott Trudeau. The young leader also invoked another legacy from the period and visionary aegis of the senior Trudeau. In response to a question about character of modern Canada, he proclaimed: "There is no core identity, no mainstream in Canada." Canadians are united by shared aspirational values. "Those qualities," he concluded, "are what make us the first post-national state."¹

This so-called values system is embedded in the social and political language of multiculturalism (although Trudeau prefers the more generic but perhaps embracing term "diversity"). Canada is a large and rapidly diversifying country that adds some 300,000 newcomers each year to the general population with minimal public and political resistance, and immigrant cultures are frequently cited as critical to its state-building project. There is much appeal in the tolerant-sounding claim that no core identity exists—if one ever did. But Trudeau's "post-national" declaration was obviously an overstatement, given the existence in Canada of borders, trade laws, official languages, and a patriated constitution. The statement's value is its affirmation that modern Canada is the product of a different type of integration

¹ *New York Times Magazine*, "Trudeau's Canada, Again," by Guy Lawson, December 8, 2015, Accessed November 18, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/13/magazine/trudeaus-canada-again.html?_r=0. *The Guardian*, in response to Trudeau's claim that Canada was the first postnational state, pondered if it was the only one left. *The Guardian*, "The Canada experiment: is this is the world's first 'postnational' country?" by Charles Foran, January 4, 2017, Accessed November 17, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/04/the-canada-experiment-is-this-the-worlds-first-postnational-country>.

project in which it is possible to envision Canadian society—or at least English Canada—as a post-national place.

This dissertation demonstrated that the overarching set of values on which multiculturalism is based—interpreted here as the inclusion, recognition, and celebration of citizens and communities for their cultural distinctiveness—*became* the Canadian mainstream, and this new vision developed to a significant extent outside of regular legislative, bureaucratic and political discourse at the everyday grassroots level of immigrant sport and leisure. Sport participation and fandom were an alternative model for social organization among newcomer minorities in the process of settlement and integration. Competition and rivalries between these communities drove the expansion of sport leagues and created new opportunities for collaboration and contestation, upon which political projects could later be built. The historical trajectory of popular multiculturalism in this domain was uneven, multi-vocal, and featured the Italian population in a leadership role. The surprising mainstream triumph of immigrant sport fandom has important implications for our understanding of how integration happens and diversity is organized, in addition to the conditions under which certain communities capitalize on new grassroots configurations. This dissertation makes the unique argument that, even in a country where the leader publicly can discard the idea of a core people and culture without generating much controversy, vernacular and official concepts of pluralism were regularly interacting with one another in the product of a new mainstream. And in this process, certain populations become paradigmatic, if not contested, *mainstream* representatives of the new order.

During the postwar period of massive European migration into Canada, thousands of immigrant men contested and connected with one another in the playing fields, bleachers, streets, and businesses on Toronto's sport periphery. Despite discrimination and containment tactics by City Hall and Toronto Police, and general disinterest from the mainstream world of sport, these immigrant communities created an early model of cooperative—and competitive—pluralism based on sport fandom. That this model struggled for its survival at the economic and institutional level but could later be appropriated by the municipality in the 1980s as a representation of the new Toronto illustrates how a vernacular movement can be fledgling and socially transformative at the same time. From the National Soccer League that constructed its stadium bleachers on a sandbase to the champion Toronto Metros-Croatia who struggled to attract a wide fanbase, soccer faced one financial setback after another, suffered from recurrent male violence, and never escaped its popular association as an "ethnic obsession." At the same time, its location outside the sport mainstream made it a viable and untapped market for Canada's first ventures in multilingual media, which expanded in the 1970s on the strength of soccer coverage despite the decline of local fandom. The postwar leagues also established the game as a force and symbol of cultural distinctiveness for the immigrant communities who reclaimed it in the 1980s. Fandom shifted to the international stage and large gatherings moved into the streets. Between the late 1940s and the new millennium, immigrant soccer fandom moved from a peripheral practice central to immigrant settlement to a mainstream showcase that exalted the people and cultures who once occupied the social edges.

This dissertation exposed the high level of contingency and grassroots-official collaboration in the making of mainstream political visions and an immigrant community's own

story of settlement, struggle, and success. Grassroots pluralism through sport did not advance incrementally, nor did the City of Toronto anticipate its appropriation until after 1982. Italian Toronto's momentous World Cup celebration on St. Clair Avenue almost did *not* happen. The *Azzurri* made an unexpected run to the championship title and local Italian were able to see it for themselves because the tournament was broadcasted live to a Canadian television audience for the first time, thanks to investments from large corporations. Constructing a memory narrative of their immigrant experience in Toronto around this demonstrably peaceable gathering of 250,000 people defined them as civil and law-abiding. But this designation was possible because the Toronto Police turned a blind eye to the prevalence of less serious offences, such as liquor act violations and causing a public disturbance. Toronto's Italians entered the English Canadian mainstream through a combination of asserting their own terms for inclusion and benefitting from its help.

Toronto's story of popular multiculturalism reveals how the objectives of cities, immigrant communities, and ethnic entrepreneurs can intersect in the climate of multicultural promotion and create overlapping identity narratives. Post-1982 soccer fandom fused St. Clair entrepreneurs' successful marketing of Corso Italia as the city's soccer headquarters with a mainstream project that included the formalization and promotion of ethnic neighbourhoods, civic boosterism, and mayoral declarations of a successful multicultural urban experiment. The integration project can be read as foreshadowed, albeit unintentionally, in the story of wealthy patrons at the Royal York Hotel who funded Louis Jannetta's Canadian Italian Hockey League. The City of Toronto's adoption of international soccer fandom also exposed the tendency in collaborative multicultural projects to recharacterize or ignore male-driven practices

considered to be signature markings of a population's cultural distinctiveness. When street-level exchanges, generally amicable by the standards of international soccer fandom, descended into clashes between young men of different backgrounds, city boosters and ethnic entrepreneurs found themselves in the difficult position of trying to uphold and affirm a historically gendered male domain as a representation of Toronto's cultural mosaic, successful business model, and symbol of Italians as exemplary immigrants, while disentangling it from the rough masculinities that had an equally long presence in the city.

One method of evaluating the mainstream acceptance of an ethnic minority is the improved reception of its single, young men. Scholars have demonstrated that immigrant men are more likely to be accepted into a society that views them as family men and breadwinners.² When Toronto's political mainstream appropriated soccer fandom during the 1980s, it adopted a venue for the performance of immigrant masculinities. The city and its fans encouraged the promotion and protection of these cultural distinctions while characterizing rough masculine behaviours as anomalies. The multi-generational Italian World Cup party on St. Clair West made this gendered demographic and its grassroots practices both palatable and profitable to a mainstream political project because it was now possible to reimagine its fans as fathers and brothers. The "civility and family event" narrative enabled civic leaders to ignore the historical problem that postwar soccer fandom had always been a masculine social terrain featuring young men and rough masculinities on its front lines. Law enforcement and the grassroots fan could agree that the path to participation and inclusion in the Canadian multicultural project required allowances for certain transgressive acts. When tensions erupted and exceeded these

² A well-known early study is Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

limits, male culprits could be effectively labelled as an anomaly because their predecessors in 1982 showed themselves to be civil and family oriented.

Homeland trips reinforced the idea of distinctiveness by descent that moved to the political centre during the period of Toronto's multicultural revisioning. In soccer fandom and neighbourhood ethnic branding, Torontonians distinguished themselves and enclaves by their cultural particularities. Diasporic networks, similar to the post-1982 spectacles on St. Clair Avenue West, could feature a diverse cast of contributors, but they were anchored by a core of people with common origins. Parallel to the international soccer fandom events, homeland trips were short-lived and infrequent, constructed with the support of outsiders, and they prized young male athleticism as social currency in the making of community connections, negotiation of cultural difference, and pursuit of recognition. Secondly, the accounts of trips to Italy, Yugoslav Macedonia, and Portugal counter the tendency of scholars over the past twenty years to ascribe minimal importance to the nation-state and national politics in the transnational movement of people. Diasporic networks and identities were produced through interactions between community grassroots sporting initiatives and the Canadian and foreign state departments who sent invitations, hosted receptions, financed tournaments and sometimes travel cost, and scheduling games. Interestingly, the Portuguese hockey exchange was financed almost exclusively by states and their corporate partner but it generated the least amount of interest at the local community level. Further studies are needed to determine if there is a threshold or set of conditions under which state involvement in diasporic networks results in a weakening of community engagement, transnational ties, and identity formation.

This study reveals the tips of other icebergs. It offers a first step to consider how competitive sport and sport fandom, organized as a “winner takes all” contest based on merit and hard work, can reinforce a liberal capitalist project by rewarding communities that best embody these values. Historically, the top countries in the FIFA World Cup have always come from economically prosperous regions of Europe and South America, most notably Brazil, Italy, Germany, France, Argentina, and Spain. Represented by flag-waving emigrant communities in Toronto—as a model of civic identity that featured the participation of emigrant communities cheering for these teams and by extension *themselves*—international soccer fandom was conspicuous for the countries and communities who were not represented or whose teams made rare or poor showings. Toronto has since the 1980s seen the arrival and growth of large racialized populations from China, India, Pakistan, and countries across the Global South. Insofar as identifying with their country of origin is concerned, they had little to cheer about during the World Cup. More work is needed to shed light on the limits of “mainstream diversity,” the types of social exclusion created when a vision of popular multiculturalism is appropriated on behalf of the general population, and the implications when large segments of the population are unable to participate and express their identities in the public sphere.

The next soccer fandom spectacle in Toronto will be different than those that preceded it. The unthinkable happened in November 2017 when Team Italy lost a critical match to Sweden on home turf and failed to qualify for the 2018 FIFA World Cup. For the first time in fifty-eight years, the national team will be spectators to the greatest sporting event on the planet. In Toronto, Italian flags will still hang from the businesses and streetposts of St. Clair Avenue West to signify passage into an Italian neighbourhood, but this time the *tricolore* will

not fly on behalf of the *Azzurri*. The community whose World Cup party in 1982 was a defining moment of inclusion in the history of Canadian multiculturalism will be without a vehicle to express their ethnic pride. If Corso Italia's Italian entrepreneurs revive the strip as the city's soccer headquarters and thousands of fans who support other cultures and countries assemble in the neighbourhood, there may be an even greater imperative to defend its Italian character. In 1982, Toronto's cultural minorities came from across the city to St. Clair West to celebrate with the Italians; this time Italian soccer fans will have the limited choice of either cheering or jeering their rivals. The city that appropriated soccer fandom as a street-level performance of its own character is missing the most prominent player in its line-up. In sport and grassroots multiculturalism, there will always be next season.

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Appendix 1

Department of History
University of Victoria
Box 3045 STN CSC
Victoria, BC V8W 3R4

Participant Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study titled **Sport and the Making of Ethnicity in Postwar English Canada** that is being conducted by Stephen Fielding.

Stephen Fielding is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at the University of Victoria, and you may contact him by e-mail if you have further questions at stephenf@uvic.ca.

As a Ph.D. candidate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a doctoral degree in History. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Jordan Stanger-Ross. You may contact my supervisor at jstross@uvic.ca or by telephone at (250) 721-7283.

This research is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the Italian American Historical Association.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this research project is to explore ethnic sporting, leisure and cultural activities and the cities and ethnic communities in which they took place.

Importance and Benefits of this Research

They study will offer a new way to understand the growth, interactions and changes that occurred in postwar Canadian cities. The study will also propose new ways to approach migration, settlement, integration, and assimilation.

Participants Selection

You are being asked to participate in this study because of your involvement in sport, leisure and cultural activities. Your name was recommended by an acquaintance and/or was identified by the author in a newspaper, journal or archive.

What is Involved

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include sharing your experiences with sport, leisure and culture. This will involve one or two 60 to 90 minute interviews in your home, office or a coffee shop, with the possibility of a later phone call. Within two weeks, you will also have the opportunity to review and comment on a printed copy of the interview, which may take 30 to 60 minutes. Digital audio recordings and written notes will be taken.

Risks or Inconveniences

There are minimal known or anticipated risks to you or notable inconveniences by participating in this research. It is possible that others in your sports community might be able to identify you in the write-up of this study.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. In this case, your data will not be used.

On-going Consent

To make sure that you continue to consent to participate in this research, I will send you an electronic (e-mail) copy of my project before it is completed. If you wish, you will have the opportunity to comment on the project or withdraw your name and data at that time.

Anonymity

In terms of protecting your anonymity, you may choose to either 1. Allow your name to be used in the study 2. Have a pseudonym instead or 3. Remain anonymous

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be ensured. I will store the data in my personal computer and hard copies will be kept in a secured filing cabinet. The only other individual who might see the data is my Ph.D. supervisor, Dr. Jordan Stanger-Ross.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: Ph.D. dissertation, published article, and conference papers.

Disposal of Data

Audio recordings will be destroyed within 10 years. Transcripts of the data will be kept for at least 10 years. The data may be useful in post-Ph.D. projects related to postwar migration in Canada and the United States.

Contacts

Please refer to info at the beginning of form. In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

Level of Confidentiality (Please initial one)

_____ I agree to be identified by name / credited in the results of the study.

_____ I would rather a pseudonym be used in the results of this study.

_____ I want to remain anonymous

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix 2



Office of Research Services | Human Research Ethics Board
Michael Williams Building Rm B202 PO Box 1700 STN CSC Victoria BC V8W 2Y2 Canada
T 250-472-4545 | F 250-721-8960 | ethics@uvic.ca | uvic.ca/research |

Certificate of Renewed Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Stephen Fielding
UVic STATUS: Ph.D. Student
UVic DEPARTMENT: HIST
SUPERVISOR: Dr. Jordan Stanger-Ross

ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER: 10-370
Minimal Risk Review - Delegated
ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE: 06-Oct-10
RENEWED ON: 05-Sep-17
APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE: 05-Oct-18

PROJECT TITLE: Sporting Multiculturalism: Postwar European Migrants and the Grassroots Making of Canadian Diversity

RESEARCH TEAM MEMBER None

DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING: SSHRC Bombardier Award (PhD) 2009-2012 (previous); UVic History PhD Fellowship 2008-2009 (previous); American Italian Historical Association Fellowship 2008 (previous); EU-Jean Monet Travel Grant (2014); UVic Centre for Global Studies – Graduate Fellow (2014)

CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.

Modifications

To make any changes to the approved research procedures in your study, please submit a "Request for Modification" form. You must receive ethics approval before proceeding with your modified protocol.

Renewals

Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.

Project Closures

When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.

Certification

This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.

Dr. Rachael Scarth
Associate Vice-President Research Operations

Certificate Issued On: 05-Sep-17

10-370
Fielding, Stephen